EUROPE
SINCE 1789

Outline for 7th month

I Growth of Nationalism
(1) Steps in Unification of Germany
(2) Wars of Bismark "64" "66" "70"
(3) Dismemberment of Turkish Empire
(4) Steps in Unification of Italy

II Triple Alliance
(1) component nations & their aims
(2) German Foreign Policies
(3) anglo-German Naval Rivalry

Midsh. George Franklin Schultz
1931

EUROPE
SINCE 1789

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EUROPE
SINCE 1789

BY
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"EUROPE SINCE 1870"
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1924

GARDEN CITY NEW YORK
DOUBLEDAY, PAGE & COMPANY
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TO

MY COUSIN

KATHLEEN JANET RIORDAN

COMPANION, PATRONESS, FRIEND

IN MEMORIAM

MCMXX

PREFACE

THREE years ago the author attempted an account of Europe from the French Revolution. The recent past, he believed then, had added much and brought considerable alteration in perspective.

The period since elapsed has added much more—not only a rush of events, but larger understanding of the epoch of our times, of which settlement is not yet complete.

Requests for a continuation covering the years since 1920 have caused the publishers to propose a revised and enlarged account. This has given the author opportunity not only to bring the narrative down to the beginning of 1924, but—following suggestions of friendly and lenient critics—to give more extended treatment, especially of some things in the first part of the volume.

In the earlier version the author wrote that his work had resulted from studies interesting to him—studies elaborated in his teaching during some years, that his obligations to others were numerous, that not a few of his conclusions were based upon research and observation in Europe. He has since amplified his study during fifteen months' residence abroad. His obligations have greatly increased.

The publishers have contributed additional maps for further illustration of the volume.

EDWARD RAYMOND TURNER.

Ann Arbor, Michigan,
February 1, 1924.

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INTRODUCTORY BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

For additional reading about the earlier part of the period covered in this volume: Antonin Debidour, *Histoire Diplomatique de l'Europe, 1814–1878*, 2 vols. (1891); of longer works Alfred Stern, *Geschichte Europas seit den Verträgen von 1815 bis zum Frankfurter Frieden von 1871*, exhaustive and based largely on sources, is the best, volumes I–VII (1894–1916), covering the years down to 1852, have appeared. For the later period: F. M. Anderson and A. S. Hershey, *Handbook for the Diplomatic History of Europe, Asia, and Africa, 1870–1914* (1918), a coöperative work which contains excellent summaries and extensive bibliographical lists; C. M. Andrews, *Contemporary Europe, Asia, and Africa, 1871–1901* (1902); A. Debidour, *Histoire Diplomatique de l'Europe depuis le Congrès de Berlin jusqu'à Nos Hours*, 2 vols. (1916), the best account of recent French diplomatic history; W. M. Fullerton, *Problems of Power: a Study of International Politics from Sadowa to Kirk-Kilisse* (1913); H. A. Gibbons, *The New Map of Europe* (1914), L. H. Holt and A. W. Chilton, *The History of Europe from 1862 to 1914* (1917), J. H. Rose, *The Development of the European Nations, 1870–1914*, 2 vols. in one (5th ed. 1916), Charles Seymour, *The Diplomatic Background of the War, 1870–1914* (1916).

More comprehensive are the great coöperative histories: *The Cambridge Modern History*, ed. by A. W. Ward, G. W. Prothero, S. Leathes, 14 vols. (1902–12), of which the volumes are bulky and the contents seldom inspiring, but they are always instructive, and in them the student will find a vast amount of additional information about most of the important topics treated in this volume—this work and others similar will be mentioned only here, and not at the end of each chapter, but they should always be borne in mind when further information is needed; *Histoire Générale du IV^e Siècle à Nos Jours*, ed. by Ernest Lavisse and Alfred Rambaud, 12 vols. (1894–1901), less up to date but more attractive. For information about historical writing, Eduard Fueter, *Geschichte der Neueren Historiographie* (1911); G. P. Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century* (1913).

For the treaties: Sir Edward Hertslet, *The Map of Europe by Treaty, 1814–1891*, 4 vols. (1875–91). Barton, Descamps and L. Renault, *Recueil International des Traités du XIX^e Siècle* (1914–). Notwithstanding that a great part of the most important diplomatic papers remain unpublished and inaccessible in the various archives of Europe

yet a large number have been published, and may be used in such storehouses of information as *Archives Diplomatiques*, 129 vols. (1863–1914), covering the period 1862 to 1913; and *British and Foreign State Papers*, 113 vols. (1841–1923), covering the years 1812 to 1920.

For information about governments: W. F. Dodd, *Modern Constitutions*, 2 vols. (1909); F. A. Ogg, *The Governments of Europe* (1913); Percy Ashley, *Local and Central Government: A Comparative Study of England, France, Prussia, and the United States* (1906), *Handbuch des Öffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart in Monographien* (ed. by Heinrich Marquardsen and others, 1883–); W. B. Munro, *The Government of European Cities* (1909).

For additional biographical information: the *Dictionary of National Biography*, 72 vols. (1885–1913); *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, 46 vols. (1855–66); *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, 56 vols. (1875–99).

For military affairs: General A. von Horsetzky, *A Short History of the Chief Campaigns in Europe since 1792* (tr. by Lieut. K. B. Ferguson, 1909).

International law: L. F. W. Oppenheim, *International Law*, 2 vols. (1905–6); H. J. F. X. Bonfils, *Manuel du Droit International Public (Droit des Gens)*, 7th ed. (1914).

For the miscellaneous things, about which ready information is often not easily obtained, the best source is the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed., 29 vols. (1910–11).

If possible, students should sometimes consult the principal historical reviews, where they will not only find much rare and interesting information but be brought into contact with the best of modern scholarship and research: *The American Historical Review; The English Historical Review; Historische Zeitschrift; La Revue Historique; La Revue des Questions Historiques;* and, for the more elementary student, *The Historical Outlook.*

For current information the following annual publications: *The Annual Register* (1758–); *L'Année Politique* (1874–1905), continued as *La Vie Politique dans les Deux Mondes* (1906–); *Europäischer Geschichtskalender* (1861–); *The Statesman's Year Book* (1864–); *The New International Year Book* (1907–).

The student with a taste for recent history will find a fascinating field for exploration in the volumes of the more important periodicals, such as, *The* (London) *Spectator*, *The National Review*, *The Quarterly Review*, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, *The Yale Review*, and many others. He will also find much instruction and amusement in the cartoons of such publications as *Die Jugend* and *Punch.*

No text book ever contained too many maps, and the student will find it well to use an atlas as much as he can: E. W. Dow, *Atlas of European History* (1907); W. R. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas* (1911); *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. XIV; and H. B. George, *The Relations of Geography and History* (1910).

EUROPE
SINCE 1789

CHAPTER I
THE OLD EUROPE

The Kingdom of *England* is an *Hereditary Paternal Monarchy* . . .
It is a *Monarchy* that hath been continued almost 1000 Years. . . .
JOHN CHAMBERLAYNE, *Magnæ Britanniæ Notitia* (1716), p. 40.

Un grand empire suppose une autorité despotique dans celui qui gouverne . . . que la loi soit dans une seule tête . . .
MONTESQUIEU, *De l'Esprit des Lois* (1748), livre viii. chap. xix.

Of this slave trade, which flourished down to 1783, when the Crimea was finally conquered and annexed by Russia, we have a graphic account. . . . . Slaves may be always had for sale . . . The stronger of these captives, branded on the forehead and the cheeks and manacled or fettered, are tortured by severe labor all day, and are shut up in dark cells at night. They are kept alive by small quantities of food. . . .
SIR D. M. WALLACE, *Russia* (1912) pp. 233, 234, quoting Michael the Lithuanian, *De Moribus Tartarorum Fragmina* (1615).

Ancien Régime

THE era before the French Revolution was afterward thought of as the *Ancien Régime* or Old Time. In Europe and elsewhere during that period much was very different from what afterward developed. So large is the difference, indeed, that often now students find it difficult to realize vividly the systems and the life that prevailed then. It is true, the things most important now were the most important then also, as they had been through unnumbered generations back to the beginning of the time that we know. Then as now children grew up under the protection and authority of their parents; young men and young women loved each other and were married and reared their children; and the principal occupation of most

people was making their living, getting food and clothing and shelter. But a great many things, important and necessary now, and taken as a matter of course, had not been then brought to pass. There were no railroads, no steamboats, no telephones or telegraphs, no electric cars or lights, no moving pictures, and, except in England where the Industrial Revolution had recently begun, no great mechanical appliances and no factories filled with machinery working for men. Newspapers were few and small and had small circulation. A great many books and pamphlets were published, but most men and women were not able either to read or to write. There were no systems of education for all the people, in what we call public schools nowadays. Compared with the times that we now know, life in those days was for most people simple and homely, bare, lowly, and coarse. In many respects conditions in the latter part of the eighteenth century were more like what they had been a hundred, or even a thousand, years before, than they were like those of the present.

Absence of things common now

Life in the country

Europe about the end of the eighteenth century, like all parts of the civilized world down to that time, was predominantly agricultural. The majority of the inhabitants were grouped in small villages set in the midst of plowland, meadow, grazing land, and wood. As is still so in less favored countries, the houses were lowly and small, with poor furniture and simple utensils. There were not many windows to give light by day, and after dark the inmates went to bed, for there was no gas, no electric bulb, oil was expensive, and often candles cost more than people could spend. The cots or the hovels of unnumbered peasants were dirty, and damp, and dark. The joyous seasons were spring and summer and early autumn, in a way not known to some of us now, for the warmth of the sun gave almost all the heating which the mass of the people could get. In winter there were

only a few in Europe who could have coal, and only a small number of the well-to-do who had fire-wood in ample supply. There was more joy in out-of-doors then than now. But work in the fields or on the wastes, in the pasture or in the woods, was hard and the hours were long. Farming was rude and implements poor; crops were generally not bountiful, or, if they were, a great part of them went to pay rent to the owner or the lord, and tithe to the church. The center of life for the neighborhood was the parish church in a manner scarcely to be conceived of now, for then the church was the holy place of the community, in which people were baptized, married, and taught by the priest, and which received them at last in its consecrated ground. It was also the social center of the neighborhood doing for people in some fashion what is now got from moving pictures or in theaters and schools. And often near by, hated or revered, was the fine dwelling of some great man, the manor-house of a lord, or even the castle of some proud noble. In them went on a life very different, but most of the people never saw it; and the tales of it were almost as remote to them as accounts of fairies or some faraway land.

The village church

Lowly as was the condition of these people, in many parts of Europe it was better than it had been in earlier days. In antiquity a great number of the people were slaves, entirely unfree, often bought and sold exactly like chattels or things. It was a great advance upon this when in the later days of the Roman Empire, partly because of economic changes and partly through the influence of Christianity, slavery began to disappear and the great mass of the people after a while were in the higher condition of serfdom. As serfs men and women were free in their personal relations, not to be bought and sold like chattel property; but none the less they were partly unfree, since they were bound to remain in the place of their birth, and were under obligation to give the lord of their

Serfdom

land part of what they raised and to work for him many of the days of the year. Then, like slavery before it, serfdom began to pass slowly away, due chiefly to the working of economic causes which made it more profitable for the lord to give wages than the use of his land, and collect rent rather than take a share or labor from his people. The disappearance of serfdom was a slow process. In England it had disappeared by the beginning of the seventeenth century; in Scotland there were traces of it until near the end of the eighteenth. By that time in some parts of the continent it was completely gone, but there were still thousands of serfs in France, while to the east in the German lands there were many more, and in Poland and Russia the great bulk of the population remained partly unfree. It was the results of the French Revolution, and the power of Napoleon, soon to come, which would abolish serfdom in central Europe, while in Russia it would linger on until 1861, about the very time when negro slavery was brought to an end in the southern part of the United States. So recent is the civil freedom of a great part of the population of the world.

Decline of serfdom

The rural population

We have no reliable statistics before the nineteenth century, but it is probable that nine tenths of the people lived their lives in the small agricultural communities, though in England and parts of western Europe the proportion was less. Simple, lowly, ignorant folk they were, unlettered, narrow, oftentimes incredibly superstitious and dependent upon their parson or priest, filled with prejudice against outsiders, for traveling was difficult and most people seldom went far from their homes. These people had no part in the governing of their countries, except sometimes in the management of their humblest local affairs. History tells little about them. Governments heeded them scantily, except to take from them taxes and labor. Seldom did they rebel or stir against their masters. The peasants of Gaul gave trouble in the later centuries of

Slowness of change

the Roman Empire; the *Jacquerie* rose against their lords in France during the Hundred Years' War; there was a memorable *Peasant Revolt* in England in 1381; and a more memorable rising of German peasants in 1525. These movements and a few others were always crushed mercilessly by the upper classes, and came to nothing. The day of the great mass of the people, of the rights of man, had not come yet. In countless villages men and women lived little lives, with rude plenty at best, generally in meager existence, often in grinding poverty and toil. They lived and died and passed from recollection; and that is all, except that throughout this time they were most of the people of Europe, and made the nations ruled by great kings and led by commanders.

Position of women

History has almost nothing to say about women — beyond the fact that they were the fundamental part of society. Through long generations they had been the mothers of the human race, and made the homes of the men and the children. They did a large part of all the work and much of the most useful work. Almost always their condition was lower and worse than the men's. There had been empresses and queens, sometimes, and very few rulers in Europe had been greater than Elizabeth of England or Catherine of Russia. But almost always women were strictly subordinate to men—to their fathers before they were married, afterward to their husbands. For them there was practically no calling but marriage, and the law generally considered them to be part of their husbands, not persons or individuals, after marriage. They owed obedience to their husbands, who were responsible for them under the law. Most women, perhaps, were treated well, as things then were, but many were subjected, without hope of relief, to petty tyrants in their homes. It was a man's world much more than it is now.

Subordination of women

The *bourgeoisie*

Above the masses of the people was a much smaller class which had arisen in the towns, the boroughs or burgs,

called in France the *bourgeoisie*, which would now be better known as the middle class. It had been rising and increasing in numbers and power for some hundreds of years, as towns and cities developed and as commerce and industry increased. It was made up of the lawyers, the masters of the small industries which then existed, the merchants, and the traders. To a considerable extent it contained within its numbers the ablest and most progressive men, and some of the wealthiest and most substantial. They had much influence in the Germanies and in France, as once they had had in the Italian states; they had considerable part in the government of Great Britain, and were of large consequence in the Netherlands; but generally their influence was indirect and their power small, for they were looked down upon by the aristocracy, and debarred from the privileges and opportunities which were open to nobles and great men of the church. After all, they represented the power of the cities and of industrial life, and most of Europe was still rural. Nevertheless the future was with these *bourgeois*. It was they who would guide the French Revolution and make the enduring changes of the Revolutionary period. They were to rise greater and greater as the Industrial Revolution slowly spread over Europe in the nineteenth century. Then political power, management of government, and greatest place in the state were all to be taken by this middle class, which in many respects would be the upper class, as nobles and princes were thrust into the background and deprived of old privilege and power. It would be the *bourgeois* whom socialists and others would regard as their worst opponents; and in the twentieth century, the middle class would be assailed by the *Bolsheviki* as arch-enemies to be overthrown in raising up the proletariat, or mass of the people.

Future importance

Cities

Although most of the people of Europe lived in villages in the country, there were towns and some cities great

and important. London had more than a million inhabitants, and Paris more than half a million. Amsterdam and other Dutch cities were mighty hives of industry and commerce. The Spanish cities were now slumbering in decay, and the places once renowned in the Spanish or Austrian Netherlands were enveloped in the hush and the quiet which come when progress and activity cease. So it was with the Italian cities, great in the Middle Ages, and the very cradles of the Renaissance: Venice was dying in the midst of that charm which travellers still love to see; and Genoa, Milan, and Rome were all greater in the memory of what they had been than for what they continued to be. The seaports of the German states, Hamburg, Lübeck, Bremen, and the others, thriving in the days of the glory of the Hanseatic League, were sunk now in the silence and decay which would last until the revival and unification of the Germanies awoke them once more. Vienna was the old, proud capital of the German countries. Far to the southeast on the Bosporus Constantinople continued to be magnificent under the Turks. And in the distant eastern parts, little known to most of Europe, were holy Moscow and the new capital, St. Petersburg, which had only been founded in 1703.

Urban life

In the cities the principal occupations were manufacturing and especially trade, for the greatest of all of them had grown mostly because of their commerce. Since there were no railroads yet, and not many canals, and since roads were poor, the most important communications were by water, and the greatest cities were by the sea, like Amsterdam and London and Marseilles, or on some river, like Paris, Nizhni Novgorod, and Vienna. The manufacturing was then, for the most part, as the name implies, done by hand; and while by this time in the great towns of western Europe much of it was carried on in factories, a great deal more was still done according to the domestic system, in the homes of the workers themselves. Some of these cities

Importance of some cities

were important out of all proportion to their population, for they were the centers of financial power, of intellectual activity and progress, and often the seat of the government of the nation. By the end of the eighteenth century Paris was the very heart and center of France, and in England the course of London could usually be decisive. The English Civil Wars of the seventeenth century were decided against the king largely because parliament was supported by London; in 1789 the French Revolution was made possible and begun by the citizens of Paris.

The nobility

The greatness of the middle class and the effects of the Industrial Revolution were for the future, and still most of the power and wealth in Europe was in the hands of an aristocracy which made the smallest and highest class. Long before, when the central authority of the Roman Empire broke up and Europe was scourged by barbarian invaders—Germans, Northmen, Hungarians—everywhere fortresses were built by strong and able men, who governed their districts, protected the inhabitants, lorded it over them, and exacted obedience and service from them. In the early Middle Ages the best of these feudal lords had saved such civilization as remained. But in course of time they were an encumbrance rather than a benefit wherever they were, and often the best hope of further progress lay in their being overthrown. To a considerable extent they had already been shorn of their political power in the progressive places, though in Poland their importance and ancient power remained nearly unabated. Everywhere they continued to have the social and economic advantages possessed in earlier times. In England, in France, in the German countries, in Russia, great lords

High position

and great ecclesiastics constituted a class apart. For them oftentimes were reserved the important offices of state; frequently they directed the councils of the nation; everywhere, except in Switzerland and Holland, they held a great part of all of the land and the wealth; they were

generally exempt from heavy taxation; their blood was deemed better than that of the commoner; and usually no person outside the noble class could aspire to marry within it. A very great distance divided the members of this noble aristocracy from all the other classes beneath them; and even in England, where the separation was not so much, the distance was still very great. In Europe of this old régime the nobles, whether great lords or petty knights of the Empire, were the splendid top of a society which rested upon the toil and the support of the immense multitude of the people.

Kings

But while they kept their wealth and their privileges, in many lands now their independent political power was gone. Once they had ruled without interference from a higher authority, and still they continued to do so in Poland; but a long time before, in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, their power had been broken in Spain, in France, in England, and elsewhere, and strong, powerful, centralized governments erected. By the time of Philip II (1556–1598) the king of Spain had absolute power, and by the time of Louis XIV (1643–1715) the king of France could have made the declaration: "I am the State." And the tendency toward absolute power and belief in the divine right of rulers had spread all over Europe. It was so in Austria, in Russia, in the larger German states and also in the smaller. There were only a few exceptions. Venice, in name a republic, was ruled by an oligarchy of aristocrats. In Switzerland and in the Dutch Netherlands there were confederations of small states ruled by the citizens of their upper and middle classes. In Germany there were still a few free cities. But the notable exception was England. In England there was indeed an effective central government, and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there had been strong tendency to make the power of the king absolute. But in England there survived what had once existed in

In England

Spain and France and other places but had long since withered away, a parliament, or assembly of representatives of the upper classes. On the continent usually danger from foreign enemies had been so great that the representatives of the upper classes, the estates, had given power of taxation and military control to the king; but Englishmen, secure from invasion in their island, had not had to do this. In the seventeenth century this parliament had contested with the king for the principal power in the state; after 1688 it got to be definitely superior to the king; and it made of England, what no other great state then was: a limited, constitutional monarchy. But almost everywhere in Europe toward the end of the eighteenth century, political power was completely in the hands of great rulers or small princes, while around them were grouped the upper classes in possession of the high offices, the wealth and privileges of the land. In England the principal difference was that the political power of the king was shared with the upper classes.

Primacy of the European states

This Europe of the end of the eighteenth century was the seat of the largest amount of the power and importance of the world and of much of the world's civilization. There were in Europe more civilized men and women organized under efficient governments, with powerful armies and ships of war, and directed by restless, enterprising rulers, than anywhere else in the world. They had for some time been expanding into other continents, and in great part Europeans had by this time taken North and South America. Already the Russians in Siberia and the English in India had got control of large portions of Asia. Australia and New Zealand had just been visited by the English. Africa, except for trading stations along the coast, was not yet taken, as it was to be completely in the next hundred years. There was a fine old culture among the warlike people of Japan, and a better and older civilization among the swarming millions of China; but

China and Japan were far off on the edge of the world. A strange and ancient culture endured also among the teeming myriads of India; but there was neither political greatness nor military power in India's people, and already they had come under the direction of the English East India Company. There was still a Persia, but all of her grandeur was gone. Greatness, progress, and power were mostly in Europe, especially in the western parts, or else in some portions of America, where men from Europe had gone.

Great Britain

First of European states was Great Britain. The inhabitants had been fortunate in the greater part of the British Isles. Early in the Middle Ages, while other peoples were still divided among numerous feudal lords, the English had been brought together as one nation in a strongly organized, well administered state. Usually safe in their island from foreign foes, they were spared most of the horrors of invasion and devastation so frequent then. Wales was early united with England, and Scotland finally in 1707, so that all the people of the greatest of the British Isles were brought together. With their union came more and more prosperity and strength. The people of Britain had long been renowned for their boldness and skill on the sea. After the discovery of America, and as the northern part of Europe became what the southern part had previously been, the wealthier and greater portion, it was seen that Britain had for commerce and trade the most advantageous position in Europe. Many of the best routes of trade lay so near as to be within her control. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries she became the greatest commercial nation in the world, obtaining supremacy on the sea, with dominating positions upon the principal sea lanes of the world, and she was presently the greatest of the colonial powers, with the exception of decadent Spain. From the Dutch, from the Spaniards, and especially from the French, she took dominions in all parts of the earth,

Prosperity

adding them to the colonies which her people had established in eastern North America. Her shipping, her commerce, her colonies all brought riches, and the British became the wealthiest people in Europe. Then from the middle of the eighteenth century onward certain great mechanical inventions—like the steam engine, the power loom, better means of transportation within the island, and the utilization of great deposits of coal and iron—gradually brought about the Industrial Revolution, which by the end of the century had given to England and Scotland an industrial leadership almost as marked as the previous commercial greatness. The government of Britain was in the hands of the upper classes and administered mostly in their interests; but as things then were that government was enlightened and good; there was protection of the law for all men; and however lowly their condition the common people in England were apparently better off than any other people in Europe. This was not the case with Ireland, which had been conquered, confiscated, and oppressed.

France

On the continent the great state was France. The condition of most of her people was less good than that of the British, but better than elsewhere. The government of France was a strongly centralized monarchy, with all power in the hands of the king, who was assisted by councillors and ministers chosen by himself. Because in France there were twice as many highly civilized people under one strong government as in any other state at that time, the French monarchy, when managed by capable administrators, towered above all its neighbors, just as after 1900 the German Empire was so threatening and great. But during the eighteenth century the affairs of France had not been well handled; she had fought costly wars and gained little from them, and in the prolonged duel with England had lost most of her colonial empire. She had just assisted the American rebels and this had ruined her finances. France was still the leading nation

on the continent of Europe, but she no longer had the vast preponderance which had once overshadowed all others. England was wealthier, and more successful. Yet France was still the leader of European civilization. Everywhere her language was known and used by educated people; the letters of Horace Walpole contain numerous French phrases, and most of the works of Frederick the Great were written in that tongue. The French style of writing simple, clear, and elegant prose, was everywhere admired, and in some other languages, like the English, successfully followed. The grandeur of the French court was imitated all over central and eastern Europe. The most radical and progressive ideas of the age were being disseminated by French philosophical writers. The art, the styles, the taste of Paris, then as now set the standard for Europe.

French civilization

Spain, once so powerful, had withdrawn into the stillness of drowsy decay. She had been the greatest power in Europe during the sixteenth century, but unwise legislation had long before stifled her enterprise, religious narrowness had crushed intellectual activity, and her people, too proud to work, too ignorant and incompetent to succeed, had gone steadily down into lowly position. A hundred years before there had been a memorable contest to get possession of the Spanish Empire, and the result of that War of the Spanish Succession (1701–14) had been that a French prince succeeded to the crown of Spain, but that the Spanish possessions in Italy and the Netherlands passed to Austria. Spain still retained almost all of her wealthy colonial empire, but the inhabitants of these places, especially in Spanish America, were held in tutelage and subordination, and longed to imitate England's American colonies in breaking away and becoming independent.

Spain

What is Belgium now was the Austrian Netherlands then, denied opportunity and backward, coveted by

The Netherlands

France, and often the battle-ground for foreign armies. The other—the northern or Dutch Netherlands were independent and powerful and wealthy. Their commerce was still lucrative and vast, and their colonies in the East Indies were rich; but they no longer did the carrying trade of Europe, their naval power had diminished before England's, and on land they had been exhausted in defending themselves against the French. They were no longer one of the great European powers.

The Italian lands

Italy was a land of splendid monuments and glorious memories; but glory, prosperity, and power had mostly departed. There was much wealth, but it was in the hands of churchmen or great nobles. The masses were very miserable and poor, for commerce and industry had decayed. It was long since Italians had controlled their political affairs. Often they had been the prey of invaders; for a long time some had been ruled by foreign masters. Once Spain had controlled them; but now some states in the north were ruled under Austria; those in the southern part by Bourbon princes, of the house which ruled France and Spain; while across the central part of the peninsula extended the dominions of the pope.

The Scandinavian countries

Outside the circle of grandeur and power were the Scandinavian countries. A great while before they had been the terror of the rest of Europe, and from them pirates, settlers, and conquerors had gone forth to Russia, to Italy, to France, to England, and even to America. But Denmark, the most richly endowed, was small; the others had poor resources and no numerous population; and long since their strength had declined before the growing greatness of more fortunate neighbors to the south. Sweden still had the relics of her old possessions, eastern Pomerania and the country of Finland; but she only looked on now at large affairs, as did Denmark, to whom Norway was subject.

The Germanies

Central Europe was, as it long had been, in the hands of Germanic powers. All through the Middle Ages Ger-

40°
30°
20°
10°
0°
10°
ARCTIC CIRCLE
ICELAND
Faroe Is.
Shetland Is.
Orkney Is.
Bergen
(UNDER DANISH RULE)
Christiania
GREAT BRITAIN
SCOTLAND
Edinburgh
IRELAND
Dublin
Liverpool
ENGLAND
London
NORTH SEA
DENMARK
Malmö
Hamburg
Elbe
Berlin
English Channel
Brest
Seine
Paris
KINGDOM OF FRANCE
Lyons
Bordeaux
Bay of Biscay
Santander
Oporto
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
Madrid
SPAIN
Barcelona
Marseilles
SWITZ.
Vienna
Trieste
Venice
Corsica
Rome
SARDINIA
TYRRHENIAN
Sardinia
SEA
Balearic Is.
Gibraltar (Br.)
MEDITERRANEAN
Sicily
Malta
AFRICA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
50°
40°
30°
GENERAL DRAFTING CO. INC. N.Y.

1. E

30°
40°
50°
60°
70°
80°
OCEAN
Kola
Petchora
White Sea
Archangel
Tornea
Kem
Duina
Lake Onega
Perm
Lake Ladoga
Helsingfors
Vologda
St. Petersburg
Gulf of Finland
Volga
Kama
Samara
Orenburg
Pskov
Riga
Moscow
Oka
Duna
RUSSIA
Vilna
KINGDOM OF POLAND
Warsaw
Pripet
Kiev
Kharkov
Dnieper
Volga
Don
Astrakhan
Rostov
Sea of Azov
Crimea
Odessa
Theiss
Bucharest
Danube
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
Sofia
Constantinople
Sea of Marmora
EMPIRE
Smyrna
AEGEAN SEA
Athens
Cyprus
Crete
SEA
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300
50°
40°
30°
80°

N 1789

mans had contested with Slavic peoples coming westward, and in the long struggle German sovereigns had pushed their territories to the eastward, until in the north, in Prussia, perhaps the largest element of the population was Slavic, while in the south Austria had built up a great group of possessions mostly peopled by subject Slavs. The German states, the Germanies, were grouped together in the Holy Roman Empire, an agglomeration of more than three hundred separate, independent states, of which two, Austria and Prussia, were great European powers now; a few others, like Bavaria, were prominent; while altogether less than one hundred were large enough to have any importance, the rest being small free cities or territories of imperial knights. They were loosely held together by old custom, and by the common possession of German language and culture. According to the law of this custom they were all part of a *Reich* ruled by a *Kaiser* whose office was virtually hereditary in the house of Austria. He was the object of much veneration and respect, but his authority was only nominal, except in his own numerous possessions. The rulers of the other states heeded the central government only as they wished, or not at all. In the War of the Spanish Succession Bavaria had been an ally of France, and the Seven Years' War (1756–63) was partly a terrible struggle between Austria and Prussia. As the eighteenth century neared its close Austria still maintained such headship as there was, but in the north Prussia was rising as an ever mightier rival.

The Empire

Austria

Generally speaking the people of these German states were in lowly and humble condition. In the eastern and southern parts, especially, most of them were serfs; nowhere did they have any influence in the affairs of their governments, but were everywhere ruled by sovereigns whether great or petty who were the source of all government and law. Many of these lands had not yet recovered from the effects of the Thirty Years' War (1618–48),

Conditions in the German lands

which had once destroyed most of their wealth and the larger part of the population. Industry had declined, commerce languished, the people were exceedingly poor, and far less well off than the inhabitants of England and of France. Some of the German states, however, were centers of magnificent literary and intellectual activity. It was at Weimar about the close of the eighteenth century that Goethe and Schiller did the greatest writing which has ever been accomplished in German; and it was in the East Prussian city of Königsberg that Immanuel Kant wrote the philosophical works which exhibit him as the foremost thinker since Aristotle's time.

German culture

The Slavs

To the east and the south of the Germanic lands were the Slavic peoples. Some had long before been incorporated into the possessions of German rulers, like the peoples of Bohemia and Moravia, which were governed by the Austrian sovereign. In the Balkan peninsula, the South Slavs had long since been submerged beneath the power of the Turks. To the east of the Austrian and the Prussian possessions was Poland, greatest of the Slavic powers in the Middle Ages, but now near to her end. In Poland a strong central government had never been erected; the authority of the king was but nominal, and power continued, as in medieval times, in the hands of numerous feudal lords, tenacious of old prerogative and extremely jealous of their rights. In the eighteenth century Poland was surrounded by great neighbors and rivals, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, who coveted her lands. Even in the midst of this threatening danger the central government could not become stronger nor did the internal weakness and jealousies end. Accordingly Poland was being destroyed. Already in 1772 the so-called First Partition had taken place, her outlying possessions being seized by her rivals. A little later they took all her remaining dominions.

Poland

Russia

Half of Europe, in many respects the most backward part, was comprised in the great Empire of Russia. During

the Middle Ages the different Slavic peoples who lived upon the great plain of eastern Europe had suffered terrible subjection and degradation from Tartar marauders and Mongol invaders. Gradually, later on, a strong inland state was built up by Russian rulers about Moscow. For a long time the connections of the people were with Asia rather than with the rest of Europe, but in course of time the waters of the Baltic Sea were reached, and after the time of Peter the Great (1682–1725) Russia was an important European power. Afterward a succession of able rulers carried forward her boundaries to the south and the west, so that in the closing years of the eighteenth century she reached the north shore of the Black Sea, and, in another direction, the confines of Austria and Prussia.

The Russian people

Her people, different in race from their neighbors to the west, differed also in religion, the Greek Catholic faith. The Tsar of the Russias was absolute in power; under him were great officials and numerous unimportant nobles; there were a few merchants and artisans in the widely scattered cities; but the immense number of the inhabitants of this great domain were debased and ignorant peasants, living in their lonely little villages on the plain or in the vast forests: dirty, stolid, ignorant, and dreamy, but brave as soldiers in defence of their right, and capable, if ever opportunity came, of rising to better things. The great movements of the French Revolution would not go far enough across Europe to reach them, and the Industrial Revolution was not to get to Russia until late in the nineteenth century; so that for a hundred years more their condition was to change almost not at all.

The Ottoman Empire

Finally, to the south there was the inert bulk of the Ottoman Empire, which once had threatened all peoples near by. From the capital at Constantinople, with its unrivalled position, the Turks ruled broad domains in Asia Minor and beyond, and, in Europe, Greece, all of the

Balkan peninsula, and the country up to the Danube. The strength of their military organization had declined, and their ancient prowess had diminished. Like Spain at the other end of Europe their Empire was sunk in lethargy and decadence. But they still had the power to hold their subject Christian population, and perhaps no other people in Europe lived in quite so lowly a condition as the Southern Slavs of the Balkans.

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CHAPTER II
THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
But to be young was very Heaven! O times,
In which the meagre, stale, forbidding ways
Of custom, law, and statute, took at once
The attraction of a country in romance!
WILLIAM WORDSWORTH, *The Prelude*, XI (1804).

Ah! ça ira, ça ira, ça ira!
Les aristocrat' à la lanterne;
Ah! ça ira, ça ira, ça ira!
Les aristocrat' on les pendra!
Stanza from "ÇA IRA": a song, to the air of "Carillon National," written and sung during the French Revolution.

Les représentants du peuple français constitués en assemblée nationale . . . déclarent . . . ,
Les hommes naissent et demeurent libres et égaux en droits . . .
Le but de toute association politique est la conservation des droits naturels . . . la liberté, la propriété, la sûreté et la résistance à l'oppression . . .
Declaration of the Rights of Man, September 14, 1791, *Archives Parlementaires*, 1st. series, xxxii. 525.

Great epochs in modern history

IN 1789 great changes began that seemed to mark a new epoch in the history of Europe. The movement commenced in France; it is known as the French Revolution. It is one of the four principal things in the history of European civilization since the Middle Ages. The Renaissance in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries brought increased perception of beauty and the excellence of man; it broadened and quickened the minds of many people, and opened the way for exploration of vast realms of thought. In the

sixteenth century the Reformation, a more violent and revolutionary change, attacked a religion that had stood for hundreds of years, led to the establishment of other faiths, and indirectly opened the way for larger intellectual freedom. About the end of the eighteenth century the French Revolution suddenly made the beginning of profound changes in social and political affairs, bringing much cruelty, suffering, loss, and confusion, but sweeping away old institutions, and preparing for self-government and democracy in Europe. Ultimately it affected most of the civilized people of the world. Its larger consequences cannot yet be determined and measured. About the same time, but much less noticed at the start, alteration more profound began in England—the Industrial Revolution. The consequences of that revolution also continue potent and ever-extending.

The French Revolution

No episode in modern history has been more thoroughly studied in all aspects than the French Revolution. Yet the very vastness of knowledge concerning it, the infinity and multiplicity of details, make judgment about various important questions very difficult yet. There can still be wide divergence of opinion as to whether the revolution was foreseen and inevitable or little foretold and largely accidental. From 1789 down to the present there have been opposing schools of thought, one maintaining that it was of immeasurable benefit and nearly all good, the other that it did much harm and brought very much evil. Only the shallow and little-informed will think the problem simple and of certain solution.

A complex problem

In after times, when the French Revolution had attracted men's attention in largest measure, students looking back over records of the past could collect much testimony that things were evil, that remedy had to be found, that innovation was coming, that an old era was approaching its end. Yet in this present generation, especially since 1914, an active group of the radical and the

Inevitable or largely fortuitous

discontented constantly proclaim that capitalism and existing methods of government and organization have failed, that present civilization is rotten and ready to fall, that a great revolution is approaching to overthrow that which is, then regenerate the world. It may be so, but probably most people ascribe present ills largely to the ruin wrought by the Great War, expecting much recovery with time, with patience, with good work. Generally men and women, perhaps, expect no revolution, and the most liberal are made more conservative now by them who constantly cry revolution. So, in the eighteenth century, while many omens and prophecies can be assembled by patient research, the mass of it all is small compared with other contemporary information about eighteenth-century life. Some were discontented and proposed various reforms; but so it had been in the seventeenth century, and in many centuries before. Most people, as things go in this world, were not greatly discontented, and few seem to have had forebodings of any terrible storm. In 1753 Lord Chesterfield visiting France thought he perceived all the symptoms which past history showed to precede "great changes and revolutions in government." But in 1756 he was very sure that the ruin of Great Britain was at hand.

Testimony of the time preceding

In a certain sense now it is proper to assert that the French Revolution in all its aspects was inevitable: it did take place, and evidently a long series of causes prepared the way for its coming. Especially must this be maintained by all those whose mental attitude inclines them to believe in predestination or fate. To others it will seem more probable that judged in terms of human intelligence there is much of the accidental in the results brought forth from the infinitude of factors and forces that make up the life of mankind—much that might have been different except for some small thing. They will judge that general conditions of life in western Europe during the eighteenth

Causation and sequence in history

century were surely conducing to changes, that alteration for the better was bound to be made. The sudden convulsions and the violent overthrow came very largely from the incompetence of the French government, and especially from the weakness of the monarch who reigned then. Further, because of this very excess and violence the French Revolution was largely a failure. Could the changes have been conducted more slowly, with more moderation and design, much suffering and misery might have been spared, larger reforms secured, the inevitable reaction would have been less, and changes would not in some places—as in England—have been so long delayed. To this it will always be answered that without violence and sudden overthrow such mighty changes could never have been accomplished so quickly.

Violent revolution

The government of France toward the end of the eighteenth century was essentially the government that had been fashioned by Richelieu and Louis XIV in the century preceding. Nobles and clergy retained certain rights. The various *parlements* (law courts)—particularly the *parlement* of Paris, watched jealously over old customary rights. In some of the provinces—especially Artois, Brittany, Burgundy, Languedoc, and Flanders—the medieval estates continued to assemble, with some little power. Essentially, however, the government of France was vested in the king. He was at the head of all executive, administrative, and legislative work. He appointed the judges and officials. He levied the taxes and directed expenditure of the public money. He was commander-in-chief of the army and commander-in-chief of the navy. Foreign affairs were completely under him, as well as all things relating to war and to peace. Generally speaking, what pleased the king was law.

French government of the Old Régime: the king

The vast work of governing so ample a kingdom as France could not be carried on by one man, however able. Most of governance was actually in the hands of the

Ministers and councils

councillors and ministers of the king—servants of the king, appointed by him, and always subject to his pleasure. The principal ministers were generally, though not always, nobles. They were the chancellor, the various secretaries of state, and the controller general of the finances. These ministers and others formed the *conseil privé* or *conseil des parties*, a body of about forty members, besides some eighty lawyers (*maîtres des requêtes*), corresponding roughly to the privy council of Great Britain. The king was usually not present at its meetings. Its work was largely judicial. The principal executive and administrative work was done in smaller councils—originally offshoots or committees of the privy council—made up of the principal ministers only—most of the principal ministers were members of several of these small higher councils—meeting in the presence of the king, in the royal apartments. The *conseil d'état* (council of state), known as the *conseil d'en haut* (upper council), was much like the English cabinet of a hundred years before. Under the king it considered and decided the important matters of state—largely foreign. The *conseil des depêches* (council of despatches) managed internal affairs, meeting also in the presence of the king. The *conseil des finances* directed all matters of revenue and taxation. In the hands of the councillors and ministers, under the king, was the government of France. This machinery was not sufficient. However the great ministers might labor the task was too great. A larger bureaucracy and government organization were needed. Much business was always in arrears.

Conseil d'état

The central government controlled local as well as general matters. The local divisions revealed the past history of the construction of the French state, and they still contained many of the relics of the past. The kingdom was divided into *gouvernements* (governments), roughly corresponding to the historic fiefs or provinces by the absorption of which the French monarchy had grown.

Local government

Each one was under a governor, originally military representative of the king, but by the end of the eighteenth century holding only a sinecure with duties merely formal. Still earlier, smaller divisions had been made—*bailliages* (bailiwicks), each under a *bailli*, and *sénéchaussées*, each under a *sénéchal*. These smaller divisions, like the English parishes, remained, but the functions of their officers had become obsolete entirely. Under Richelieu the effective delegate of royal authority in the provinces was the *intendant* (steward), and so it remained to the end of the Old Régime. The jurisdiction of each *intendant* was known as a *généralité* (area of taxation), in each of which was a group of officials dealing with the finances, known as *généraux des finances*. Actually in the *généralité* the *intendant* was all-powerful. Louis XIV had once instructed the *intendants* that they were to see that the royal edicts were carried out and obeyed, supervise the police and the administration of civil and criminal justice, and take care of all matters that concerned the prosperity and security of the subject. In the eighteenth century a certain one observed: "This kingdom of France is governed by thirty *intendants*." In practice, the *intendant* was usually to be found in Paris, managing his more important affairs at the center of power. In administration he was, in most cases, assisted by several *subdélégués* (sub-delegates) each of whom was immediately in charge of a district known as an *élection*, from the fact that over its fiscal affairs were certain officials known as *élus* (chosen or appointed). Provinces in which the fiscal matters were managed by *élus* were known as *pays d'élection*. Those which had preserved their local estates (*états*) were the *pays d'états*—in them there were no *élus*. The local estates had no longer much real power, and nearly all local government, even most of the petty affairs of the smallest divisions, were in the hands of the *intendants* and their councils, and were largely supervised from Paris.

The *intendants*

Provincial administration

Courts and administration of justice

Justice was administered in a great number of courts. A system of ecclesiastical courts here, as in many other places, dealt out ecclesiastical law. There was still a vast number of feudal courts, as there had been in medieval France and in medieval England. The lords of these courts had, some of them, *haute justice* (high justice)—cognizance of civil and some criminal causes; *moyenne justice* (middle justice)—a jurisdiction of varying extent; and *basse justice* (low justice)—which dealt only with petty cases. For the most part important business had long before been drawn to the royal courts, but the feudal courts still remained. Of the royal courts the highest were the *parlements*, of which there were now thirteen.

The *parlements*

Of them the *parlement* of Paris, with jurisdiction over half the population of France, was the most important. The others were in the principal cities and districts of the kingdom. They were not merely the highest judicial bodies in France, but they registered royal edicts and pretended to some legislative and administrative power. Next below them were the *présidiaux*—with inferior civil and criminal jurisdiction, and beneath them the courts of the various *bailliages* and *sénéchaussées*. In different parts of France were administered some three hundred and sixty varieties of law—customary, written, and Roman. Hence, there was much confusion, and much resultant delay and expense. Codification and simplification of the law in France had long been very greatly needed.

Revenue and taxation

The government was supported by revenue derived from various sources. Once, as elsewhere, the income from the king's *domaine* or landed estates had been the principal means of support. This had long ceased to be so, and the main reliance was now put upon what were in origin extraordinary grants. Most important was the *taille* or land tax. From it the nobility and the clergy were exempt. Generally speaking, it was paid by the non-noble landholders, the third estate, but it had for a great while

been possible as well as desirable to escape it. Magistrates, court officials, university men, towns, corporations had for the most part arranged advantageously for their payments, or had paid a lump sum to escape future payment altogether. The total amount therefore declined relatively at the same time that the burden became heavier on those who remained to pay it. The total was fixed each year by the royal council. The quota of each parish was presently determined, and the various property-holders locally assessed. It was often very difficult to collect the total demanded. About the end of the seventeenth century had been established the *capitation* or poll-tax, to be paid by the head of each family. All the community was liable, and the amount varied in accordance with rank or with wealth. By periodical payment of a *don gratuit* (free gift) and payment of a lump sum the clergy had purchased exemption from this tax. The *vingtième* (twentieth) was a tithe levied from time to time upon real and personal property. Personal property largely, as so often afterward, escaped, and the wealthier classes were able to procure for themselves low assessment. There were various *aides* (aids)—internal revenue taxes, like the English excise. From them various communities had purchased partial or complete exemption. There was also the *gabelle* or salt tax, derived from the monopoly which the government maintained with respect to the sale of salt. In France salt was sold by the government under various restrictions and regulations and at different prices in various parts of the country. Nearly 50,000 troops and agents were employed to suppress contraband trade. The yield was some 60,000,000 *livres* (*francs*), the cost of collection about one third of the whole.

Taille

Capitation

Vingtième

Gabelle

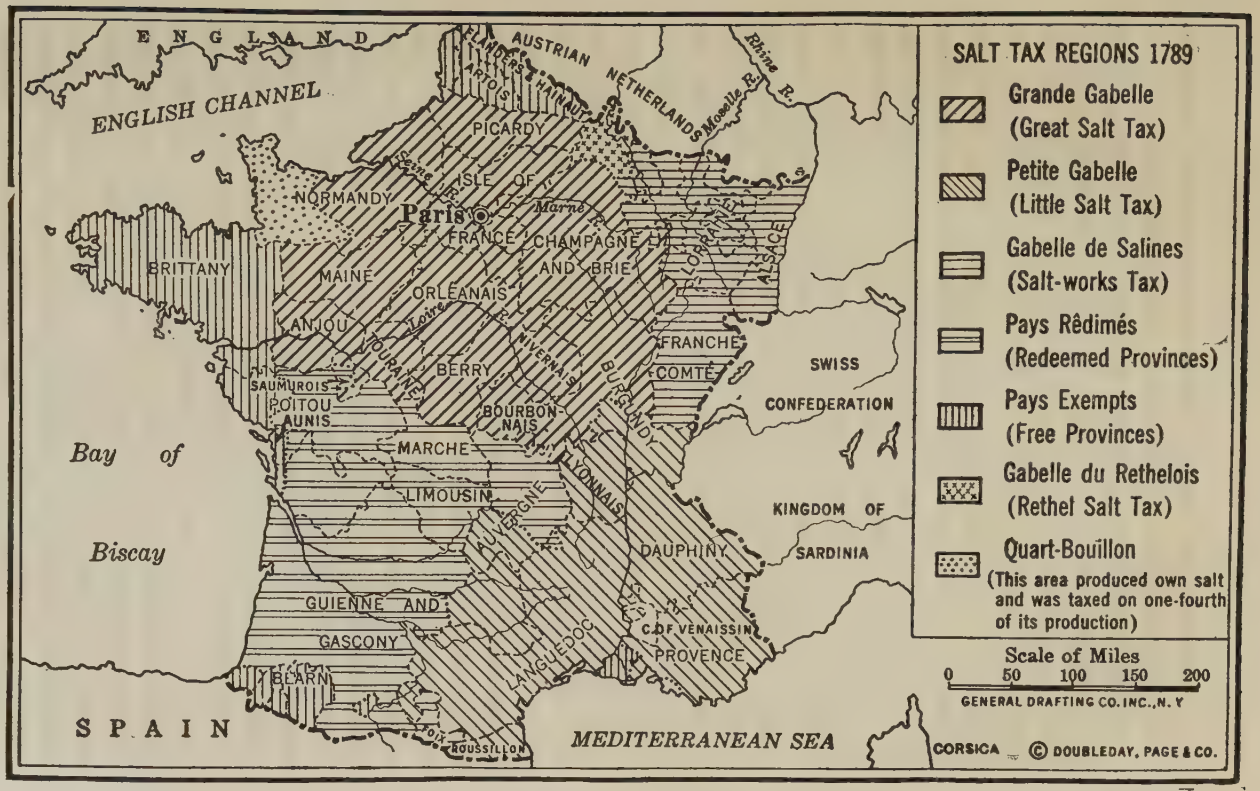
The total amount of taxation was well within the capacity of the French people to bear. Much more was easily paid during the generation that followed 1789.

The net revenue insufficient

But since the wealthier or more important people steadily purchased exemption, those remaining, with less capacity, found French taxation grievous and hateful. At the same time the state could not obtain revenue enough. Numerous taxes were farmed out, in order to spare the trouble of collection, but the *fermiers généraux* were so corrupt and inefficient that they became a by-word; and in general a large part of the taxes disappeared in the process and for the expense of collection. The government was constantly pressed for money, and constantly resorting to such desperate expedients as lessening the value of the coin or borrowing at ruinous rates. According to the *comte rendu* (statement rendered) of 1788, presented to the king just before he decided to summon the states general, the annual expenses were 633,000,000 *livres*, the ordinary gross receipts 472,000,000 *livres*, of which a considerable part never reached the exchequer. Revenues were being anticipated far into the following year and even into the year succeeding.

Conditions in France

In the latter part of the eighteenth century the condition of Frenchmen generally was much better than that of most people in the German and the Slav lands, as well as of those in Italy and in Spain. Yet the condition of many of them in respect of the increasing humaneness of the time, and especially from the point of view of better conditions afterward developed, was grievous enough. France of the Old Régime was a land of established privilege for some and of lowly life for a much greater number. The contrast between conditions at that time and now is often represented as so great that the student is brought to think the old conditions resulted from great tyranny and wickedness of rulers then; but it is necessary to remember that these conditions had most of them come down through a long course of centuries in natural development or tenacious survival; that a hundred and fifty years ago they existed for the most part nearly everywhere



2. MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS OF FRANCE AND THE GABELLE

in the world; and that at present much misery and depression continue despite efforts to remove them.

The nobility

At the end of the eighteenth century, in France, as in almost every European country then, there was a nobility that constituted the upper class. The number of the nobles was estimated by Taine at 140,000. Others believe it to have been no more than 100,000, that is about four to every thousand of the 23,000,000 or more which is believed to have been the total population of France then. A recent authority puts the number at 400,000. This *noblesse* was more numerous than the English nobility, since it comprehended not only what would have been considered the nobility in England—the greater nobles, but also the gentry—the lesser nobles and their connections. It was much less numerous than the Polish nobility about the same time, that embraced, perhaps, 1,350,000 out of 9,000,000. The French nobility was in some respects a caste, but entrance into this select body from the outside was easily possible, either by favor of the crown, or by purchase of one of many offices under the government. As in Poland and in some other places, a small number of these nobles were rich, living in magnificence and ostentation, but the great majority possessed little land and had very little wealth. Nobles were debarred by position from engaging in trade. They were also by the policy of the crown deprived of political power and largely excluded from political office. For most of them there was no career except in the army or the navy, where promotion was tardy and the rate of pay low. Most of them had scanty revenue from landed estates, and a larger income derived from seignorial rights. Pride and prejudice forbade a noble to descend to marriage with a wealthy person of lower class, though there were many exceptions. Molière, in his play *George Dandin* (1668), had depicted the proud but impoverished noble family whose daughter had married a *bourgeois*.

Position of the *noblesse*

Character

The French *noblesse* were altogether in unfortunate position. On the whole, they seem to have been narrow, conservative, tenacious of their rights, but generally frugal, honorable, and proper. The famous description in Dickens's *Tale of Two Cities* probably represents only a little of their life. Yet, by the end of the eighteenth century they were widely disliked in France because of arrogance and lordly pose, because of their enforcement of burdensome feudal rights, and because of their obvious futility. They did not, as did the nobles and the gentry in Great Britain, manage the central and the local government. Deprived of most of the power that once they had had, the French nobles lived in isolation and even in disunion one from the other. There were many feuds and jealousies among them. Ancient aristocrats despised newer nobles. Those of the sword, whose position had come from military service, looked down upon nobles of the robe, who filled great judicial positions. When revolution came the *noblesse* had but little power to defend themselves and few friends to stand forward for them.

Futility, weakness, and division

The church

More powerful and important was the church, custodian of the Roman Catholic religion—the only faith allowed by law in the land. It was the giver or supervisor of almost all education. It was possessor of great wealth and of one fifth of the soil of France, some say. Its total revenues have been estimated at 200,000,000 *livres*, of which about half came from landed estates, not very well managed, and half from the tithe, a payment or share—twelfth, fifteenth, or twentieth—paid by certain property-holders subject to this obligation.

The greater clergy

The total number of the clergy may have been 130,000: about 60,000 monks, friars, and nuns; 60,000 parish priests and curates: perhaps 10,000 other secular clergy. Some of the monasteries and religious houses were very wealthy; some of the greater clergy had wide estates and very large incomes, and lived in great magnificence and

renown. Most of the parish priests had small income, and lived hard, laborious, and useful lives. The clergy were exempt from such taxes as the *taille*, and had cheaply purchased exemption from the *capitation* and *vingtième* by paying down large sums to the crown in time of financial emergency. Every five years, however, the clergy granted the crown a subsidy (*don gratuit*), and in time of war or unusual need they sometimes made additional grants. As had once been the case in England, the French clergy possessed a certain amount of self-government. In their national assembly they made regulations and voted the *don gratuit*. They had also sixteen provincial assemblies.

Decadence of the church in France

The French church had entered on a period of decline. The religious orders were generally lazy and seemingly useless. Some of the higher clergy lived splendid and dissolute lives. As in the sixteenth century in England, the wealth of the religious corporations was envied by others. The great body of the parish priests were loved by the people in whose midst they worked. They generally disapproved of the more privileged of their own order, and during the earlier stages of the French Revolution acted with the *bourgeoisie* against the nobles and higher clergy.

The *bourgeoisie*

Beside, in some respects below, the nobles and the churchmen, were the *bourgeoisie*, the French middle class, less numerous and important than the middle class in Great Britain then, but greater than the *bourgeoisie* of any other country except the Netherlands, and perhaps more important than the middle class in Russia before the recent revolution. In England then the middle class embraced in addition to manufacturers, traders, and professional men, many substantial yeomen and tenant farmers. In France the *bourgeoisie* were almost entirely urban—merchants, traders, manufacturers or masters in the guilds, lawyers, physicians, bankers. The population of the cities then has been estimated at about 2,000,000; but of this total many were in the lowest class.

Their power

The *bourgeoisie*, more than the nobles and the upper churchmen, had the brains, the intelligence, the capacity for leadership in the realm. They were able to obtain good education. They filled most of the important and well-paid offices in the state. They managed the public revenue, and farmed the indirect taxes. Generally they held little land, and for various reasons did not attempt to possess land; but otherwise they owned most of the capital in the country. They held the bulk of the public debt. Many a noble or churchman was debtor to them. For the most part they could obtain exemption from military service. Whereas the nobles and the greater clergy were relaxed and decadent, the burghers not only had many special privileges of their own, but to some extent they made their position for themselves and kept it by hard and capable work. They also profited by special privileges and exclusive right. The "masters" of the guilds practically monopolized industry and trade, and were able to avoid changes and keep out the competition of others who wanted to share in their profits. In France, as in other continental countries then, the guild system lasted long after its older usefulness was over, still able to prevent such changes as made the Industrial Revolution in England.

Energy and vigor

The *bourgeoisie* were greatly discontented, and desired large change and reform. They resented their exclusion for the most part from military, naval, and, diplomatic positions, and were embittered at the arrogance of some of the nobles. They looked upon the existing system of government as corrupt, inefficient, and wasteful. They hoped for local self-government in the cities and the towns, and they believed that the English system of limited monarchy and parliamentary institutions should be copied for the government in Paris. Many were filled with the noble and humane ideas so widely taught in France at this time, and with much enthusiastic idealism

The *bourgeoisie* discontented

and complete inexperience of government they had no misgivings about the difficulty of making alteration, and no fear of any larger revolution made by the masses below. The *bourgeoisie* were to be the principal leaders, first and last, in the French Revolution approaching.

The lowest classes: town proletariat

Nine tenths of all the French people made up the lowest class, which comprised the peasants and the laborers in the towns. The town workers had no chance, as a rule, ever to rise in their trades or better their condition. As in most other towns then, they dwelt huddled in poverty and lowly living. From among them—as in all other such movements—were to come some of the wildest and most terrible of the mobs of the Revolution. More than four fifths of the population of France, some 20,000,000 people, were peasants employed in agriculture. Save in some of the northern provinces there was scarcely anywhere a middle-class rural population. Taxation bore heavily upon non-noble rural holders, and such a proprietor was liable especially to the tax *franc-fief*, so that the *bourgeoisie* kept to the towns.

The peasants

For the most part the French peasants were now personally free—not many more than a million still being serfs, and they mostly in Alsace and Lorraine. In some respects the condition of the French peasants was better than that of the corresponding class in England at that time. They had long been purchasing their land. Just before the French Revolution it has been estimated that one fifth of the soil of France belonged to the crown, one fifth to the church, one fifth to the nobles, and nearly two fifths to the peasants; while Arthur Young, the contemporary English traveller, supposed that they held one third.

Many were small landowners

There was a vast number of petty holdings, and the number was constantly being increased through further purchase. Some have even conjectured that the number of small holdings of land was as great in France before the Revolution as it ever was after that time, the extensive estates of the church and the nobility

confiscated and sold during the Revolution being divided then, so they say, not among the peasants but among wealthy buyers. A large number of peasants who had not obtained their own land, worked land which they held of nobles as *metayers*, paying the owner half of the yield of the crops. Others were merely rural laborers toiling on the greater estates.

Condition of the peasants

Often in the past the condition of the French peasants has been represented as grievous and dreadful, as one of the principal causes of the French Revolution. Travellers like Arthur Young, and Frenchmen like Rousseau and D'Argenson, wrote accounts of misery and hunger and dull despair, so horrible to modern readers as to make a revolution seem not to be avoided. To some extent, however, these accounts concern exceptional conditions; to some extent they are in contrast with exceptional conditions elsewhere known to the writers, or with ideal circumstances which they hoped might be. It must be remembered also that agriculture and rural life have always been subject to vicissitudes or misfortune or temporary depression. It seems certain that in the latter years of the eighteenth century rural conditions in France were better than almost anywhere else in Europe. The farm workers had lowly position, but as good for the most part as that of the rural laborers in England, and better than that of peasants elsewhere. The *metayers* frequently repined at the share which they must give the landlord, while he himself received insufficient rent. Young, who was expert in all matters relating to farming, considered the share system a very poor one; but it had for a long time existed and has often been used since then. The small proprietors, like the Russian peasants in the nineteenth century, suffered much from the very smallness of their holdings and from further subdivision of the patches of their ground among the families' children.

Relatively good

What the peasants found most onerous were the seig-

Seigniorial obligations

norial burdens that rested upon them all, for most of the proprietors had not purchased freeholds exempt from feudal dues, but had the position of the English copyholders, possessing subject to seignorial obligations. Crops must be sold in the lord's market, corn ground in his mill, bread baked in his oven, grapes crushed in his wine-press, for all of which the peasants must pay prescribed dues. There was also the *corvée seigneuriale*, or claim for a certain amount of unpaid labor. There were in addition various *péages seigneuriales*—tolls levied on the roads or rivers of the neighborhood for the *seigneur*.

Rights of the lords

In France, as elsewhere, the nobility had the sole right to hunt and kill game: the peasants must assist them, but they were debarred by game laws from interfering with the rabbits or the deer which often fattened on their crops. In some places the peasant labored under more restrictions and burdens than elsewhere, the obligations varying according to old local customs come down from the time when France was a land of feudal divisions. Under these servilities the peasants chafed. Often the lord could enforce his rights only as the result of much annoyance or legal proceeding.

Burdens upon the peasants

Furthermore, upon the peasants fell a disproportionate share of the taxes, since the upper classes were either exempt, or were at times able to purchase exemption. Peasants paid most of the *taille*, most of the *gabelle*, most of the *capitation*, and the work taxes or *corvées*. Worse still, their gain was lessened by the numerous restrictions on trade, for there still remained numerous towns and jurisdictions that levied tolls and customs (*traites*) on goods passing by. And finally agriculture had been as yet little improved, and remained not very productive; so that under the best conditions then existing the French peasants could not have obtained large surplus or procured themselves any large profit.

The eighteenth century had followed the seventeenth

Large general changes

in bringing many changes that conduced not necessarily to revolution but to large alteration and reform. Religious prejudice was waning, and increase of scientific knowledge was altering the outlook of numerous people. Slowly men and women—at least those in the upper intellectual classes—were becoming less fanatical, more humane, more sympathetic, more considerate of the feelings of others, and more interested in their condition. Punishments were still barbarous, and horrible torture was used; but in 1764 the Marquis Cesare di Beccaria of Milan not only condemned all use of torture but advocated abolishing the death penalty as well. During the second half of the eighteenth century in France and in various other countries near by the standard of living was rising for an increasing number of people, so that more and more men and women knew of better things, aspired to better things, and wished better conditions for others. In France a school of economic thinkers, the Physiocrats (physiocracy —rule of nature), busied themselves with formulating doctrines for the betterment of the state and the life of the people. Their leader, François Quesnay, whose *Tableau Économique* (Economic Scheme) appeared in 1758, discussed "natural laws," about the conditions that would secure for man the greatest well-being.

New standards and views

Liberals and radical thinkers

During the eighteenth century, as during the seventeenth, the sixteenth, and others, radicals and the discontented proposed sweeping changes. Then, as always, most people were in the main content with what existed in their time, or else were too much preoccupied to think about changes; but a minority, as always, greatly despised what existed, and predicted revolution and reform. In France this had begun notably in the later years of Louis XIV, when that monarch's glory was fading. Fénelon (1651–1715), archbishop of Cambrai, declared that the despotism of the king was odious, and that without a constitution and parliamentary government, revolution would later on

come. The Count de Boulainvilliers (1658–1722) wrote works, published after his death, in which he affirmed that the despotic power of the crown had all come by usurpation of the rights of the nobles.

Montesquieu

In 1721 appeared Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes* (Persian Letters) and in 1748 his *De l'Esprit des Lois* (Spirit of the Laws), in which he criticized the abuses of government, and expounded the excellence of a constitution—like England's, he said—where the executive was checked and limited by judiciary and legislature.

Voltaire

In 1734 appeared Voltaire's *Lettres Philosophiques sur les Anglais* (Philosophic Letters concerning the English). In this and in other writings during the next forty years he attacked the church, and less directly the state, heaping ridicule and discredit upon them, and often holding up what he believed was the superior system in England.

D'Argenson

The Marquis d'Argenson (1694–1757) was the author of a work, *Considérations sur le Gouvernement de la France*, published after his death (1764), in which he advocated reform in government, with equal laws and opportunities for all. In 1774 Diderot asserted that the existing system was encumbered with absurd regulations that violated the laws of nature, and that generally princes were employed in making more grievous the servitude of their subjects.

Effects of critical and radical writing

It is probable that none of this writing had directly any influence on the mass of the people. Perhaps at the time not even in Scotland or in Holland could as many as half the people read and write, and elsewhere literacy was much less widely extended. But opinions of radicalism, discontent, and doubt were read by the upper intellectual classes, and gradually the influence of them was very important. Writers like Voltaire and Diderot, who long heaped ridicule and contempt upon existing institutions, gradually caused many of those in positions of authority or importance to lose faith in the world around them and to doubt the validity of what they upheld. In course of time the intellectual

and moral resistance of a great many of these people was weakened; they affected contempt for their government and laws; and without seriously contemplating very much change talked lightly of large alteration.

"Nature" and "natural laws"

In this period there was much discussion of natural laws and of a state of nature that once had prevailed but was lost now through man's evil work. Such ideas are very old: most peoples have thought of some golden age, of the better times of the past. Nature and the laws of nature were discussed by the sophists among the Greeks, and later on by the Stoics, whose ideas were applied by the lawyers of Rome. Such conceptions were embodied in the Christian religion and were written of by medieval churchmen. It was in accordance with alleged laws of nature that the Dutch had renounced their allegiance to Spain (1581). During the sixteenth century Jesuits like Mariana and Huguenots like Hotman had enlarged upon them. And they had entered into the ideas of law and international law as expounded by Grotius and Selden.

In the eighteenth century

In the eighteenth century supposed natural laws and state of nature occasioned much attempted philosophic writing. Such was the basis of the system of the Physiocrats. A certain Morelly went further: he declared that nature intended all things to be held in common. Most influential was Rousseau whose marvelous eloquence aroused men's sympathy and feeling. He was a man of much weakness, often contemptible in his character, yet in some respects of great moral strength, and of great intellectual daring. Long before, the Christian church had taught the essential equality of men before God. In the seventeenth century some Englishmen expounded the doctrine that men were equal in the state, and should govern themselves. Their efforts soon failed—save in America whither some of them went—and their writings won little attention. Now their doctrines were taken up by Rousseau and others and stated with an earnestness

The teachings of Rousseau

and a brilliancy that everywhere attracted a following. In 1754 appeared his *Discours sur l'Inégalité des Conditions* (Discourse concerning Inequality of Conditions); in 1762 *Le Contrat Social* (The Social Contract). "Man," said Rousseau, "was born free; he is everywhere now in chains." Man could not alienate his freedom for that was his right. Civilization and the government which some men had imposed upon others had in course of time reduced most people to misery and subjection. The remedy was return to the state of nature. All men ought to be free, and government in the hands of the people.

Development of ideas about equality and democracy

Rousseau was the greatest of the earlier exponents of democracy. His ideas were read and mildly approved by many of the upper classes, who believed that it would be very good if such things could be, though many felt sure that they could not. Most people of consequence then believed that aristocracy and inequality must always exist; but more and more people began to dream now in some vague way of the world being so bettered that there might be freedom and equality and happiness for all. In America men, inspired by Rousseau but much more by earlier English writings, wrote these ideas into the Declaration of Independence; and in France a few years later such ideas came to be the basic principles of the French Revolution. All through the nineteenth century there was steady growth of democracy, and one of the greatest things in that period was the effort to see whether doctrines of democracy could be realized completely. During the French Revolution men made reforms with respect to liberty, fraternity, and equality; but after a while much of their most radical work was swept away in reaction. In the United States people held ever more steadfastly to their belief that democracy had succeeded completely, that it would be the portion of European people in happier times to come. European thinkers pointed out that democratic success in America was owing in no small part

Extension of the democratic dogma

to the free land which men might have for the taking. The real test, they said, would come in the twentieth century when all of this land was possessed. In 1917, however, when the United States entered the Great War, her people had come to believe that the struggle was a final contest between an autocratic and a democratic system.

The "enlightened despots"

In the second half of the eighteenth century philosophic doctrines and ideas greatly moved rulers and statesmen, and some of them endeavored to effect very large and drastic reforms. This work was carried out by the so-called "enlightened despots." In Portugal the Marquis of Pombal made reforms with the zeal of a ruthless dictator. In Spain Charles III was the most liberal and enlightened sovereign who had ruled that country for generations. In England there was a movement of much promise for parliamentary reform. Some amendment was made in Piedmont, and Tuscany became the best governed country in Europe. In Prussia, Frederick the Great, believing though he did in divine right of monarchs, yet deemed himself the servant of his people, and strove unceasingly to make their lot better. In the Hapsburg dominions Joseph II tried by despotic pronouncement to effect some of the sweeping alterations made a little later by revolution in France. In France itself the aged Louis XV sank ever lower in debauchery and sloth, but his successor was from the first interested in plans for amelioration.

The American Revolution

At this time in the outlying European communities in North America occurred a revolution that profoundly affected European thinkers. In 1775 thirteen colonies of Great Britain revolted. Next year they proclaimed independence, appealing to the law of nature, asserting that all men were free and equal, and proclaiming that evil government might be overthrown. The Spanish authorities and Catherine II of Russia both clearly saw that this was a dangerous stroke at established authority and divine

right; but England, very proud and successful then, was unpopular all over Europe, and not a few European rulers viewed the efforts of the rebels with approval. In France there was much generous sympathy for a people struggling, as they said, for their freedom. Moreover, burning resentment against Britain because of recent defeat in the Seven Years' War determined the French government to give assistance and so damage her rival. In 1783 Great Britain was compelled to acknowledge the independence of the United States. All Europe beheld the spectacle of a people who had asserted natural rights and overthrown a government that displeased them. Very profound was the impression in France. Some of the French officers coming back were critical of the American country and people, but most of those who saw service in the Revolutionary War returned filled with ideas about how a people had overthrown a government they conceived to oppress them, setting up a new system in conformity with the laws of nature and resting on assent of the people themselves. It was not long now before revolution spread into Europe.

Effect in France

The revolution begins in France

The great revolution began in France. It was once said that this was because Frenchmen were fickle and, unlike the English, easily inclined toward violent disturbance. Actually most Frenchmen, like most other people, have generally been conservative and slow to make changes. About the end of the eighteenth century Americans and Frenchmen had their revolutionary period, since when they have become very conservative again. In the seventeenth century the English were looked upon as the most radical people in Europe; and, after a long interval, at the present time, many of them are tending to be so again. It has also been said that the revolution began in France because conditions there were better than in most of the countries of Europe. It is not among the most downtrodden people that revolutions usually begin—unless the oppressive government has been completely overthrown

by enemies outside—but among those who, free of the worst grievances, are impatient of those that remain. Yet conditions were even better in Holland, or Tuscany, or in Great Britain, and the revolutionary movement began in none of these places. It may be that it did not begin in Britain because the English people had had their revolutions in 1641 and 1688. Probably had there been a powerful government or a government of strength and decision in France such alteration as came there now would have been mild like that in England in 1688—changes important but not radical and utterly subversive. In 1789, however, the government of France was a despotism vested entirely in the king and the officials beneath him. The king, Louis XVI (1774–1792), was an honest and well-intentioned young man, but heavy and irresolute, lacking in wisdom, lacking in strength and decision, desirous of being liberal and wishing himself to initiate reforms, but lacking the judgment to carry them through and easily frightened into abandoning his projects entirely.

Because conditions were relatively good but needed reform

Because the government was weak

When Louis XVI came to the throne the French government was just beginning to recover from the ruin that followed the Seven Years' War. None the less, the old fiscal system had been slowly breaking down, and the country had been drifting toward bankruptcy. Then in 1778, to have revenge upon England and curb her power, France assisted the Americans to obtain independence. She won the war, but financial ruin was completed. Two great ministers and masters of finance, Turgot and Necker, saw that only by thorough-going reforms could the monarchy again become solvent; but the privileged classes, at whose expense such reforms must be made, interfered, and caused their dismissal. In 1789 the public debt amounted to 4,467,000,000 *livres*, almost all of which represented expenditures made in the past for things that now yielded no revenue and did no service. The annual charge for interest was 236,000,000 *livres*. The net receipts into the

Costly assistance to the revolted Americans

Ruin of the French finances

exchequer were 212,000,000 *livres*—less than the yearly interest payment alone. The deficit, which was constantly increasing, was supplied by anticipating revenue for subsequent years—as the Spanish government of the seventeenth century had done; by selling future exemptions from taxation—which inevitably lowered the revenue of the future; and by borrowing at rates ever increasing. By 1788 it had become difficult to borrow anything more. This desperate financial emergency was the immediate cause of the French Revolution That the emergency was allowed so to develop, and once begun was allowed to go on to the cataclysm that followed, was owing to the incompetence of the government and to the weakness and vacillation of the king.

The king advised to call the states general

Already in 1786 financial difficulties of the government were so great that Louis XVI called an assembly of the notables—principal nobles, clergy, magistrates, and officials. They met next year, but could give little help, for they were unwilling themselves to pay any large share of the taxes. Like a similar body in England just before the Puritan Revolution, they were able to suggest nothing better than that the king call the parliament of the realm. In the Middle Ages, when the English parliament was developing, similar bodies were developing in France and in Spain. In Spain they had long since virtually disappeared, and in France the *états généraux* or the states general, representative of the three great estates or classes—clergy, nobles, and commons—had not been assembled since 1614. Few remembered what they had been or knew now what they could do, but in 1788 Louis was advised to have them come and give counsel. Hunger, discontent, and unrest were abroad in France, and the king was glad to attempt this remedy in hope of assistance.

So long had it been since the states general were summoned that men scarcely recalled the necessary form and procedure. Pamphleteers and politicians now busied them-

selves circulating information about what the states were or should be. In older times the assembly had been but little check upon royal power, and Louis probably feared no great trouble from it now. On the other hand, extravagant expectations were at once aroused, and many changes proposed or demanded. Presently the government issued regulations for the elections, modelling them upon those used in the convocation of 1614. The electoral divisions were to be the old *bailliages* and *sénéchaussés*. The franchise was to be very wide, wider than in any great election ever held before. In the first estate, the greater clergy were to vote directly, the lesser indirectly, for their representatives to be sent to meet the king. For the second estate, the nobles, there was to be equal and universal suffrage. For the third estate—now roughly understood to be the mass of the people, and not merely the burghers—there was to be almost universal suffrage for men, since every Frenchman, of the age of twenty-five or more, who paid any taxes, might vote for representatives of this order. As a result of the elections there was presently chosen a body of 1214 men. There were 308 clergy, 285 nobles, 621 representatives of the third estate. The clergy were deeply divided, for the greater were opposed and disliked by the lower—twice as numerous. The nobles were also divided by a bitter feud—provincial nobles against those of the court. In the lower order most of the representatives were of the middle class—lawyers, merchants, bankers, officials. The third estate had in the past been the least important, but now there was current the idea that it much more than the others represented the nation. A certain Mounier heaped scorn upon the old constitution of the *états généraux*, and another, Sieyès, writing a pamphlet, which at once attracted very wide attention, *Qu'est-ce-que le Tiers État?* (What is the Third Estate?), expounded the doctrine that it was everything, though it had in the past been nothing.

The election of the *états généraux*

Result of the elections

The *cahiers*

May 5, 1789, the states general met near the palace of Versailles—some distance outside of Paris—and listened to a speech from the king. The delegates themselves, especially in the third estate, had brought with them *cahiers* (memorials or reports), which recounted alleged evils and demanded or suggested reforms. The *cahiers* embody much discontent, protest, and hope, but they also reflect contemporary conditions and on the whole portray the aspirations of a great number of the people of France. Many of them were drawn up under the influence of the new liberal and radical teachings. Ultimately, most of the demands contained in the *cahiers* were carried out in reforms or changes later on.

Demands for reform

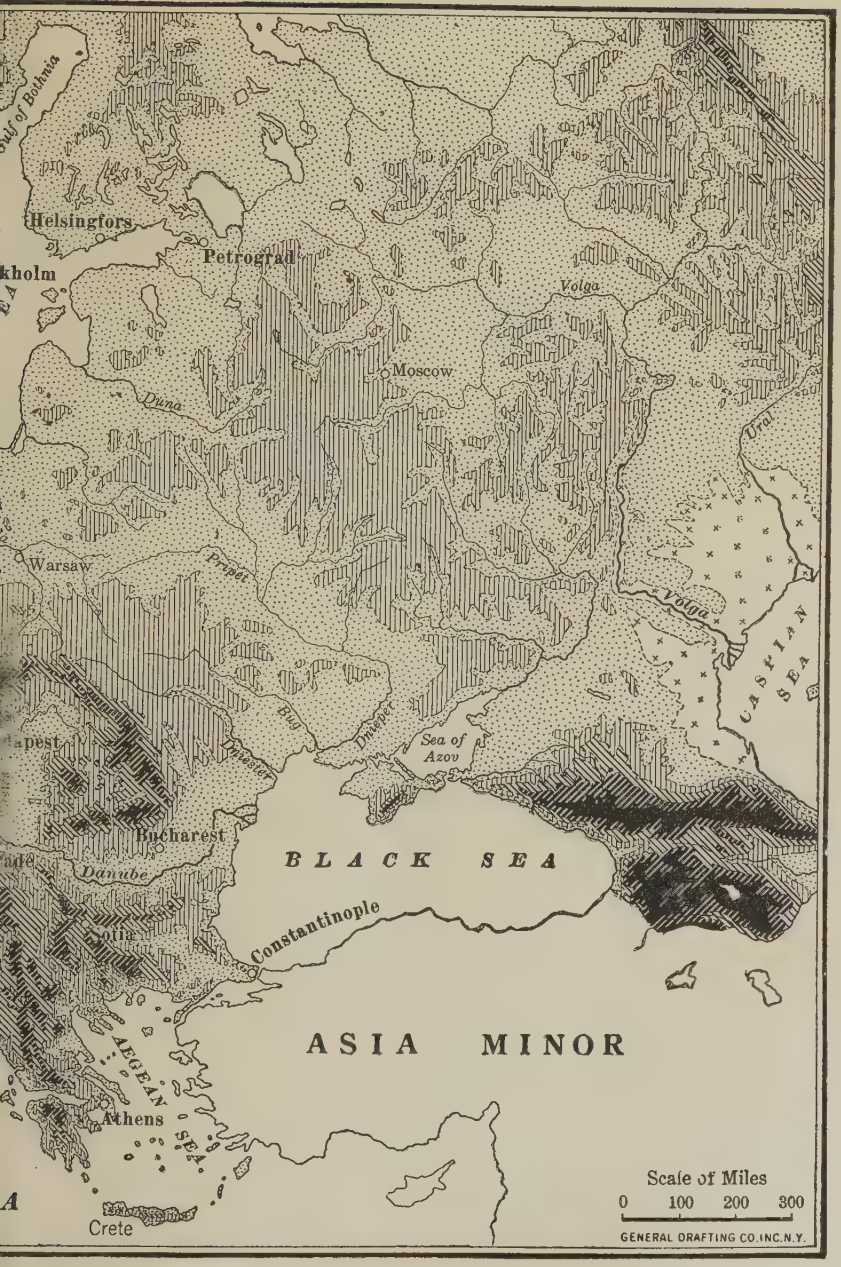
Many of the *cahiers* asked reform of the government. A constitution should be given, making France a limited monarchy: executive power in the king; power over taxation in the states general, which ought to be regularly summoned, and, some said, not dismissed without the members' consent; legislation to be shared by king and estates. Municipal and local government should be altered, by giving self-government to the localities and putting power into the hands of elected representatives of the people. Taxation should be thoroughly reformed, and all privileges and exemptions abolished. The law ought to be made uniform and simple. The court system should be altered and improved. Personal liberty should be carefully safeguarded and defended; and the *lettres de cachet* abolished or much restricted. The Catholic religion should be maintained, but there must be religious toleration for the others. Feudal rights should be abolished, and seignorial burdens removed. In the various professions or callings opportunity should be equal and open to all.

Organization of the *états généraux*

According to ancient practice the three orders voted separately as bodies, so that the privileged upper classes always had the majority in their two orders. But now

Over 6000 Feet
3000 to 6000 Feet
1500 to 3000 Feet
600 to 1500 Feet
0 to 600 Feet
Below Sea Level
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
Christiania
Copenhagen
London
English Channel
Amsterdam
Berlin
Brussels
Paris
Bay of Biscay
Vienna
ADRIATIC
Madrid
Corsica
Rome
Sardinia
TYRRHENIAN SEA
MEDITERRANEAN
Sicily
AFRICA

3. RELIEF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there was current the contention that states general should sit as one body, the members voting individually and representing the nation. This would result in the nobles and the higher clergy being in the minority, and they for the most part opposed it. A bitter struggle began. On June 17th the third estate proclaimed that the orders should organize as a national assembly, and soon after they were joined by the lower clergy and a few of the liberal nobles. Then the king prepared to interfere; whereupon the gathering followed Mirabeau and Sieyès, their leaders, to a neighboring tennis-court where they solemnly swore that as members of the National Assembly they would not separate till they had written a constitution for France. After this the nobles and upper clergy came to sit with them.

A National Assembly

Troops were now assembled about Versailles, and it seemed that the National Assembly might be overawed or dismissed. Suddenly the mob rose in Paris, and, after wild disorder and looting, forced the surrender of the *Bastille*, the old state prison, in the eyes of the people the very symbol of the *Ancien Régime*. While the Bastille was being destroyed the people of Paris set up a *commune* in the city, in which the government was put in the hands of representatives elected by the people of the different districts. They enrolled a citizen militia, the National Guard, and it was evident that a powerful champion had arisen to defend the Assembly.

The mob in Paris

For a time the king acquiesced, but soon there was further plotting to dismiss the Assembly. Rumors of this came to Paris, and on October 5th, a terrible and uncouth mob went streaming forth to Versailles. During the wild night that followed, the royal family was saved by Lafayette and the National Guard, but next day the mob and the Guard returned to the city bringing the king and his family, and shortly after the Assembly followed them. The National Assembly was now sitting in the midst of the most radical of the people of France.

Paris saves the National Assembly

Disorders in the country

Meanwhile the old order was perishing in France. The mass of the people, rude and ignorant, hoped that the states general would amend all wrongs, and believed that all things for their betterment were possible. Disorders and discontent soon broke out, and in the provinces administration and government came to a standstill. The peasants rose and drove out the lords or their stewards and sacked manor houses and *châteaux*. Monasteries were plundered, officials driven away. In blind wrath the people began at once to pull down all the institutions which seemed to them oppressive and hateful.

Work of the National Assembly

Until the spring of 1789 the government of France had been vested entirely in the king and his subordinate officials and councils. During the summer the states general, led by the third estate, became the National Assembly of France, and proposed to abolish old abuses and make a new constitution. Like the Long Parliament of 1640 in England, they meant to effect great changes and make thoroughgoing reforms, but they were for the present led by comparatively moderate men, who desired no absolute break with the existing order of things. As was the case with the great parliament in England, the work now first done was the best, the wisest, and most lasting. Some of the large reforms begun in the period 1789–91 were destined to endure permanently for the good of France.

Reforms

In August, 1789, after the uprisings in the country, the National Assembly abolished serfdom, and provided for the abolition of all the feudal or manorial payments and obligations, a work completed four years later. In November, the church property was confiscated, and a little later the monasteries were suppressed, thus taking from the church, which was one of the greatest and firmest supports of the old order, its vast possessions comprising about a fifth of the soil of the kingdom. The property thus secularized was used as security upon which to issue the paper money, or *assignats*, which became the basis of

revolutionary finance. The lands were thrown upon the market, so that the government obtained only a part of their real value. On the other hand, *assignats* were issued in ever-increasing quantities, without respect to the security proposed for them, so that later on they declined in value much as did the German paper money of 1923, and in the end they were repudiated entirely. Another great change was made in proclaiming complete religious freedom; and in August, 1790, the clergy were taken from the control of the pope, made subject to the state, which was to pay their salaries, and their election provided for by the people. This ecclesiastical legislation was carried through by the enlightened sceptics, disciples of Voltaire and others like him, who controlled the Assembly; but it soon produced a great gulf between two sections of the people in France. The pope protested against the taking of church property and making the clergy a civil body. He forbade Catholics to obey the decrees; and the priests, who at the start had assisted so greatly in forwarding the Revolution, now began to oppose it, and to influence the peasants against it. The Revolution prevailed, and in France the church never was restored to the position it held before 1789; but when the Revolutionary days were past the clergy and the religious orders long continued to support as much as they could what remained of the older system of things.

Church and state

Many of the nobles had by this time left France, and as *émigrés* in foreign courts were striving to get foreign intervention. Meanwhile the Assembly went on with reforms and the task of writing a constitution. Often there was the utmost difficulty. The National Guard controlled Paris, but mobs frequently made their influence felt. Inside the chamber the Assembly was already divided into political parties: the very conservative, known as the Right from the part of the hall where they sat, and the very radical, the Left, disciples of Rousseau; between them

Parties within the Assembly

the more important bodies of the Center, who wanted the monarchy preserved, though limited by a written constitution. Some of them would have restricted power to the wealthy and upper class, some would have extended it to the middle class, but not to the mass of the poor. In the center sat Lafayette, and Sieyès, and Mirabeau. But while liberals and moderate conservatives controlled the body drawing up the constitution, and while the extremists were a small minority there, outside the Assembly, political bodies or clubs were growing up, of which the Jacobins were most famous, by means of which the radicals presently swayed the multitude, and began to intimidate the members of the Assembly. In the spring of 1791 Mirabeau died, and with him passed away the greatest moderate leader of the Revolution. The king, terrified now by the Paris mobs and influenced by old associations, resolved to flee from the city to his friends. He was easily brought back, and the radicals and populace would have had him put from the throne, but the National Guard of the middle class prevented it, and in September presented to Louis the new constitution, which he swore to uphold.

Political Clubs

The Constitution of 1791

The Constitution of 1791 was the first important written constitution which any European nation had ever obtained, and with the exception of the one adopted by the American states (1787–9), the first one of importance in the world. The preamble, the Declaration of Rights, had been drawn up some time before. Like the writings of Rousseau and the American Declaration of Independence it asserted that "Men are born in equal rights and remain so"; and that law, which should express the will of the people, must be made by the people and be the same for them all. It proclaimed freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of the press. It declared that no one should be arrested or imprisoned except in accordance with the law. Thus at a stroke it attempted to assert for the French people those privileges which had so slowly

Declaration of Rights

grown up in England and been so zealously defended in America, and more than that it carried France forward further than any people so far had been taken.

The new government of France

The constitution gave the principal power of the central government to a legislative assembly, of one chamber, elected for two years from men of property, by indirect election. The franchise, given to about three fourths of the men, was restricted to those who paid a certain amount of taxes. Actually this was a very wide extension of the right to vote, for nowhere in the world then was the franchise given to all the people or all of the men. The king was not to dismiss the assembly, nor prevent that body from passing laws—though he had a temporary veto—and he had no control over local government, army, or navy. Thus the executive was too weak.

Local government

Local government had already been reformed. The old, overlapping, and confused divisions of France were done away with, along with the surviving remnants of provincial governments which had existed in them from older times, and instead now the country was divided into departments, which were divided into smaller subdivisions—*arrondissements*, *cantons*, and *communes*—which continue to exist in France at present. In these districts local government was established, consisting of representatives and officials elected by the people. Far too much power was vested in these local bodies, and this change did not endure.

Weakness of the new constitutional system

This system of limited constitutional monarchy in place of absolutism, and power of *bourgeoisie* and propertied classes instead of the nobles alone, lasted less than two years. On the one hand, it was detested by those who loved the old order, while on the other hand it fell far short of satisfying the radicals, who wanted more drastic changes, and a great body of the lower classes whose economic condition was not yet bettered and who were excluded from any real control. The moderate leaders who had so far guided reform had believed that it would be well for France

to have limited monarchy similar to that of Great Britain; but now there arose radical leaders who proposed to go very much further.

Radical leaders

In the confusion and ferment of the times many now appeared who were sternly determined to put forward their particular schemes for completely regenerating France, or were eager in persuading others to try their doctrines new and untried. Some were ignorant enthusiasts; others were ambitious leaders seeking advancement in the new times; still others were able innovators, daring, keen, and constructive. Some would sweep away most of the old; some would permit nothing old to remain. There were followers of Rousseau and men like him; some were the founders of modern communism; others had new systems conceived by themselves. Ablest and most important of the radical leaders were Marat, Danton, and Robespierre.

Marat

Jean Paul Marat (1744–93), a physician, directed his attention to politics on the summoning of the states general. At once he began to publish a paper, *L'Ami du Peuple* (The Friend of the People), in which he opposed instituting in France a limited monarchy like that in England, where, he said, government was controlled by an oligarchy of the wealthy and noble. He advocated for France a republic with power given directly to the people. He was opposed to the *bourgeoisie* as well as to the upper classes and the crown.

Danton

Georges Jacques Danton (1759–94) was a young lawyer with bourgeois connections and associations at the outbreak of the revolution. An orator of great power he soon became a leader in the *commune* of Paris, and a mighty influence with the Paris mob. He strongly favored establishing a government completely controlled by the democracy of France.

Robespierre

Maximilien Robespierre (1758–94), of middle-class family, a lawyer, and previously a judge, was elected to the states general in 1789. Of fastidious tastes and good bearing, he was also an idealist completely devoted to advancing the rights

of the people. He accepted entire the teachings of Rousseau, and was determined to effect the equality of all men in the state, and give control of the government to them. He was from the start leader of the extreme radicals in the constituent assembly. About these men and others, their associates or opponents, much controversy has raged. Condemned as monsters and tyrants, they have also been praised as leaders of mankind. It seems certain that their intentions were generally good. History judges also their work.

The clubs

They and men like them worked ceaselessly to stir up the proletariat of Paris. They published newspapers and pamphlets that spread wide their new thoughts and radical ideas. They carried on correspondence with men of their sentiments in other districts of France. They banded together in clubs, which became centers of disaffection and radicalism. Foremost of these organizations in Paris were the Cordeliers and the Jacobins. The Cordeliers proclaimed themselves friends of the rights of man. At first they were the leading radical organization in Paris. Among them Danton gained his reputation as a revolutionary speaker, and from them won his first adherents.

The Jacobins

More important were the Jacobins—so called from meeting in the convent of St. Jacques in Paris. They began as a moderate body, the Society of the Friends of the Constitution, and counted among their members Sieyès—who was never an extreme radical, and was later on prominent in the reaction; Lafayette—recently returned from America, and desirous of reform but not of large revolution; and Mirabeau—connected with the noble class and desirous of reforms for the *bourgeoisie*, who helped to begin the revolution, then presently tried to stay it. Soon, however, the Jacobins were brought under Robespierre's sway. Then the character of the organization was transformed, and it was one of the most radical bodies in the state. The Jacobins established branches in most of the

other principal towns and became very powerful in Paris. In the confusion that presently arose they were seen to have not merely the ablest and most daring leaders, but the only well-organized political machinery in France; and, just as long afterward happened in Russia, they soon had disproportionate strength, and presently supreme power in the country.

The Legislative Assembly

The Legislative Assembly, elected in 1791 under the new constitution, contained few members of political experience or statesmanlike ability, for the leaders who had just drafted the constitution were declared not eligible for election. Only a minority of the members were ardent supporters of the new constitution. Presently the majority of the members followed the lead of the Girondists, whose leaders came from the Department of the Gironde, who represented the radical feeling of the country rather than of the capital, many of them wishing to establish a republic. More extreme than they were the Jacobin members, known as the "Mountain," from the higher seats where they sat in the chamber, who expressed the radical feeling of Paris, and hoped for a democracy in France.

Hostility abroad

The *émigrés* abroad were preparing expeditions to return and win back the things they had lost, while the sovereigns of the old monarchies and empires of Europe looked with dismay upon what seemed to them wild and monstrous upheaval in France, which might, if not checked soon, spread abroad to their lands also. Foremost in desiring to intervene was Leopold II, of Austria, emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. He was brother of Marie Antoinette, Louis's queen, and champion of absolutism and divine right.

Declaration of Pillnitz

In August, 1791, the emperor and the king of Prussia issued the Declaration of Pillnitz, proclaiming that it was the common interest of European sovereigns to restore what the Revolutionists had overthrown. This aroused vast indignation in France; and in the passion and confusion that followed, the Girondists got control of the gov-

ernment. They felt that safety of the reforms just won, and hope of getting further amendment, depended upon resisting the interference of foreign kings, and so they were eager to take up arms. In this they were abetted by moderates, upholders of the constitution, who believed that successful war would firmly establish the constitution. A great wave of emotion swept over the country. Men took up weapons and hastened toward the frontier, and began to sing the new song, *Marseillaise*, as they went.

The French defeated

But the French were ill-prepared for a war, and discouraging failures followed. The royal family was in secret communication with the enemy and hoping for the invaders' success. In July, 1792, the duke of Brunswick, leader of the allied invading armies, issued a manifesto, declaring that he came to end the anarchy and restore the king, and he threatened Paris with destruction if the royal family were harmed. In August the mob of Paris rose in violent insurrection and the constitutional government was overthrown. The *commune* of Paris, controlled by the *bourgeoisie*, was supplanted by a *commune* based upon the mass of the people. The king sought refuge with the Assembly in terror for his life, and many of the Assembly fled from Paris. The remaining members now voted to suspend the king from his office and declared that a national convention should at once be elected by manhood suffrage to draft a new constitution. For some days anarchy reigned. All the while the invaders were pressing on into the country. The frontier fortresses fell and the invaders pushed on for Paris. Then began the horrible September massacres of the royalists in Paris, for the deliberate purpose of striking terror into the hearts of enemies and traitors. Amidst shocking brutality some hundreds of the best-born people in Paris were put to death.

The *Commune* of Paris

But the tide now turned. The Prussians were defeated at Valmy, in what was only a skirmish, yet in its effects

Valmy, 1792

one of the decisive battles in European history. "From this day commences a new era," wrote Goethe who was present on the field. It was felt now that France was saved and with it also the Revolution. In the midst of enormous enthusiasm the leaders went forward to new changes. On the day of the battle the National Convention assembled. The members resolved to make a complete new beginning of things. September 22, 1792, was to be the beginning of the Year I of a new age. France was to be a republic. The king was deposed, imprisoned, later brought to trial, and in 1793 put to death. The *émigrés* were banished for ever from France.

The National Convention, 1792–5

The new order

Meanwhile the Prussians soon lost interest in the campaign, and the Austrians fought with no success. France was cleared of foes, and a republican army entering the Austrian Netherlands was welcomed by the people and quickly drove the Austrians out. Many Frenchmen, wild with enthusiasm, now believed that they could carry the benefits of their revolution to the oppressed people of all the countries of Europe. In December, 1792, the National Convention announced that it would treat as enemies any people who submitted to princes or privileged classes, but would fight to the end to establish in other lands equality and government by the people. Thus did the radicals and revolutionaries boldly challenge the old order in Europe, and rouse up against themselves one of the most powerful combinations ever brought upon France. In England some had greatly sympathized with the Revolution at first, and in the Low Countries, along the Rhine, and in Italy some of the inhabitants yearned for the things which the French revolutionists had won; but all the established governments, most of the people of Europe, and many in France, not only regarded the Revolution as hateful, but saw it as a very dangerous thing, to be stamped out before it spread farther. The execution of Louis XVI filled with horror and aversion the upper

The Republic triumphant and aggressive

Feeling abroad

classes and the conservative people of Europe, at the same time that formidable insurrections broke out in France itself. In 1793 a mighty coalition was formed of Austria and Prussia, already at war with France, and Great Britain, Spain, Holland, and the north Italian state, Savoy. Frenchmen were driven out of Belgium and the Rhine country, and the enemy again threatened to march on Paris.

The First Coalition, 1793–7

France and the Revolution were saved by splendid and suddenly provided military organization and by the highest outburst of national feeling which any people had shown since the Romans made war upon Hannibal. The spirit of nationality had its beginning on a grand scale in France during the dangers of Revolutionary times. Nationalism means the consciousness felt by people that they are bound together by common ties and interests, which make them a distinct group compared with other peoples. Often it is based on common language; sometimes on racial characteristics, common religion and ideals; sometimes on enthusiasm and feeling which can scarce be explained. One of the most difficult things to arouse, when created it is one of the most powerful of all the feelings that can actuate large numbers of men.

Nationalism

In antiquity people were held together by family or tribal ties, which can only bind a small number, or else by force from above in the old empires which so easily fell to pieces. The vast and long-enduring Roman Empire did in the end make many of its people feel that they were bound together by the tie of being Roman citizens, but after the fall of the Empire western Europe all through the Middle Ages was divided into small feudal districts, or larger jurisdictions held together in groups by force at the top. The history of England all through the Anglo-Saxon period (449–1066) is the story of efforts, largely unsuccessful, to make the inhabitants of the different parts feel that they were Englishmen, members of one state. In Ireland

In earlier times

this was not accomplished. Italy, the Germanies, Russia, all failed until very late to achieve unity and feeling of common interest, and Poland has only just attained it.

Nations

The people of England, France, Spain, and some other lands had got unity and strength by the end of medieval times, and had so strong a feeling of common interest that nations appeared to have arisen. At first the word *nation* had denoted merely a group bound together by family tie, (*nati*, to be born). In medieval days it seems to have been used to designate groups of university students who came from the same district or country. Gradually it was given to all the people of a single state; but it could not yet connote the strength and feeling which later circumstances were to give it. In the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries the people in France, Spain, or England had for the most part no share in government or the better things of life. They were ruled by upper classes or centralized governments. They could not in the nature of things have the feeling of men who themselves took part and had interest in the rule of the state.

The Revolution and national feeling

In 1793 many of the French people became conscious for the first time that they were the state. Now they could be roused to defend the new order which seemed to have given them so much; and could be made to rise up with an enthusiasm never before shown by the masses in any large country. When the invaders closed in on France, Frenchmen sprang forward in great bodies to hurl them back, and there was a wild spirit of exuberance and power which people had not felt before. This it is that gives such importance to the rally of the French people in 1793: it was a movement of the people themselves actuated by a new and more real consciousness of national feeling. For the first time was this force unloosed in Europe, and it was destined to overturn the old order. It was about to defeat all its enemies and save the Revolution; it was the basis of the greatness of France when Na-

poleon came to power. When the same spirit was still later aroused in the hearts of Spaniards and Russians and Germans, Napoleon was finally defeated. During the nineteenth century nationality made a united Italy and a united Germany. At the beginning of the twentieth century it was exaggerated and developed until it became one of the potent, indirect causes of the War of the Nations.

Nationalism in the nineteenth century

But it was not merely the enthusiasm of national feeling that saved France from her enemies now. Before 1789 the French had often had the best military organization and the ablest military teachers in Europe. They now retained the old organization and they had the old tradition to build on. Moreover, they had in Carnot, one of the Jacobin radicals, a great genius for military administration. He and his associates planned campaigns, provided materials of war, and raised huge republican national armies, which presently by sheer weight of numbers and because of the fiery ardor of their spirit overwhelmed all the enemies who opposed them. France was cleared of the foe, and again the republicans went beyond the frontiers. In a short time Frenchmen had occupied territory as far as the Rhine and won for France the "natural" frontiers which her statesmen and generals during centuries had striven to obtain.

Lazare Carnot, "organizer of victory"

All this was accomplished while France seemed in danger of falling to pieces. There was a great revolt of Catholics and conservatives and peasants in the district of La Vendée, in the west. Moreover, the Girondists, who at first controlled the Convention, were overthrown by force; then the Jacobins getting control proceeded to far more radical and democratic reforms. The result was that numerous revolts broke out in the provinces, where people were not willing to suffer the dictation of Paris or go as far as the Jacobins wished. Toulon, the great Mediterranean naval base, received a British fleet, and there were insurrections in Marseilles, Lyons, Nantes, Bordeaux, and other

Revolts in France

places. But all this was relentlessly crushed. The Jacobins in the Convention established a marvellously strong and efficient central government, and undertook deliberately to stamp out all treason and disaffection by terror and force. As in Russia in 1919 the central committee of the Socialist Party assumed a dictatorship, so now in France the Committee of Public Safety including Carnot, Robespierre, and others, took supreme control of affairs. The period from the summer of 1793 to that of the next year was afterward known as the Reign of Terror. In Paris the queen, all the nobles who could be reached, and all others suspected of disaffection, were beheaded by the guillotine, which had just been invented. Toulon was recaptured, and the rebellion stamped out in the other places. Fearful vengeance was taken. At Nantes boatloads of victims were sunk in the Loire, and decree went forth that Lyons should be razed to the ground. Altogether many thousands of excellent people and high-born victims perished; and the Jacobins earned for themselves that terrible and hateful renown which is still, after more than a hundred years, so strongly associated with them.

The Reign of Terror, 1793–4

It was afterward as easy to praise them and apologize as now it is to advocate the leaders in Russia. There is no doubt that the best of the Jacobins sincerely wished to destroy old abuses and better the condition of the masses. Marat and Danton were as filled with zeal for the people as Lenin was for the proletariat in 1920. Robespierre yearned to bring to pass all the teachings of Rousseau as Trotzky worked for extremest socialist doctrines. Carrier, who drowned the prisoners at Nantes, Collot and Fouché who mowed down the victims at Lyons with grapeshot, Fréron at Toulon, and Le Bon at Cambrai, whatever delight they took in this butchery, could all believe, and cause others afterward to repeat, that they took the shortest way to accomplish good ends. It is true that few people thus lost their lives in comparison with the unnumbered

Effects of the Terror

Motives of the agents

victims of great wars. Yet it is a sound instinct which causes men's minds to dwell much upon the destruction of the most prominent and highest. If it be said that it was really the most merciful way to end the divisions and revolts in France, it must be remembered also that such reasoning was used by the Germans in Belgium and northern France, and the *Bolsheviki* in Russia—by all who have desired to attain ends by force, and impose their will thoroughly and quickly. Louis Blanc, the socialist, afterward wrote: "It is a falsehood to say that the Terror saved France, it may be affirmed that it crippled the Revolution."

Jacobins control the Convention

France was saved from foreign invasion, and the Jacobins proceeded to establish a new democratic order. Supported by the workingmen of Paris, they had deposed the Girondists in May, 1793, and afterward put the leaders to death. But the Jacobin leaders themselves, one after another, came to untimely end. In July a young woman stabbed Marat to death. Robespierre was now leader of the Convention and the Committee. On the one hand he overthrew Hébert, who led the Paris *Commune* and wished to establish atheism and divide property among all the people; but on the other he sent Danton to the guillotine because he advised moderation and a return to earlier conditions.

Robespierre, dictator

For a short time in 1794 Robespierre was virtually dictator of France. He reopened the churches, which had been closed, and laid magnificent plans for the extension of education and democracy among the people. But these plans he meant to carry through, swiftly and despite all opposition, by relentless employment of Terror, and a great number of people were brought to their death.

Reaction

Actually now a reaction was beginning, and the more moderate members of the Convention, who disapproved his policy and at the same time trembled for their safety, suddenly got control of affairs, and put him to death. So ended the Reign of Terror, in July, 1794. Then the Con-

vention proceeded to finish its constructive work, which in after days came to be seen as the most important work that it did.

Reforms made by the Convention

The National or Constituent Assembly, 1789–91, representing bourgeois interests, had destroyed the privileges of aristocracy, and given political rights to most of the people. The work of the National Convention, 1792–5, was mostly in the interests of the mass of the people, the lower classes, having to do principally with social and economic affairs. As the property of the church had been taken already, so now the lands of the emigrant nobles were confiscated by the state, and sold. At first they passed largely into the hands of speculators and a new body of large proprietors who were rising in the confusion of the moment. After a while, perhaps, some of these lands were bought in small holdings by the peasants. The principal result, as in so many other revolutions, was a mere transfer of property from an old to a new set of owners. Many of the new possessors were climbers, profiteers, aggressive agitators, men who were able to take gain from any upheaval in their times. Far more important was the acquisition of land and greater freedom by small proprietors and peasants. Of this there was much less in the French Revolution than there afterward was in the Russian Revolution of 1917. But in France long before 1789 much of the land was being acquired in small holdings by peasants who bought it and paid the price for it. Now, after the beginning of the Revolution, some more was obtained, and meanwhile the peasants had all been relieved of the seignorial obligations that irked them so much. Accordingly, there was a well-established body of thrifty peasants, independent and free, who in course of time became very obviously the backbone of the nation and the basis of its actual greatness. Thereafter they were the main conservative part of the nation. In 1789 they had risen against the *seigneurs* who held over them antiquated

The peasants and the land

Peasant proprietors

and distasteful feudal rights; but when the feudal burdens had been removed by the National Assembly the grievances of the peasants were gone. After that radicalism was confined to the cities. So long as it seemed to the peasants that *émigrés* or reactionaries might undo the Revolutionary work and cause them to lose their lands or new freedom the peasants supported or endured the administration of Danton and Robespierre, just as in 1919 the Russian peasants rallied to some extent in support of the *Bolsheviki*. But the French country people soon turned away from the radicalism of Paris, and welcomed the more conservative rule of the Directory and the security which Napoleon gave. The socialist schemes of the Paris workingmen in 1848 and the communism of Paris in 1871 were overthrown largely because of the hostility of the small proprietors in the country.

Reforms begun

A scheme of national education was prepared by the Convention, as well as a plan for making a uniform code or collection of the laws. These later on led to the free public school system which has been built up in France, and to Napoleon's celebrated Code. At this time also the Metric System was adopted. Furthermore, certain great principles were established, that there should be no slavery, that children should inherit almost equally from their parents, and that men should not be imprisoned for debt.

Extremist proposals

The extremists did in addition try to bring to pass many strange and absurd things which involved a complete break with the sentiment and tradition of the past. Inevitably all of that soon came to an end, and was afterward remembered only with wonder and derision.

Constitution of the Year III

Meanwhile, the reaction, already perceptible, continued. After Robespierre, the Convention came presently under control of the *bourgeoisie* again. A new constitution was drafted, and became effective in 1795. According to this so-called Constitution of the Year III the executive was to be the Directory, a committee of five, chosen

by the legislature. The legislative consisted of two houses chosen by electors with property qualifications. Against this government the National Guard of Paris rose in the insurrection of the Thirteenth *Vendémiaire*, but was easily dispersed. The Directory, the government of the new middle-class republic, endured for four years. During this time France endeavored to hold off her enemies and complete the work of reconstruction. At last in 1799, by the *Coup d'État*, or sudden *stroke of state*, of Brumaire 18th and 19th, it was overthrown by Napoleon Bonaparte and those associated with him.

The Directory, 1795–9

Eighteenth *Brumaire*

Often it has been said that the French Revolution now came to an end. It did not seem so at the time, and modern scholars declare that Napoleon and his associates saved it from reaction and destruction, and made possible carrying it forward still further. The days of extreme social radicalism and the Terror had definitely ceased, and already many of the most extreme changes had been undone. But the best work of the Revolution was secure. Some of the worst abuses and obsolete things of the Old Régime had been permanently ended. Liberty, fraternity, and equality, the watchwords of the reformers, had been given to a great many of the people of France in larger measure than ever before in the history of the world. Against a host of enemies the Revolutionists had made their cause good and saved their work. Bloodshed, violence, and horrible deeds had been done, but these things, if the most spectacular and longest remembered, were later seen to be but part of what took place at this time. Some of those who had seized upon power had acted like savages or brutal tyrants, but most of the reformers, even when their methods and ideals were mistaken, had honestly tried to work for the good of the mass of the people. That some of their work was impossible, and much of it too radical and far in advance of the time, and so destined soon to be overthrown by natural reaction, is evident.

The work of the Revolution secure

The great results

But large gains had been made for the middle and lower classes in France; the work would be carried into all lands adjacent and leave permanent results there; it would serve for ages as an encouragement everywhere for men who wished for things better.

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CHAPTER III

NAPOLEON

Nous sommes maîtres du monde.
NAPOLEON to ROEDERER, December 1, 1800.

[It] would sink me in final despair of ever living to see prosperity or liberty again in any part of Europe . . . the military empire might last ages, before its discipline degenerated; and ages more of darkness and idleness might protract the shame and misery of Europe.
Letter of FRANCIS HORNER to JAMES LOCH, July 8, 1808.

Sur un écueil battu par la vague plaintive,
Le nautonier, de loin, voit blanchir sur la rive
Un tombeau près du bord par les flots déposé;

Ici gît . . . point de nom! demandez à la terre!
Ce nom, il est inscrit en sanglant caractère
Des bords du Tanaïs au sommet du Cédar. . . .
LAMARTINE, "Bonaparte," *Secondes Méditations Poétiques* (1848).

The rise of Napoleon Bonaparte

IN 1768 Corsica, a mountainous island south of France west from the Italian coast, long subject to Genoa, but inhabited by Italian-speaking people who ardently wanted independence, became a possession of France. A little later, next year, was born there Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821). His people were of good standing in the island and of noble descent; his mother a woman of strong character and remarkable ability. The boy was precocious and early showed promise of unusual qualities. He was sent to France for military education, and just before the Revolution he was sub-lieutenant in an artillery regiment. He first gained distinction at Toulon in 1793, when his sagacity led to the capture of a dominating height and the withdrawal of the British fleet. He became

more important two years later when he took part in dispersing the crowd which had risen to overthrow the Convention. In 1796 he made an advantageous marriage, and about the same time was appointed to command the French armies in Italy.

France against the First Coalition

War was still going on with England, Austria and Sardinia (Savoy). The French had occupied Belgium, German territory to the Rhine, and Nice and Savoy in the south. Spain and Prussia had given up the conflict; Russia was far off and occupied with other affairs. But it was probable that England would not make peace while Belgium was in French possession, nor Austria while France kept her Netherlands and retained German and Italian territory which she considered herself bound to protect. The Directory found it no easy task to reduce such powerful foes. England could not be reached, but they planned to attack Austria by sending an army over the Rhine through the south German lands, while a second force was to defeat the Austrians in Italy and then strike northeastward toward Vienna. The latter plan was suggested by Napoleon himself.

Napoleon's Italian campaign, 1797

The efforts to crush Austria by crossing the Rhine came to nothing; but meanwhile the young commander, infusing wondrous spirit into his republican soldiers, and at once getting the respect and loyal assistance of the older generals beneath him, took his force into northwest Italy, and, establishing his communications firmly, moved on against the Austrian forces. The campaign which followed is one of the classics of military art, and one of Napoleon's foremost achievements. He laid siege to Mantua, the great fortress which was the base of Austria's power. Four times did superior Austrian armies attempt to relieve it. Each time, moving with marvellous rapidity and superb judgment, he caught the hostile armies divided, and defeated the parts with his superior numbers, until at last Mantua surrendered. Then the French, after arranging

matters in Italy to suit them, crossed the mountains into Austrian territory, and soon came within a hundred miles of Vienna. In October 1797 the Peace of Campo-Formio was made. France kept Belgium and organized part of north Italy as a republic; in exchange Bonaparte gave to the Austrians the old and independent state of Venice. The war on the continent thus came to a close. Except for England the great coalition had been dissolved by victorious France. Her "natural" frontiers had been established, and she had partly displaced Austria as dominant power in the Italian peninsula.

Treaty of Campo-Formio

In the next few years Bonaparte was to establish his reputation as one of the greatest of all generals and one of the most eminent rulers and administrators in the annals of the world. He was small of stature, pale of countenance, not handsome, but with splendid forehead, nose, and mouth, and with eyes that looked into the depths of things and awed the souls of men. He had marvellous strength of intellect, vast will-power and force of character. He was possessed of amazing endurance, could do with little sleep, and quickly accomplish results which took ordinary people a long time. He was infinitely laborious and careful and able to get entire mastery of great masses of detail; but he had in addition those qualities of mind by which some men read the heart of a matter and know the real meaning of things. While not without passion and emotion, he lived much in a world of his own, apart from and above ordinary men and the morality and the law which ruled them. He regarded himself as superior to mankind, and could play with the lives and destinies of innumerable men, without thought of their sufferings or desire, intent only on the grand schemes which he had in his mind. He was a wonderful organizer and administrator, great in civil affairs and in matters of government and law; but it was by means of his military greatness that he raised himself, and it was always because of his ex-

Bonaparte's appearance and character

Superiority and aloofness

ploits in war that he was best known to the men of his time.

Military greatness

Bonaparte's military eminence arose from clearly understanding and first making use of new factors which had slowly developed in the art of war. He did not himself originate vast changes in military art; nor did he, like Julius Caesar, invent new methods and devices for the different crises which developed; so that in the end when his enemies had mastered his methods, they overpowered him with superior resources.

Development of the art of war

Military methods and devices had long been changing. In the sixteenth century slow moving bodies of infantry, armed with pikes, and cavalry made up the armies. During the seventeenth century cavalry long continued to be the principal force, though infantry was always indispensable; but at last infantry came to be the more important arm of the two. By that time foot soldiers fought with firearms, but these weapons were clumsy and slowly discharged, and artillery was unwieldy and ineffective. Therefore armies marched slowly; maneuvers were deliberate; strategy was usually cautious; the forces were drawn up in intricate and difficult arrangement; battles were often indecisive; and wars long drawn out. During

In the eighteenth century

the eighteenth century a series of changes was bringing about fundamental alteration. Firearms were so perfected that a shot could be fired a minute, and later on field artillery was made much lighter and far more effective. The result of this was that whereas formerly all parts of the army had been kept close together in one great body for protection, since the musketeers of Wallenstein's time with their ineffective muskets had to be protected from charging cavalry by dense masses of pikemen, now it was found that smaller bodies of infantry with their much more deadly guns could protect themselves or safely retreat from superior numbers, while artillery assumed an importance in offence never known before.

In all of these changes Frenchmen led the way; and by

the latter part of the eighteenth century French military writers were advising, what some commanders were trying, that the old solid formations be broken up into smaller bodies to be moved more easily and quickly; that the old, slow, indecisive campaigns give way to rapid, daring, decisive action; that armies live on the country rather than go slowly in order to be accompanied by great supply trains; and that campaigns be won by strategy, by effective movements and combination, rather than the older device of slowly bringing up cumbersome forces. All of these things had been done by the Englishman, Marlborough, and the Prussian, Frederick the Great; though the old system lingered on among the commanders. But Bonaparte grasped clearly the enormous importance of artillery, he understood thoroughly the possibilities of infantry equipped with the modern arms, he studied the campaigns of the great captains, and mastered and elaborated their plans. He understood and applied the old and unchanging principles of strategy: to strike with superior force at the enemy where he is weakest, or to hold a position with inferior force while a crushing attack was being prepared for the enemy's flank or rear. He moved so rapidly that he could bring masses of men over different routes and concentrate them in overwhelming force upon an enemy who scarcely believed that his presence was possible. In the greater campaigns he was wont to leave tactics and local arrangements to subordinates, he himself working out the splendid moves and vast combinations of which great strategy consists. He was, in short, heir to the military excellence of France under the Old Régime and to the improvements which Frenchmen and others had long been working out; and he used this inheritance with the methods of the great captains and with the skill of a genius.

Frenchmen and military art

Bonaparte

But there were other things too which enabled him in the course of the next few years to build up an empire that threatened to subdue all of Europe. He was heir to the

Assisted by the spirit of the Revolution

French Revolution also. That change had swept away old encumbrances from France, aroused within her people intense loyalty and national spirit, and given to them an almost unconquerable enthusiasm and ardor. Against him were the old monarchies and empires, still clinging to outworn methods, with people not roused by any strong national spirit, and often without much spirit of resistance. When the Revolution had spent its force, and when Napoleon had established despotic rule, when nationality and patriotism and desire for a new order of their own had been put into the hearts of other peoples also, then they rose to make themselves free and Napoleon was soon overthrown.

Expedition to Egypt

In 1798, after Austria had yielded, Bonaparte struck an indirect blow at England. The Directory allowed him to take a powerful army to Egypt in order to conquer that country and then aim a stroke at India beyond. His great fleet of transports crossed the length of the Mediterranean, just missed by the British fleet under Nelson, and his army overran Egypt with ease. But Nelson returned, and the French fleet was destroyed at Aboukir, in the Battle of the Nile. With communications completely severed now, Napoleon gained further triumphs with dwindling forces; but knowing that all chance of real success was gone, he abandoned his army and returned to France. There people thought more of the glory of his deeds than the failure of his expedition, and he continued to be the most popular person in the Republic.

The Directory and the Second Coalition

The Directory was not able to steer the state through the difficulties of the troublous time. There were royalists who wished to restore monarchy, and radicals who wished to equalize wealth and abolish poverty. Finances were dishonestly managed and corrupt politicians amassed sudden wealth, while the wars took great sums of money, until presently the issues of paper money became so vast as to make the paper worthless, and the state was bankrupt. Moreover, the policy of extending the power of

France and the influence of the Revolution was continued. Along the frontiers of France, from Holland down through Switzerland and on into Italy, was founded a series of republics, modelled on France and allied with her, so that again the fears and dislike of the great powers were aroused. In 1799 the Second Coalition was formed, consisting of Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and lesser states. That year the Coalition was almost everywhere triumphant, and when Bonaparte returned the French had been driven from Italy and the dependent republics had fallen to pieces. France was defeated and seemingly at the end of her resources. For the feeble Directory now the people had only contempt. Therefore, in November Napoleon, supported by troops, easily overthrew it by a *coup d'état*. He and two men controlled by him were appointed consuls and given the task of making a new constitution.

The Second Coalition overthrown

Then he struck the enemies abroad. A powerful army under Moreau crossed the Rhine and won the great battle of Hohenlinden in Bavaria. Meanwhile Bonaparte had descended into Italy again and overwhelmed the Austrians at Marengo, one of the most splendid of his triumphs. Accordingly, Austria made the Peace of Lunéville early in 1801. She recognized the French conquests in Belgium and along the Rhine, as well as the dependent republics. Russia also dropped out of the war, and on the continent the Coalition now dissolved. Great Britain, left alone, could not greatly harm France, and the French could not attack the English until they had built up a powerful new fleet. Both sides were weary of the conflict. So, early in 1802, peace was made by the Treaty of Amiens, by which England gave up many of the conquests she had made in the colonies, while France made some small concessions. The arrangement was not satisfactory, and was afterward seen to have given merely a breathing-spell while a mightier duel was prepared for.

Treaty of Amiens

Constitution of the Year VIII

Meanwhile in 1800, the Constitution of the Year VIII had been put into effect. A strong government was erected. The executive was vested in a First Consul assisted by two others. The First Consul was not only at the head of administrative work, foreign affairs, and the army, but he was in effect to initiate legislation as well, and appoint all the principal officials. The legislative branch was only a shadow. There was to be manhood suffrage, but the voters were to choose one tenth of their number, who were to choose a tenth of themselves, and those so chosen were then to choose a tenth; by which time there would be some five thousand "National Notables" chosen indirectly out of the 5,000,000 Frenchmen who had the franchise. From the list thus obtained a senate, appointed by the First Consul, was to choose members of two lower branches, a tribunate and a legislative body. Actually, the legislature was to consist of four parts: a council of state to prepare legislation proposed by the executive; a tribunate to discuss; a legislative body to vote thereupon; and a senate with power of veto. As a result of this arrangement Bonaparte, the First Consul, became almost complete master of France. Local self-government, which had been established by the Constitution of 1791, but which made administration less effective, was now made entirely subordinate to the central authority; for all the local executives were to be appointed by the First Consul. The result was an exceedingly efficient government, but Frenchmen, who had been attempting to establish self-government, and who had first to learn it really in the smaller units where they lived, now lost the opportunity to put it on a firm and real foundation in their local affairs.

Financial reforms

In the midst of the war Bonaparte had turned to great constructive tasks, in some of which he completed the work of the French Revolution, while in others he established firmly his despotic rule. The finances, whose evil condition had done so much to make possible the Revolu-

tion and afterward brought the Directory to its end, were put on a sound basis; expenditures were reduced, care and economy practised, and in 1800 the Bank of France founded to be the center of French finance. Next year, after most skilful negotiation, an arrangement, or *concordat*, was made between the pope and the Republic, the pope concurring in the suppression of the monasteries and the taking of church property, Bonaparte agreeing that the priests should be paid by the state; the priests were to be appointed by the bishops, the bishops being appointed by the state but confirmed by the pope. By this *Concordat* of 1801, which lasted until 1905, the Catholic Church in France became a subordinate part of the government of the land.

The *Concordat* of 1801 with Rome

Important also was the codification of the law. Under the Old Régime there had been many legal systems in different parts of France, discrepant and confusing. There were, moreover, numerous laws, many of them now obsolete. It was very desirable to reduce what was best and most important into one collection, simple enough to be easily used and understood, and uniform for all the country. This had been undertaken in the time of the Convention; now it was carried forward to completion. With the help of legal experts and advisers Napoleon mastered the subject himself, and impelled them on to reduce to simple form the vast mass of detail, so that in four months the thing was largely done. In 1804 appeared the Civil Code, which was afterward followed by others. Altogether they are known as the *Code Napoléon*. They were not only simple enough to be easily used and useful, but attractive in form. Based on the Civil Law of Rome, which had been the foundation of the French legal system, they embodied also much of the best work of the Revolution, such as equality of inheritance and equality before the law, arrest only for cause, trial by jury, and personal freedom. Sanctity of private property, power of the father, in-

The law

Code Napoléon

feriority of woman, were all recognized, and the *Code* has accordingly been condemned in later days by socialist and feminist advocates. But it embodied the best of what the Revolution had brought, along with the excellence of the Roman Law; and therefore it endured in France, and was soon adopted in most of those parts of Europe where the Roman Law previously had prevailed.

Education

Finally, the system of education which had been planned under the Convention was carried into effect. Avowedly, elementary schools were to be established in every part of the country, though Bonaparte seems to have cared little about educating the great body of the people. Higher up were grammar schools, high schools or *lycées*, technical and other schools, and finally at the top was the University of France. This system was entirely under the control of the government, for Bonaparte wished that the schools should teach only what the government desired. In this he was largely successful, so far as his system of education was established; but actually he could not bring about much of what he planned because it was difficult to get the teachers. Accordingly, instruction of most of the children continued for a long time to be given in private schools controlled by the church.

Internal improvements

He was zealous in developing the resources of France and constructing great public works. Harbors were improved, naval bases fortified and enlarged, highways constructed and great military roads prepared, canals bettered and extended, and marshes drained. The great palaces built in the Old Régime were beautified and restored, and in Paris splendid avenues and fine buildings were constructed. Hitherto Venice and Rome had been the pleasure-capitals of Europe, but now they began to be displaced by Paris, which gradually attained a supremacy never afterward lost.

The position of France

This constructive and peaceful work was Bonaparte's greatest achievement, but while he lived, certainly outside

of France, it was almost lost to sight amid the continued and terrible wars which marked his era. In 1802 France was the mightiest power in the world. All of her enemies had been defeated or forced to make peace, and she had got territory which she had been striving to obtain for hundreds of years. It would be now the work of a great statesman to keep peace, above all things, and try to retain what had been so fortunately won. That was what Frederick of Prussia had achieved in the later portion of his reign, and it was afterward the achievement of Bismarck. In this task Bonaparte failed. In 1803 France and England were at war again. During the next twelve years with scarcely any intermission, French armies swept over Europe, the European powers rose against France in one coalition after another, some millions of men were killed or disabled, and in the end France, overwhelmed, lost not only what Bonaparte had gained for the moment but also the magnificent conquests of the Revolution. Afterward it appeared to men that his greatest error was failure to give France time to consolidate what she had gained. It would seem, however, that his failure, while partly due to faults of his character, was also owing to causes which he could not control.

Bonaparte's task

He was, indeed, filled with ambition and a feeling of superiority to others. He believed that from himself greater and better things were to come. Also he loved war and the greatness that conquerors have. Moreover, his power in France rested on no hereditary or legitimate right, then all-important, but solely on his own great achievements. He had come to power when France was in confusion and the country beset by its foes. In 1802 the people voted to make him First Consul for life. Two years later, after another *plébiscite* in his favor, in *Notre Dame*, in the presence of the pope, he crowned himself Emperor of the French. But as peace and prosperity returned, opponents would almost certainly question his

His position

Napoleon I, emperor, 1804

right, unless the attention of the people were fastened upon other things. So, he found it almost necessary to embark in foreign wars and win great victories in order to maintain his position in Paris.

Hostility not to be avoided

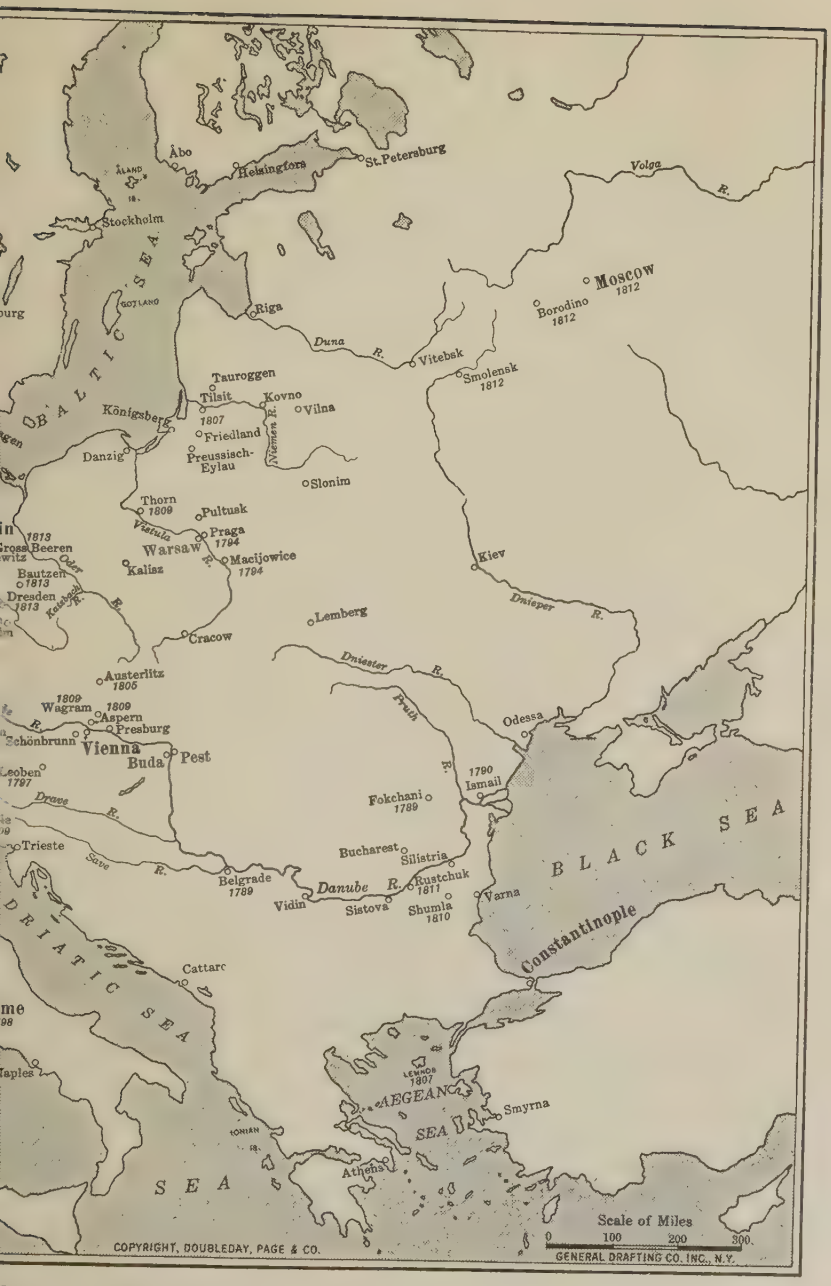
But there was also another side. At the end of his life, in exile, he declared he had wished for peace but that his enemies would not let him have it. In that there may be much truth. It must be remembered that what had recently happened in France had overturned the old balance of power and given an inconceivably rude blow to the old order of things in all places near by. Usually most men and women are conservative, holding to the things to which they have long been accustomed, and not willing to make more than slight reform and gradual changes. In France there had just been immense changes, which came as a shock to all the conservative people in Europe; and while in the beginning liberal people everywhere sympathized with the reforms which Frenchmen were making, everywhere established interests and upper classes, vested right and conservative instinct, were against them. Then when presently the excesses of the Terror were spoken of with loathing in every European country, great numbers of people went gradually over to those who were already opposed to what was happening in France. And finally, when French influence and power became greater than ever they had been before, it was not only the wealthy, the upper, and the governing classes, seeing Europe threatened by ideas subversive of all that they cherished, who were hostile to the French Republic, but a great many others who beheld Europe endangered now by a new French empire which bade fair to become so powerful that it could overthrow all other states.

Europe hostile to the Revolution

Necessity of great moderation

In this posture of affairs it would have been the first task of a statesman to act with such moderation and care that the greatest of his opponents, like Austria and England, would have waited at least. Perhaps the other

4. MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE REV



RY AND THE NAPOLEONIC WARS

powers might have been brought in course of time to accept a France more powerful than ever before. Perhaps Napoleon would have failed despite his best efforts, but it was the first premise of wise policy to do everything to keep the peace at least until he had built up a navy with which he might have some chance to contest on the seas with Great Britain. He did indeed begin to do this but when Englishmen saw the greatest power that had existed on the Continent for a hundred years in possession of Belgium, which for ages they had dreaded to see in the hands of any strong state, and beheld Napoleon busily scheming to obtain a colonial empire in the West Indies, in Louisiana, and in the East, and apparently intriguing to get still more power in Europe, they became suspicious and hostile, and refused to carry out the stipulations of the Treaty of Amiens about surrendering the island of Malta. Then Napoleon openly prepared for the contest, and in May, 1803, Great Britain declared war upon him.

France and Great Britain

He proposed to destroy England by cutting off her commerce with the Continent, upon which he believed her strength to be founded, and taking a great army into England itself. In north France an army was prepared for the stroke. Afterward men believed that this was merely a feint to deceive other foes, but there is little doubt that the invasion was really intended. "All the ills and curses which can afflict mankind come from London," said Napoleon; and he rightly understood that conquest of England must precede the lasting peace which he wanted to make. His plan, indeed, was much like that of the Germans, more than a hundred years later; to overthrow the British government, and establish an independent republic in Ireland, and he said that he would set free the mass of the people in England. But his design came to nothing, for he never got control of the narrow stretch of waters from Boulogne to Dover; and because of the British ships, England, though in sight, remained out of reach.

Attempted invasion of England

Thus in 1804 and 1805, as in the years from 1914 to 1918, Britain was saved by her mastery of the sea.

The Third Coalition

But other enemies were reached and struck down. Austria was goaded on to war. All the while Pitt, the British prime minister, was trying to bring about another alliance against France. In 1805 the Third Coalition was formed of Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Sweden. Then Napoleon turned with lightning stroke. Suddenly he moved his army from the Channel, the most powerful army assembled for ages, moved along the new military roads he had made, rushed across western Germany, captured a great Austrian army at Ulm, occupied Vienna, and then when the Russians, too late, came up to assist their ally, totally defeated combined Austrians and Russians at Austerlitz, a village in Moravia, (December 1805). Austria was bowed to the dust. By the Treaty of Presburg she ceded territory containing 3,000,000 of her subjects, and was left cut off and excluded from Italy and the Rhine. If she were kept thus, then one of the greatest of Napoleon's enemies was finally removed.

His crowning triumph

England keeps control of the sea

But on October 21st, the day after the Austrians surrendered at Ulm, the French and the Spanish warships encountered the British fleet, under Lord Nelson, greatest of English admirals, off Cape Trafalgar, not far from Cadiz. On that day Nelson, who lost his life, was able to fulfil his maxim that the enemy must be annihilated, not merely defeated. He destroyed French sea-power, and removed from Britain all further danger of invasion. In the years of the long struggle which followed, French privateers preyed terribly on British commerce, and French warships were got together again; but never afterward during that time was British supremacy really challenged. This was, indeed, the most decisive victory of the war. After Trafalgar Napoleon could never hope to reach England, and by no other device was he ever able to defeat her. Great Britain by herself was not able to overthrow Napoleon,

Trafalgar the turning point

but she was the indispensable part of the opposition to him. Not long after 1805 Napoleon had defeated every Continental power that had dared to oppose him, and brought into alliance with him all the others. It often seemed then that he never could be overthrown. But through all these days England remained unconquered and out of his reach, and, having encouraged his enemies and given them assistance whenever they dared to oppose him, in the end she took a memorable part in humbling his power. That she was able to do this was owing to Nelson's victory at Trafalgar.

The Fourth Coalition, 1806–7: England, Prussia, Russia, Sweden

Meanwhile Napoleon went on to new triumphs. Prussia was reckoned a strong military state, though actually her war power was now in decay. Before Austerlitz she had threatened to join the Coalition, and at that time, with Napoleon in Vienna, far from his base, her accession might have been fatal to him. Now in 1806, when it was really too late, she declared war upon France. At once Napoleon sprang upon his prey. In October Prussian military power was laid in the dust at Jena and Auerstädt, all the Prussian fortresses were captured, and Berlin was taken. He then went forward against the Russians advancing, and occupied Warsaw. Early in 1807, in East Prussia, a terrible battle was fought in the midst of blinding snow-storms at Preussisch-Eylau, where the French suffered heavy loss and gained nothing. But in June the Russians were caught at a disadvantage at Friedland in East Prussia, and there they were utterly shattered. Russia had scarcely been touched yet, and after events were to show that her vast extent made her unconquerable until modern means of transportation had altered all warfare, yet the disaster of Friedland profoundly discouraged the Tsar, Alexander I. He sued for peace, and meeting Napoleon, concluded the Treaty of Tilsit.

Prussia conquered

The Treaty of Tilsit, 1807

By this treaty the Fourth Coalition was broken to pieces. Prussia lost half her territory. Her part of Poland was

erected into the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, thus making in east central Europe a new state dependent on France. A crushing indemnity was levied on Prussia, and she was forbidden to have an army of more than 42,000 men. Thus she was put from the rank of great powers. Russia lost almost nothing. She entered into an understanding with France by which British goods were to be excluded from ports under her control, but she had permission to do as she would with Turkey, from whom she desired territory, and with Sweden, from whom she wished to get Finland. Only Britain and Sweden now remained at war with France. In 1808–9 the Russians took Finland; and presently Sweden made peace with France, accepting one of Napoleon's generals as her king.

The Napoleonic Empire: reforms

Napoleon was now the most powerful ruler in Europe since Charlemagne, and the French Empire was greater by far than the dominions once ruled by Charles V or Louis XIV. Throughout the Empire and in most of the dependent states excellent reforms were made. The French Revolution now really came into the lands surrounding France. Serfdom and feudal rights were abolished, the *Code Napoléon* was introduced, with civil equality and freedom from the old burdens, and, as had been the case in France, old cumbersome restrictions were swept away, justice made simpler and easier to obtain, and government much more efficient. Especially were the results notable in northern Italy and the German lands. But a heavy price was paid for it all. Even in France, where there was now much prosperity and material progress, great glory and large renown, Napoleon's rule was a despotism partly supported by his army and partly by innumerable policemen and spies. From the neighboring and subject lands his family and his generals amassed great fortunes; vast sums of money were taken in contributions and taxes, and the best of the young men claimed as conscripts for his army. Finally the continued wars and

Oppression

the blockade by England brought increasing confusion and hardship.

Maintained by force

This power, which had been constructed with the utmost ability, had none the less been erected by force, and only by strength and force could it be maintained. It had been possible because of the fervor of the French Revolution in the first place, and because of the division and mistakes of the adversaries of France. Slowly they had learned in the school of adversity, and even now in the days of their utmost degradation causes were at work which were destined in no very long time to lay low all the structure which Napoleon had reared.

Apparently not to be overthrown

But in 1809 contemporaries, perhaps, could discern nothing of all this, and the outlook seems to have appeared hopeless. Only Great Britain, behind her barrier of warships, remained unconquered and not despairing, though often, as her people sustained the unending struggle, they must have reflected that across the Channel was the military despotism which had defeated all the enemies it had reached, and that some day, perhaps, with the resources of the Continent, Napoleon might assemble overwhelming sea-power, after which nothing could save them. But always they fought on unyielding, and in the end it was found that their resources, based on commercial supremacy and their new industrial development, were equal to the task set before them.

Attempted blockade of Great Britain

The downfall of Napoleon was due very largely to the efforts he made to conquer England. Her navy protected her from military subjugation, but he believed that destruction of her commerce would entail her defeat, and he endeavored to shut her off from trading with Europe. He had tried to do this in 1801, but it was definitely carried out in the Berlin Decree (1806) and the Milan Decree (1807) and the Decree of Fontainebleau (1810), by which successively he ordered that British ships should not be permitted to trade with the Continent, that neutral

ships bringing British goods should be seized, and that imported British goods should be publicly burned. To this policy Britain replied with the Orders in Council of 1807, declaring liable to capture all ships trading with France and her allies. Thus the two tried to blockade each other.

Disastrous results

British sea-power ruined the commerce of France and those countries that followed French dictates. Napoleon's decrees wrought enormous loss to British trade, but they never caused her to break down, and indeed they could only be partly enforced. Numerous exceptions were authorized by Napoleon himself, so great was the need of things which could only be bought from Britain. In the end the principal result of Napoleon's attempts was to alienate profoundly some of the European people whose commerce he ruined, and then involve him in ruinous enterprises—as with Spain and with Russia—to enforce his blockade.

Conquest of Spain

In 1807 Napoleon proposed to debar England from Portugal and the harbors of Spain. For some years Spain had acted as a vassal of France, but Portugal had long been bound closely to England by the Methuen trade agreement. He now demanded that Portugal adhere to his Continental System, and, when she refused, got permission from Spain to send an army through that country to Lisbon. Portugal was easily overrun, but it then became apparent that he was determined to acquire Spain also. French troops filled the country, the king and his son were made to abandon their rights to the emperor, and Napoleon thereupon put his brother Joseph on the throne. But now began a rising of the proud Spanish people, in whom this insolent taking of their country awakened the spirit of national resistance. England came to their aid, and under Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards duke of Wellington, the small British army found in the restricted field of Portugal and Spain a chance for success-

The Peninsular War

ful operations. The French were unable to destroy the British in Portugal, who stood behind strong fortifications and were based upon the British fleet. In Spain the mountains and the rivers, as well as scantiness of resources for the invader to live on, made it exceedingly difficult for the French to carry on such campaigns as they were accustomed to wage. Some 300,000 of Napoleon's best troops were locked up in the peninsula and largely destroyed in the heart-breaking struggle which followed.

The Fifth Coalition, 1809: Austria and England

Elsewhere for a while Napoleon's power seemed to increase. In 1809 Austria again declared war. Napoleon hurried from Spain, through which he had just swept in triumph, and, striking with terrible swiftness, drove back the Austrians from Bavaria and again took their capital, Vienna. But he had not destroyed the Austrian army, and attempting to cross the Danube at Aspern he came near to suffering a total defeat. In July, however, he won the battle of Wagram, and again Austria made peace. By the Treaty of Vienna she lost more of her territory and population, and promised not to maintain an army of more than 150,000 men. Shortly after, Napoleon annulled his marriage with his wife Josephine, who had borne him no heir, and in 1810 married a daughter of the emperor of Austria.

The Empire at its zenith

In 1810 Napoleon's empire was at its zenith. Spain did not yet seem dangerous, and Russia was friendly. On the Continent all his enemies had been defeated. To France had been annexed the Netherlands, German territory to the Rhine, northwestern Italy, and Austria's Adriatic coast. The remainder of Italy, Spain, all western and central Germany in the Confederation of the Rhine, and the Grand Duchy of Warsaw were under Napoleon's protection. Austria and Prussia remained humbled and diminished.

Forces of decay and destruction

But in this vast empire, which controlled all western and central Europe, the forces of decay were at work. The national revival which was making Spaniards give up all

rather than surrender, was stirring also in the German countries. In Prussia they were making reforms and schooling themselves for the day of deliverance hoped for. Indeed circumstances now were doing for the German people the wondrous work which some years before had been accomplished in France, and this was taking place at a time when among the French in the midst of prosperity and greatness the Revolutionary feelings were losing their force. Once France had defended herself from Europe by a national rising of her people, but now with her yoke heavy on others the armies of Napoleon were composed largely of conscript soldiers, whom other peoples were compelled to provide. These levies were wonderfully disciplined and drilled, and they won great victories for him, but no longer was it possible for his armies to be animated by the feelings that once filled the people of France. Moreover, Napoleon was not as before. He had raised up many a man of ability to be a marshal or great assistant, and thus surrounded himself with very capable assistants; but in these later years he was much less inclined to take their advice, and came at last to rely almost altogether on himself.

Decline of Revolutionary ardor

The accord with Russia was slowly breaking to pieces. Russia was almost entirely an agricultural state, dependent for industrial products and foreign wares upon commerce with others, especially England. The Continental System, which Napoleon had persuaded the tsar to uphold, worked increasing hardship on the Russian people, and as the years passed it was partly abandoned. To Napoleon enforcement of the blockade against Britain was still all-important, and at the beginning of 1812 he prepared to conquer Russia and thus definitely complete his system in Europe. For this mighty task he collected the greatest army ever brought together in Europe, and the most powerful force, perhaps, which up to that time had ever been assembled. To his French veterans were added

Discord between Russia and France

contingents from the subject and vassal states, until he had ready for the adventure 600,000 men and more than 1,000 cannon.

Invasion of Russia, 1812

In June a great part of Napoleon's forces, the *Grande Armée*, crossed the Niemen River into Russia. He hoped to meet the Muscovite hosts and destroy them on some memorable field. But Kutusov, the cautious Russian commander, steadily retreated, avoiding battle, ever luring his enemy forward. In September Napoleon gained the terrible, empty victory of Borodino. Both sides suffered fearful losses, but the Russian army retreated undestroyed. A month later he entered Moscow, the old capital of Russia, in triumph; but the enemy did not sue for peace as he hoped, and Napoleon now found himself far in the depths of a hostile country, separated from his base of operations by a thousand miles, half of it the dreary plain of Lithuania and Great Russia. Furthermore, on the night of the entry, Moscow was burned and partly destroyed. Then while the Russian army watched from near by the peasants rose up in wrath to harass what remained of Napoleon's forces, and soon he had to withdraw. The retreat which followed was one of the most awful episodes in military history. The greater part of the Grand Army had been dissipated before Moscow was reached, but most of what was left perished horribly in the fearful march through the snows and the storms of the Russian winter which soon came on. Not more than 50,000 of all the host which had set forth came back to the German frontier, and they came as miserable, stricken men. It was evident that the best and greatest part of Napoleon's strength had been lost in the vastness of Russia.

The retreat

The Sixth Coalition

In December Russia, Great Britain, Sweden, and Prussia began the Sixth Coalition against France. In January, 1813 the emperor of Russia crossed his frontier and promised liberation to the European peoples. At once the Prussians rose in a great national movement, and the

other German states began to waver. Napoleon assembled another army, but the forces being gathered against his own dwindling strength were too great to be overthrown, and the victories which he gained at Lützen and Bautzen were not decisive. Austria now tried to intervene, suggesting that Napoleon abandon his arrangements in central Europe, but he would hear of no compromise, and when the armistice came to an end Austria joined the coalition against him. In August the Austrians were badly defeated at Dresden, but again Napoleon failed to destroy his foe. Then in October the issue was decided at the great "Battle of the Nations" at Leipzig, where at last he was completely defeated. He struggled across the Rhine with a remnant of his army, and Germany was free.

Napoleon defeated

He might still have got terms that now seem very good. He might have kept the "natural boundaries" of France, the Rhine, the Alps, the Pyrenees, if elsewhere he had abandoned his system. This would have left France with more than Louis XIV had ever been able to keep, but Napoleon refused. Afterward historians condemned him as a desperate gambler in scorning such terms and staking all on trial by combat. But in truth, since his power had been reared on military triumph, the acceptance of such terms, whatever benefit France might have got, would certainly have involved his own ruin. So he refused, and made ready to defend France with such scanty forces as he still could assemble, for not only was France weakened, but there was now no great rising of the French people as there had been in Revolutionary days.

Refuses any compromise

The campaigns of 1814 showed Napoleon still at the height of his military skill, but against the overwhelming forces brought upon France nothing could avail. When he rejected harder terms than had been offered previously, Great Britain, Russia, Prussia, and Austria made the Treaty of Chaumont (March 1814), by which they concluded an alliance and promised not to halt until Napoleon

Napoleon at bay

was completely overthrown. In the end they overwhelmed his forces and captured Paris. At last he abdicated, and was given the little island of Elba, near Italy, in the Mediterranean.

The Allies placed a younger brother of Louis XVI on the throne as Louis XVIII. Then Napoleon, restless in his insignificant state, and believing that his enemies were now too divided to act in unison against him, suddenly, in March 1815, returned to France, and with his matchless magnetism, and through the old renown which still remained to him, won all who were sent to oppose him. He would for the moment have chosen peace, but the Great Powers, whose representatives were wrangling at the Congress of Vienna recently assembled, at once forgot all their differences, and assembled their forces to destroy him. Napoleon got together a superb army of 200,000 men—largely his old veterans, who, until the peace, had been captive in other lands—and at once took the field. In June, after some brilliant but indecisive strokes, the matter came to final decision at Waterloo, not far from Brussels in Belgium. There throughout a long day the French artillery wrought havoc in the ranks of an army of Englishmen, Dutchmen, and others under Wellington, and the French horsemen dashed themselves again and again at the enemy's lines. About evening the Prussians came up to assist, and then the French army, which had been terribly shattered in the struggle, fled from the field in total rout, and Napoleon's power was definitely ended.

The "Hundred Days"

Waterloo

He surrendered to the British, and was presently sent to the remote, lonely island of St. Helena, off the southwest African coast, a thousand miles out in the ocean. There for six years he lived on, eating his heart out in exile, and appearing, when men could forget the misery he had caused, one of the most pathetic figures in history. He had put himself above mankind, and they put him forth from among them.

St. Helena

Estimate of his career

It is still difficult to pass judgment. During his lifetime, he appeared as a mighty hero in France and to many people elsewhere, while in Prussia and in England men felt that he was a monstrous and terrible being. Not less than four million men in Europe were lost in the wars caused by his needs or ambitions. In his own day he was like the reincarnation of some war-god of old. Afterward Taine saw in him the last and greatest of the *condottieri*, those captains in Italy who made war their ambition and trade.

The evil

For a while he was hated by those who had overthrown him; but presently with the lapse of time there was a glamour of romance about his name, and often his statecraft and military methods were studied and admired. Nowhere was this done more than in Germany, where a school of Prussian generals and writers openly proclaimed his greatness and their purpose of following his steps. When after 1914 they did this the world was horrified, and once more understood the real meaning of some of his deeds.

Napoleon and the French Revolution

There is another side to his achievements, which may be more, may be less than the evil, but is none the less of supreme importance. Whether without him the better achievement of the French Revolution could have been maintained and defended sufficiently to fulfil its great mission we cannot now know. But certain it is that Napoleon helped to preserve it and spread its work over the central and southern lands. When he was gone, his conquerors could no longer undo the best that the Revolution had accomplished. They did try to reëstablish an old order, but it was very different from what prevailed in the previous era. After the reaction, revolutionary and progressive spirit flamed out successfully again, and the principles that men should more and more govern themselves, and that there should be an increasing measure of social, political, and civil equality, were in the next hundred years very largely established over part of Europe. These were not things which Napoleon had begun, and

he had sympathized little with some of them; but after all he was a "child of the Revolution," and he had defended and saved it.

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CHAPTER IV

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA AND THE CONCERT OF EUROPE

Leurs Majestés l'Empereur d'Autriche, le Roi de Prusse, et l'Empereur de Russie . . . ayant acquis la conviction intime, qu'il est nécessaire d'asseoir la marche à adopter par les Puissances dans leurs rapports mutuels sur les vérités sublimes que nous enseigne l'éternelle Religion du Dieu Sauveur:

Déclarent solonnellement, que le présent Acte n'a pour objet que de manifester, à la face de l'Univers, leur détermination inébranlable de ne prendre pour règle de leur conduite . . . que les préceptes de cette Religion Sainte—préceptes de justice, de charité et de paix qui, loin d'être uniquement applicables à la vie privée, doivent au contraire influer directement sur les résolutions des Princes, et guider toutes leurs démarches. . . .

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The settlement of 1814-15

THE long struggle of the Revolution and Napoleonic Wars was followed by a general settlement, as the Thirty Years' War had been, and just as the World War which ended in 1918 afterward was to be. Enormous social and political changes had come to a great part of Europe, and the map of the Continent had been completely changed. Now with the Revolution subsided and the French Empire fallen to pieces the conquerors of Napoleon assembled to restore and rearrange and decide. It was a token of Austria's recovered power that the meeting was held in Vienna.

The Congress of Vienna

Peace had already been made, May 30, 1814, by the Treaty of Paris. This treaty provided that within two months all the powers engaged on either side of the war

just concluded should send plenipotentiaries to Vienna "to settle at a general Congress the arrangements which are to complete the provisions of the present treaty." In September, 1814, there was the greatest and most gorgeous gathering held in Europe up to that time. The tsar of Russia, the emperor of Austria, the king of Prussia, and the kings of Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Denmark were present, along with the princes and rulers of smaller states, and the representatives of France and of England. Most important of all was Metternich, Austria's minister. There was in 1814, as in 1918, much feeling that the old era had come to an end, that vast changes had been made and were still to be made, that the world was to be better, that a golden era was near, and that after the horrible wars which had devastated Europe, there would now be perpetual peace.

Procedure

Strictly speaking no congress was ever opened, and officially none existed. Actually, in the midst of long and magnificent festivities at Vienna, representatives of the various powers waited, while four great powers began to arrange in private meetings what was to be done, and there make the important decisions. Not only were the delegates of the lesser states thus excluded from the "Congress," but of the eight powers which had been parties to the Treaty of Paris, because of which the Congress assembled, two of them, Portugal and Sweden, were in the first place not invited to come to a preparatory meeting held at Metternich's house, while Spain was never permitted to participate in anything important. But France—because of the very dexterous diplomacy of her representative, Talleyrand, who took advantage of disputes between the four principal members—was soon admitted, and thereafter the work at Vienna was done by five powers: Great Britain, Russia, Prussia, Austria, and France. In 1814 and 1815 at Vienna, as in 1918 and 1919 at Paris, those who wished the settlement made by all the powers interested

Position of France

Empire of Napoleon (Direct Rule)
Empire of Napoleon (Dependent States)
Allies of Napoleon
Scale of Miles
0 100 200
SCOTLAND
NORTH SEA
IRELAND
ENGLAND
London
ATLANTIC OCEAN
KINGDOM OF HOLLAND
Paris
FRENCH EMP
SWIT
PORTUGAL
Madrid
Lisbon
SPAIN
Corsica
KINGDOM OF SARDINA
MEDITERRANE

5. EU

LIVONIA
SWEDEN
Riga
COURLAND
BALTIC SEA
RUSSIAN
EMPIRE
POMERANIA
PRUSSIA
GRAND
DUCHY
OF WARSAW
Warsaw
Kiev
SAXONY
GALICIA
Prague
Vienna
AUSTRIAN
EMPIRE
MOLDAVIA
BESSARABIA
BLACK SEA
HUNGARY
ILLYRIAN
PROVINCES
WALLACHIA
Bucharest
Belgrade
BOSNIA
SERBIA
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Constantinople
ADRIATIC SEA
DALMATIA
MONTE-
NEGRO
ALBANIA
KINGDOM OF
NAPLES
AEGEAN
SEA
MOREA
SEA
GENERAL DRAFTING CO., INC., N.Y.

1810

were obliged to see the decisions made in small secret meetings and determined only by the most powerful states. In both cases, perhaps, the work could have been done in no other way.

Territorial arrangements

The most important part of the work had to do with territorial arrangements. The proper or "legitimate" sovereigns, who had been dethroned by Napoleon, were restored in Spain, in Holland, in southern Italy (the Two Sicilies), and in north Italy (Sardinia-Piedmont); while the Pope and various German princes got back their lands, most of what Napoleon had taken away from Austria was restored to her, and Poland partitioned again. Great Britain kept various colonial possessions which she had taken—Malta, islands in the West Indies, Trinidad, British Honduras—and three possessions which had been taken from the Dutch: Ceylon, South Africa, and part of Guiana. In compensation, Holland had Belgium joined to her to form the United Kingdom of the Netherlands. Before the Revolution Belgium had belonged to Austria; that power now got in compensation Lombardy and Venetia, while other small states in north Italy were left indirectly under her control. From Sweden Prussia got eastern Pomerania, last relic of Swedish conquests in the days of Gustavus Adolphus, while already Russia had taken the Duchy of Finland. In compensation Sweden got Norway, up to that time under Denmark's rule.

Holding France in check

The arbiters of Vienna deemed it well that France should have strong states adjoining her boundaries, so that she might not easily break forth again. It was partly for this reason that Holland had been enlarged by the addition of Belgium; it was for the same reason that Prussia, enlarged by a portion of Saxony, was given provinces west of the Rhine, as was Bavaria also. In these arrangements the nationalism aroused since 1789 was not so much as considered. Generally speaking, the diplomats at Vienna, like those at Berlin in 1878, altogether disregarded aspirations of the

Nationality disregarded

people. Norwegians and Swedes spoke different languages and had long gone different ways. Belgians and Dutch had been separate since the time of the struggle against Spain. The people of Italy were beginning to yearn for a united Italian nation, and the people of the German states, after their magnificent struggle against Napoleon, were more conscious than ever before of their German nationality and the miserable weakness of their age-long disunion. But the Italians were left separated, put under Bourbons and Hapsburgs, and Metternich exerted all his skill to keep the Germanies separate so that Austria might still rule by having them divided.

Constructive achievement

Some excellent and lasting work was accomplished. The Swiss Confederation was reëstablished with a guarantee of permanent neutrality, an agreement that thereafter European powers would not attack Switzerland or send their troops through her territory. This was the beginning of a series of neutralizations of small states which seemed to promise well, and did work well for a long time, until the violation of Belgian neutrality by the German Empire in 1914. Furthermore the navigation of rivers flowing through or between several European countries was declared free to all these countries. And finally the Congress declared that the slave trade should be abolished.

Disagreement

This work was accomplished in the midst of disputes almost certain to break out during a general conference of nations; and it was in the midst of them that Napoleon returned from Elba and began his career of the "Hundred Days." The bitterest quarrel concerned what Russia and Prussia should have in Saxony and Poland. Russia came to an understanding with Prussia by which she agreed to assist her in trying to obtain Saxony, on condition that Russia have the part of Poland set up by Napoleon as the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. Austria resisted the arrangement, and was supported by England. She was

supported also by France, for it was largely by taking advantage of the dissensions growing out of this dispute that the skilful Talleyrand was able to get France admitted as one of the great powers in the inner deliberations at Vienna. In January 1815 Talleyrand brought about a secret alliance between Great Britain, Austria, and France to resist, if necessary, the plan of Prussia and Russia. Presently a compromise was made. Prussia got about two fifths of Saxony, and gave up all her Polish territory except West Prussia and Posen. Russia obtained nearly all that she asked for. What Austria had received in the old partitions of Poland, she kept; but Russia obtained most of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, to which was added some Polish territory already in her possession, all of which she erected into a kingdom of Poland under the tsar. She now extended farther into central Europe than previously, and during the course of the nineteenth century she was to exert more influence upon her neighbors and be a greater factor in European affairs than ever before. Her Polish territory protruded henceforth like a great salient or bastion in between the lands of Austria and Prussia, her neighbors and rivals. As long as she was dreaded for what was believed to be her mighty military power, her neighbors would always have to fear her Polish position; but when at last the matter was put to the test of war it would be seen that this protruding possession made it possible for them to deal her a mortal thrust. Meanwhile the Poles, mostly under Russia, but partly in Prussia and partly in Austria, were to yearn fondly for the old days when Poland had been independent, and look forward wistfully to some future day when independence might be restored.

Talleyrand

Russia

These arrangements being concluded and presently ratified in the Final Act (June 9, 1815), the leaders of the Congress proceeded to more general and more important considerations. Some of them desired that such measures

Efforts for a lasting settlement

should now be taken that there might be no more war; some believed that, the disorder of the Revolution being largely at an end, the desirable conditions that had just been established ought to be preserved by united action of the powers. Out of all this grew the attempts to have European affairs thereafter controlled by a Concert of Europe.

The Holy Alliance, 1815

The sincerest and most far-reaching attempt to establish justice and maintain peace in European affairs was made by Alexander, Tsar of the Russias. This was the project, derided at the time and suspected afterward, which was known as the Holy Alliance. Circumstances had made the tsar appear as the savior of Europe, and he wished now to be the regenerator of the nations of his time. He loved to think of himself as a liberal, though he did not make, and doubtless could not make, much effort to apply liberalism in Russia. He dreamed much also of being able to abolish all war. In 1814 and 1815 many people hoped for this. It had been so before, after long and exhausting wars, and a century later it would be so again. Philanthropists like William Penn and philosophers like Emmanuel Kant had proposed plans by which war might be avoided, and from time to time statesmen and political writers had drawn up schemes. Two centuries before, during a lull in the long wars of religion, Queen Elizabeth of England had pondered upon such things, and her contemporary Henry IV had conceived of the "Grand Design," whereby, a general council of delegates from the powers of Europe should peaceably settle disputes. A century later, in 1713, after the exhausting struggle of the War of the Spanish Succession, a Frenchman, the Abbé de Saint-Pierre, suggested a league of nations whose members should settle their disputes by the arbitration of a general congress. Now in 1814 came the Tsar Alexander, filled with mystical yearning to make the world better and establish a lasting peace.

Earlier schemes for perpetual peace

Alexander's design

For some years he had been attempting to win adherence to his ideas. Then, as afterward, men perceived the almost insuperable difficulties, and looked at the matter from the point of view of the old order, which the reform was designed to make better. Nevertheless, after Waterloo, when the triumphant Allies were in Paris, and when they were imposing upon France new and severer terms of peace, Alexander submitted to his particular allies, Austria and Prussia, a document containing his ideas, which they accepted. So, in the name of "the very holy and indivisible Trinity" the rulers of these three countries now proclaimed their fixed resolution to act solely in accordance with the precepts of justice, Christian charity, and peace, both in their own internal affairs and in their relations with other rulers. To this agreement the British government was unwilling to assent, since British statesmen considered the scheme to be visionary and vague, and because they objected to an agreement which would bind the contracting parties always to give each other aid and assistance, and which would establish things as they were, and obstruct desirable changes in the future.

Great Britain refuses assent

Effects of the Holy Alliance

This Holy Alliance, as it was called, embodied rather the dream of the tsar than anything in the practical politics of the age. In the popular mind it was soon confused with the Quadruple Alliance, also concluded about that time. This latter, as will be seen, stood for perpetuating the *status quo*, the settlement made at Vienna, and upholding as much of the old order as had there been established; in short, for repression and reaction. So the Holy Alliance —which at the start received some sort of adherence from all the governments of Europe, except the Vatican and the Porte, but which was nevertheless derided by some and not seriously considered by others, and which from the start had almost no force—was regarded for a generation after that time as a symbol of tyranny, a device, hidden under religious guise, to keep European peoples from

attaining the liberty and national development which they desired. And yet, we can see now that some of the objections made in 1815 were curiously like those made to the League of Nations in 1919; and that a hundred years ago a project for the betterment of relations between governments and applying better principles of morality to the conduct of states, failed largely because of the selfishness of diplomats and the imperfection of peoples.

The Quadruple Alliance 1815

An alliance of Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia had been made at Chaumont in 1814, by which the parties had pledged themselves to coöperate until Napoleon was completely overthrown. This union, had been threatened with dissolution at Vienna because of the quarrels over Saxony and Poland, but the reappearance of Napoleon had strengthened it again, and there seemed to be much necessity of retaining it to deal with any other effort which the French people might make against Europe. Accordingly, at Paris, November 20, 1815, the four powers signed a new treaty of alliance. Its avowed purpose was

Purpose

to employ concerted action against any further outbreak of Revolutionary principles, to secure the tranquillity of Europe by maintaining the settlement just made in France, and in the future to uphold the arrangements which its members had made. From the point of view of those who had made the arrangements it was most proper that they should do this. But since they represented the past much more than the future, and because their work, had it succeeded, would have fatally checked some of the most important movements of the nineteenth century, in after days when these great movements were accomplished, then the work of the statesmen who framed this alliance seemed baleful and inauspicious.

Spirit of reaction in Europe

In 1814 and 1815, as might have been expected, a full tide of reaction set in. Some small and dull leaders would have liked to put back things where they had been in 1789. Indeed, some ridiculous things were done, though

they had but small, temporary effect. Little princes came back to their petty domains to set up what had been there before the Revolution and Napoleon drove them away. It was said of them and some others that they had "learned nothing and forgotten nothing." Vaccination and other "French improvements" made in late years were put aside; in north Italy serfdom was reëstablished; and in Spain and Rome the Inquisition once more appeared.

Conservatism of the leaders

The statesmen and important rulers did not busy themselves with the accomplishing of such things, but they fully concurred in trying to set up firmly again what seemed wise, and normal and proper. All of them represented conservatism and a desire that there should be no further revolution and no more great change. They had long struggled against the French ideas, which had originally involved such innovations as equality of the people and government based on the people themselves, but which had degenerated into wild excesses, which had presently failed, which had then seemed to prepare the way for the rise of a great military despotism, and presently changed into a danger which had threatened to overthrow the rights of all the established governments in Europe. Now these governments had triumphed after a long and exhausting struggle, and they meant to make safe that which they regarded as best. Russia, Austria, and Prussia were autocracies in which the sovereign still ruled by divine right with unlimited power. France now had a constitution, but divine right remained and the spirit of the rulers was very conservative. England had long been a limited monarchy, but her government was in the hands of aristocracy and upper class, conservative, and very cautious, by instinct. It was therefore the desire of the leaders who made the Quadruple Alliance, and of France who was presently admitted into their councils, that the Revolutionary era be definitely ended, and that a great

Desire to conserve the old order

part of the previous order of things being now restored, no further revolutionary change should be allowed.

The Concert of Europe

In this way developed the Concert of Europe, an agreement of the principal powers to work together for the management of European affairs. The sixth article of the treaty of alliance had provided that the high contracting parties should thereafter hold meetings from time to time to consider measures salutary for "the peace and prosperity of the nations, and for the maintenance of the peace of Europe." Four such meetings were held in the next eight years, and during the period 1815 to 1823 Europe was directed by the great powers acting in concert.

Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle

First was the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818. Little as the lesser powers liked a dictatorship and supremacy of the greater ones, this Congress was generally looked upon as the supreme council of Europe, and they brought many things before it for decision. Little difficulty was caused by what they submitted. Nor was there disagreement about evacuating France, nor admitting France into the Alliance, after which five great powers controlled Europe. But real differences soon developed. In order to break up the slave trade Great Britain proposed that the different states should have the right to search one another's ships at sea; this failed because the others were jealous of England's superior sea-power. On the other hand Great Britain successfully resisted Russia's proposal to maintain an international fleet to stamp out the Barbary pirates, since she had no trouble with them now herself, and wished to see no new naval power in the Mediterranean. The European states were no more willing to sacrifice their particular interests in 1818 than the United States in 1918 was willing to give up her Monroe Doctrine for the sake of a league of nations.

The powers disagree

The Congresses of Troppau and Laibach

Two years later, a second congress was held at Troppau, in Austria, which was adjourned in the following year to Laibach, near by. In 1820 revolutions had broken out in

Spain and then in Naples against the reactionary sovereigns there. Ferdinand of Naples appealed for assistance, and Austria wished not only to intervene, but to have the sanction of the Allies in doing it. Metternich was greatly strengthened at this time by the adhesion of Alexander of Russia, who had formerly desired to be a liberal, but who was influenced now by certain events to join the forces of reaction. At Troppau, Great Britain, France, Russia, Austria, and Prussia were represented. There Metternich proposed his doctrine that the great powers should refuse to recognize as legal any changes brought about in a state by revolution, and should intervene to restore conditions which had been altered by revolutionary changes. Great Britain opposed this doctrine, but it was accepted by Russia, Austria, and Prussia, and embodied in the Protocol of Troppau: "States which have undergone a change of Government due to revolution, the results of which threaten other States, *ipso facto* cease to be members of the European Alliance. . . . If, owing to such alterations, immediate danger threatens other States, the Powers bind themselves, by peaceful means, or if need be by arms, to bring back the guilty State into the bosom of the Great Alliance." To such intervention England was strongly opposed, for conservative as her government was then, it was liberal compared with those of central and eastern Europe. Actually she was about to separate from the European Concert, and go her own course, while France, also comparatively liberal, was shortly to drift away from the Alliance also. But for the time being Metternich's ideas were carried out, for in 1821, after Ferdinand had been summoned to the Congress at Laibach, he was restored to his throne despite the opposition of his Neapolitan subjects. In that year also there was a revolution against absolutism in Piedmont, but Russia and Austria made ready to stamp it out, and soon it collapsed.

Revolution proscribed

The Congress of Verona

In 1822 the last of the congresses met at Verona. In Spain revolutionists had extorted a constitution from Ferdinand VII, their weak and odious king. He had appealed to the rulers of the Allied Powers, and now at Verona France, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, demanded that the king's prerogatives be restored. The Spaniards refused, and though England strongly protested, the other allies prepared to coerce the king's disobedient subjects. France, temporarily directed by reactionaries, was commissioned to do the work, and a French army entering

Spain

Spain, easily overcame all resistance, after which there was a cruel and shameful proscription and reign of terror. It is well known that the "Holy Alliance," desired also to restore to reactionary Spain her revolted American colonies. But England, in command of the sea, was able to interpose effectual resistance, and the government of the United States also announced unalterable opposition in the so-called Monroe Doctrine; and the project was quietly dropped.

The European Concert breaks up

The collapse of the European Concert began with the withdrawal of England in 1823. After the Revolution of 1830 France also drew far away from the policy which had dictated intervention in Piedmont and Spain. The scheme had begun in 1814 with the desire to preserve from another outburst of the French people what the Allies had so far saved by a great deal of effort and fighting. It had broadened into the design of maintaining order and tranquillity in a Europe where peace and quiet were sorely needed. But as the forces of reaction and extreme conservatism presently attempted to use the Alliance for the purpose of preventing all revolution and change, fundamental differences developed between England and France

Great Britain and France draw away

on the one hand and on the other the conservative and stationary central and eastern powers, where the influence of the French Revolution had been felt not so much or not at all. Moreover, none of the powers were willing to

make any substantial sacrifice of their peculiar interests for the good of all Europe. Therefore the Alliance or Concert soon broke up; England dropped out and presently France. After a while there was no longer any great alliance dominating all Europe as in the years from 1815 to 1823, though Russia, Austria, and Prussia long acted in much unison, based on the similarity of their governments, their proximity to each other, and often their identity of interests, which to a considerable extent persisted throughout the first half of the nineteenth century.

Later Concert of the Powers

But even though this Concert of the Powers was broken up, the example remained, and from time to time thereafter, affairs of general concern were settled at meetings of representatives of some of the powers. Twice more during the nineteenth century great congresses were held, at Paris in 1856, and at Berlin in 1878, to settle European affairs; and there were several others less important. In the closing years of the century there was an informal association of the Great Powers, in a European Concert, to deal with the dangerous and perplexing affairs of Turkey and the Balkans. In 1913 such a meeting was held at London to deal with the Balkan troubles, and such a conference was proposed by England in the days just before the World War, in a last vain effort to avert the conflict.

The age of Metternich

For some time after the Congress of Vienna the dominating and guiding spirit in Continental affairs was the Austrian minister, Prince Metternich. His influence was so powerful and persistent that to a great extent the period from 1815 to 1848 is Metternich's era. He stood for what he believed was a sane, wise, and proper condition of affairs. He had lived through the violence and fluctuations of the Revolutionary period, and risen to greatness during the years of Napoleon's power. When the Corsican had been sent to Elba, Metternich appeared at Vienna

Metternich's spirit and aims

desiring restoration of most of what had been and resistance to any further change. He was descended from an ancient and noble family, and, both by temperament and training, represented aristocracy in social arrangements and the Old Régime in governmental affairs. He was too astute a statesman to believe, as did some lesser men, that things could everywhere be restored to what they once had been; but now that the Revolution was over and Napoleon put out of the way, he hoped that no further innovations would be made, and that political arrangements decided at Vienna would be upheld by the masters who had made them. He desired very much to maintain Austria as the leader of Europe. In the arrangements at Vienna, he and his associates thought it well to abandon Belgium, which was far away and hard to defend, as well as Austrian possessions in western Germany, so that nowhere should Austria be in contact with France. He opposed the acquisition of Saxony by Prussia, lest that state become too great a rival; and to preserve the leadership of Austria among the German states, he successfully opposed all attempts to make any real German union. Prussia, under a weak ruler was for the time no serious rival. After a while Russia also acted in harmony with Metternich's wishes.

At the Congress of Vienna

His system in central Europe

But his greatest efforts were expended in preserving the order of things now established. He believed, as he said, that sovereigns ought to guide the destinies of their people, and that they were responsible to God alone: "Government is no more a subject for debate than religion is." He had no sympathy with ideas of nationality, democracy, and civil equality, which he believed to be pernicious and wrong, and he determined to keep them, now that they existed in Europe, within as narrow bounds as could be. The national risings of the people of Spain and of Prussia had made it possible for Austria to escape from subjection; but Spain was put back under the despotic rule of the Bourbons; the German people were not allowed to

National aspirations disregarded

unite, but were left under the absolute rule of their princes; while the Italians were kept disunited, and put under the yoke of native despots or foreign masters. Austria had scarcely been affected by the French Revolution, as the German states had been, and it was easy now for Metternich, by means of repressive laws, drastic censorship of the press, and far-reaching espionage, to prevent any more new ideas getting across the frontier. His influence brought it about that this repressive and reactionary system was also maintained in the neighboring German states; and for some time his ideas were successfully upheld in the Italian lands.

The revolutionary movements of 1820–1

Metternich's system was gradually shaken by various revolutionary movements, then finally destroyed by a great upheaval. In 1820 the Spanish veteran, Riego, led a rising against Ferdinand VII. For a moment the rebels were successful and the king was forced to accept again a liberal constitution that had been proclaimed in 1812. Confusion and dissension followed, however. Three years later a French army assisted in restoring Ferdinand's absolute power, and Riego was condemned to death. In the summer of 1820 a revolt also broke out in Naples. In March, 1821, the Neapolitan revolution came to an end, but at the same time another broke out in Piedmont; next month began the Greek War of Independence; and a few weeks later a Polish Patriotic Society was founded. The Congresses of Troppau, Laibach, and Verona were convened largely for the purpose of considering how to deal with this growing unrest; and it was by the leaders gathered at Verona that France was commissioned to put down opponents of the king of Spain.

The revolutions of 1830–1

A decade later another series of disturbances began. In July, 1830, a sudden revolution in Paris overthrew the Bourbon monarchy—the establishment that the allies had made in France, the rebels substituting therefor a sovereign from the House of Orléans in a limited monarchy based

In France, in Belgium, and in Poland

especially upon the *bourgeoisie*. The effects of this movement were soon spread far over Europe. In August the Belgians revolted against the Dutch, and presently were able to establish a kingdom independent of Holland (1831). In November, 1830, the Poles rose in furious revolt against their Russian masters, but after heroic efforts and furious resistance Poland was reconquered next year. In December there were various outbreaks in the German lands. About the same time there were risings in Modena and at Bologna, and in February, 1831, a revolution broke out in the Papal States. The risings in Italy and in Germany came to nothing, but in 1832 the powers recognized the independence of the new Greek state. In 1836 there was a revolution in Lisbon, with two others a few years later.

The revolutions of 1848

All the time, everywhere in Europe save in Russia and the southeastern lands, progress of the Industrial Revolution and the rise of a middle class were undermining the system of things that Metternich and his associates cherished. Finally came the Year of Revolutions, 1848. A little before there had been prolonged riots in Bavaria and disturbances in Würtemberg, with ominous mutterings in Italy. In February, 1848, a rising in Paris quickly overthrew the Orléans Monarchy, socialists and radicals gained power, and a French republic was proclaimed. Before the end of the month the socialists were attempting to institute national workshops in Paris. A few weeks more and German liberals were demanding a national assembly and a constitution for a united Germany; there were riots in Berlin; and the Austrian government was forced to bow to revolutionists in Vienna. The various parts of the Hapsburg dominions began to fall asunder now, and everywhere Italians rose against absolutist monarchs or Austrian masters. There was disturbance in Spain, and in Great Britain it seemed for a moment that the Chartists—the British radicals—would overthrow the existing system.

Temporary dissolution of the Hapsburg dominions

All over western and central Europe governments were threatened or were falling. Everywhere authorities hastened to grant constitutions or make more liberal the constitutions already existing.

The end of Metternich's power

With his world thus falling to ruin, Metternich fled from Vienna and presently found refuge in England. Times had greatly changed, but he was too much identified with the older days to alter himself. "My mind has never entertained error," he said in 1848. In later days his memory was execrated, and he was condemned, without doubt, too harshly. Partly because of his efforts most of Europe had peace for a generation after Napoleon's wars, and peace she then needed more than any social or political progress, however desirable they were and however much men must strive to obtain them later on. Metternich represented, moreover, the instincts of conservatism, of law and order, and of natural reaction against the too-great changes of the revolutionary epoch. But his system made improvement impossible, and its ultimate downfall was necessary for the progress of Europe.

Necessary for further progress

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Scale of Miles
0 250 500
ARCTIC
ICELAND
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BRITISH ISLES
London
Christiania
Stockhol
DEN.
NETHERLANDS
Berlin
KINGD
GERMAN
CONFEDERATIO
Paris
LUX.
KINGDOM OF FRANCE
SWITZ.
Vienna
EMPIRE
LOMBARDY VENETIA
S. MARINO
GRDCHY OF TUSCANY
STATES OF THE CHURCH
Rome
KINGDOM OF SARDINIA
ADRIATIC
PORTUGAL
Madrid
SPAIN
Gibraltar
MEDITERRANE
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
ALGERIA
TUNIS
MOROCCO
AFRICA
GENERAL DRAFTING CO INC N Y

OCEAN
SIBERIA
Archangel
St.Petersburg
Moscow
RUSSIA
arsaw
IA
est
RY
de
Odessa
Bucharest
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
TOMAN
nstantinople
EMPIRE
ASIA
MINOR
PERSIA
Athens
Cyprus
Crete
SEA
ARABIA
Persian
Gulf

1815

CHAPTER V
THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

The essence of the Industrial Revolution is the substitution of competition for the mediaeval regulations which had previously controlled the production and distribution of wealth. On this account it is not only one of the most important facts of English history, but Europe owes to it the growth of two great systems of thought. —Economic Science, and its antithesis, Socialism.

ARNOLD TOYNBEE, Lectures on the Industrial Revolution, p. 85. (1884).

De la révolution économique opérée en Angleterre. . . .
Tandis que la révolution française faisait ses grandes expériences sociales sur un volcan, l'Angleterre commençait les siennes sur le terrain de l'industrie. La fin du dix-huitième siècle y était signalée par des découvertes admirables, destinées à changer la face du monde et à accroître d'une manière inespérée la puissance de leurs inventeurs. Les conditions du travail subissaient la plus profonde modification qu'elles aient éprouvée depuis l'origine des sociétés.

ADOLPHE BLANQUI, Histoire de l'Économie Politique en Europe, ii. 207 (1837).

Slowness of change in the past

LIFE in many parts of Europe and elsewhere at the beginning of the nineteenth century was strikingly different from what it was a hundred years later. There was no such enormous difference between the eighteenth century and the seventeenth, or between the seventeenth and the sixteenth, or even between the sixteenth and the tenth or the fifth. In the slow course of these centuries there had been vast changes in political and governmental affairs, states had risen and fallen, old religions had changed and new ones appeared, great literatures had flowered, philos-

ophies had been explained and discarded, and men had come to think of the universe in a way their ancestors would scarcely have conceived of; yet during all the time of the Christian Era, and for a great while before, there had been few changes in the way that most people lived their lives.

Previous epochs of change

The Renaissance, slowly maturing for some hundreds of years, had stirred and quickened men's minds, and in the wonderful fifteenth and sixteenth centuries opened up immense new realms of enjoyment and thought. There seemed to be lovelier things in the world now, the greatness and charm of the past were known better to some, and new writings of strange and wondrous beauty appeared; but most men and women found the ordinary conditions of life scarcely altered. The period of the Reformation—when ideas of religion and church, of pope and bishops, of Bible and church ceremonies were altered or retained—brought to the people of western and central Europe for more than a hundred years a time of mental uncertainty and stress scarcely to be conceived of now, and people presently found their mental and religious world so much altered that things could never be again as before. But still men made their living and spent most of their lives much the same way as in the past. The French Revolution brought enormous changes; but the men who now spoke of democracy, believed in liberty, fraternity, and equality, and whose laws were passed by elected legislatures, continued to make their living and spend their lives much as men had done before.

Life of the people

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, most people in Europe made their living in agriculture, by long, hard work, using plows and tools like those which had served for a thousand years. They dwelt in small, ill-heated, poorly ventilated houses. They did some manufacturing, or work with their hands, spinning, weaving, and the many things that go to supply men and women with what they must

have. Much manufacturing and trading were carried on in the cities and towns, where living conditions were better for more people; but still the manufacturing was usually done in the midst of the family, in little houses, or in a few rooms of some tenement, with simple tools and by processes which had come down scarcely changed through generations. The conditions in which most of these people lived can best be realized now by going to some small village, isolated and off from the currents of modern progress, to which the changes of the past hundred years have scarcely come yet. In village or in town then people got their water from spring or pump, and there could be little washing and cleanliness of person. In winter the diet was monotonous and meager, for there was yet no canning and preserving, and usually meat could be kept only by salting. Most people never had coal for heating; there was no steam heat; people wrapped up in their warmest clothes to keep warm at night or else went early to bed. There was no electric illumination; streets in the cities were generally dangerous and ill-lighted at night, and houses were shrouded in gloom unless the inhabitants could afford to buy lamps or candles. There were no railroads, no steamships, no telegraphs, no telephones. Travel by horse or by stage-coach and communication by messenger or dilatory post were so slow and uncertain that most people never traveled far, and outside of the few large cities people remained ignorant of what went on at a distance, or only learned of passing events a long while after they happened. There was, indeed, not a little of comfortable, splendid living, with so much beauty and grace, that we love to look back upon it now and try to recall it; but this was only for the few. Most people had no share in it, and never could hope to have. Not only did they have few of the things now taken as a matter of course, but, however they strove, they could not hope greatly to better themselves, for, working as they did then

Things now common then wanting

with rude appliances and without machines, alone in their homes, with little coöperation or division of labor, it was not possible ever to produce much more than was needed for a bare subsistence. So it had been in ancient times; so it continued to be down to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Then at last began changes so profound that for many people conditions of living were altogether altered; and presently began immense social changes and new problems, enormous and baffling.

Not much surplus produced

The Industrial Revolution

At the end of the eighteenth century in Great Britain, and during the course of the next hundred years in much of the rest of Europe, there began a change, which afterward men saw as the most important revolution in historical times. A series of great inventions came, which presently resulted in most things being made by machinery instead of by hand, so that the word "manufacturing" came to have a meaning fundamentally different from before. These machines, which did the work better and more quickly than had ever been possible by hand, were presently operated by power of water or steam, after which they produced manufactured things in immensely greater quantities than before, so that presently there was a larger quantity and surplus of things than ever previously in the history of the world. All this would have involved immense change in the condition of people, but other circumstances which immediately arose altered the very structure and organization of society. Previously men and women had labored in their own homes or the fields about them; now they went out to do industrial work in large numbers together. Then they had worked for themselves; now they worked for wages which some capitalist paid. Once manufacturing and conditions of labor had been carefully regulated by governments or guilds; now the conditions were left to adjust themselves. The changes brought about by all this were for a long time only partly understood. But when a hundred years had gone by and men

Vast changes

appraised the alterations which had slowly taken place, they began to understand clearly that the nineteenth century marked off, more than any which had gone before it, an old world from a new, and that the Industrial Revolution still promised changes which might affect all government and social life.

Beginning of the Industrial Revolution in western Europe

It was in Great Britain that the most important changes of the Industrial Revolution began. The seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries were for all of western Europe a period of great intellectual and scientific activity. Germans, Frenchmen, Italians, Dutchmen, as well as men of Scotland and England, busied themselves with study of the world about them, and there were many great scientific discoveries and inventions. During this period many men understood that the earth revolved about the sun, that the blood circulated through the body, and believed that all things attracted each other in proportion to their mass and their nearness; it was also in this period that telescopes, microscopes, clocks with pendulums, and not a few rude machines first came into use. Some peoples lagged behind in industrial development. German lands were ruined by the wars of religion, while the various German states were not able to unite and give their people the prosperity of union and strength. Italians remained disunited and under the yoke of foreign masters, and then, as later, they lacked the material resources for considerable advance. Holland was small and her citizens gave themselves above all to commerce and colonial development.

France

There was notable progress in France, but Frenchmen were involved in continuous and costly wars with the neighbors who touched their frontiers, while they too were seen after a while to lack some of the basic resources. None the less, France and Holland especially were slowly going along the same road the British people were traversing.

In Great Britain

But it was especially in Great Britain that conditions favored large change. There a strong and settled govern-

ment had long existed together with greater freedom for the individual and less of the old restrictions made by guild officials or lords of the manor. For more than a hundred years British commerce had developed, bringing much wealth into the country, and creating a large class of eager, ambitious leaders and adventurous men with keen minds. The habits and temperament of the people had disposed men to apply themselves more to making things work in actual practice than to speculative philosophy and artistic creation. Though English poetry and prose writing had developed into the greatest of modern literatures, the people of Britain had failed to make any signal contribution to music or sculpture and had not done much in painting; but some devoted themselves eagerly to scientific study, especially to the practical application of science. Men, whose names are forgotten now, labored to make machines that would pump water from mines or dredge the bottoms of swamps or rivers, boats to sail faster, or devices for doing work more quickly or more cheaply. In the Public Record Office in London are many manuscripts with rude drawings of machines upon which the inventor desired to take a patent or for which he wanted government help. So, after many failures and by slow degrees were perfected the engines that ran by steam and the machines that took the work from men's hands; for neither the steam engine, the railway train, the steamboat, nor numerous other things, were suddenly perfected, but were often the products of long and painful evolution.

Mechanical invention

Inventions in the textile industry

In the eighteenth century a series of inventions brought about a great change in England. The first of them concerned the clothing industry, which up to that time had depended upon slow, patient, laborious work. Most cloth then was made of wool, though silk had long been used for the wealthy, and for some time cotton, brought from Asia and the new American lands, had been growing in favor. Wool, silk, or cotton, the fibers had to be slowly arranged

and patiently spun into thread, and the threads woven by hand into cloth. By such devices there could never be much cloth produced, and the generality of men wore what clothes they had as long as they could. In 1738 a certain John Kay invented the "fly-shuttle" with which weavers could make cloth more quickly than before. But as the thread was still produced largely by women working at the old spinning-wheels, with one wheel turned by motion of the foot, not enough thread could be spun to let the weavers work faster. A generation later, about 1770, James Hargreaves, a weaver of Lancashire, completed an invention, the spinning jenny or engine, by which a number of wheels could be turned by revolving a crank, so that one person could now spin out eight threads at once. Up to this point in the textile industry simple machines had been perfected enabling laborers to accomplish more with the work of their hands. But already in 1769 Richard Arkwright, a successful business man, began applying water power to spinning devices. His machines were large and costly, and there now began one of the most significant things in the revolution. Only rich men could afford to have the machines, and once having them could dispense with a great part of the labor of employees, while those whom they did require had to work for them in factories under their authority and direction. Then in 1779 Samuel Crompton, using the inventions of Hargreaves and Arkwright, produced the "spinning-mule," by which much more thread could be spun than ever before; and in 1785, Edmund Cartwright succeeded in applying water-power to a weaving-machine, and it was soon possible for a boy, scantily paid, to do more with such an appliance than three skilled weavers without it. In America, Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin or engine in 1792, by which cotton could be separated from its seeds much more quickly than ever before. The result was that huge supplies of cotton were soon raised and picked and sent

Application of power to machines

to England, where already enormous quantities of wool were being spun and woven, and Britain became beyond all question the center of the world's spinning and weaving.

Pre-eminence of Britain

One might think that these inventions would have been studied and then copied in other lands, and so they presently were; but generally foreigners were slow to interest themselves, the old regulations of trade and industry hampered the adoption of new devices on the Continent, and very soon came the Wars of the Revolution and Napoleon, when for more than twenty years, outside of Britain, Europeans gave little thought to industrial development. Britain had also another advantage in great deposits of coal and iron, lying near to each other, easily got and used, presently applied to run the machines, and make vaster industrial progress.

Coal

For a long time men had dug the black stones of north England about Newcastle, and sold them as sea-coal to be burned in the winter. But down to this time not much had been mined and it had generally been used as fuel in houses. The forges and small furnaces burned wood, until a great part of the English forests had been consumed and the woods of Ireland nearly ruined. In the eighteenth century, however, coal began to be used for the smelting of metals and to get power for running machines, and soon the age of steam began.

The age of steam

Rude steam engines for pumping water from mines were invented at the end of the seventeenth century, and there are traditions of devices much earlier. Improvements were made by many who worked upon them, especially by Thomas Newcomen in 1705, and above all by James Watt, who in 1769 began making improvements which are practically the basis of the modern steam-engines. Before his time they had been used only for pumping, but as a result of his improvements they were applied to the driving of machines. To make these large, heavy engines and ma-

chines much iron was needed and it could not be got without a great quantity of fuel. In the central and northern parts of the island large iron deposits existed, with vast coal fields in south Wales and northern England. So in the vicinity of the coal deposits blast-furnaces appeared, and huge forges and rolling mills, beyond anything ever seen before. Gradually many powerful tools and machines came into use, making possible the production of a still greater quantity of manufactured goods.

Communication and transportation

Not only industry but communication was altogether changed. In the eighteenth century in England and in France roads and canals had been improved and extended. In the early part of the nineteenth century many efforts were made to use steam engines to drive boats forward, and this culminated with the work of the American, Robert Fulton, in 1807. Steamboats now moved up and down rivers and along coasts, defying current and tides, and after the voyage of the steamship *Great Western* in 1838, the ocean could be crossed in two weeks instead of a month. Meanwhile efforts were being made to have engines drive coaches or cars. A hundred years later it was done very differently when automobiles were invented. The appliances developed at the beginning of the nineteenth century were far clumsier and much less powerful, and the problem was solved then by making an engine drag cars along rails laid for the purpose. Such was the origin of the railway. In 1808 Richard Trevithick ran the first steam engine along a railway in London, and in 1825 George Stephenson perfected a more powerful locomotive.

Steamships and railways

Great Britain outstrips other countries

The history of the Industrial Revolution in Continental Europe is a story of the adoption, imitation, and later perfection of these appliances and methods. For a long time Britain remained far ahead. She was in the earlier part of her industrial transformation when the French Revolution began. When the final victory over Napoleon came she was the workshop of the world, and as supreme in

industrialism as she was in commercial power. For a time Europe, exhausted and shaken, found it easier to buy from her than attempt any industrial development, but presently the Industrial Revolution spread from England to lands near by.

The Industrial Revolution in France

French industry, developing more slowly, had been greatly checked by the wars; but now it went on with its expansion after the time of the Congress of Vienna, and presently a new generation had brought into France the machines and the methods of England. In Great Britain the new industrialism had brought such profits and success that agriculture was partly abandoned, and by the latter part of the nineteenth century most of the people were employed in making manufactured goods. But there was never anything like this in France, where the greater part of the population continued to be engaged in agriculture, since in France there were no such great deposits of coal and iron, and the temperament of the people did not so readily tend toward large-scale production with machines. Nevertheless, by the middle of the century the Industrial Revolution had done its work and brought about in France the problems which England was facing. It had already spread also to Belgium.

In central Europe

More slowly it moved across central and eastern Europe. In Austria for a long time it made little progress. In the German lands to the north also it developed somewhat later. After the Congress of Vienna the Germanies remained separated. It was not until 1834 that they went so far as to form a customs union. After this had been achieved the old barriers obstructing commerce were removed, and wealth and manufacturing increased. After

In the German Empire

the establishment of the North German Confederation (1866), and especially after the Franco-Prussian War and the founding of the Empire (1871), industrial development went forward with giant strides, and the vast alteration and the problems which had revolutionized Britain half

a century before were now seen in Germany also. The Germans, adopting the devices which others had invented to do new work or save labor, perfected them by patient endeavor, accomplished with them new results, and presently worked upon large-scale production more cheaply and successfully than any other people in Europe.

In other lands

Spain and Italy, lacking coal and iron, none the less developed modern industrialism in some places in the later years of the century, and about Barcelona and Genoa and Milan appeared the great factories, the slums, and the socialism, long before seen in Birmingham and Paris. In Switzerland a great deal of manufacturing continued to be done, as before, in houses or small shops; but the abundant power of numerous swiftly descending streams was also employed for industrial development in place of coal, which was lacking. Utilization of water power for factory development seemed to promise greater industrialism in northern Italy, and it did actually make possible a large amount of manufacturing in Norway in the early years of the twentieth century. To the Balkan countries except Rumania—a very striking exception—backward, and but recently escaped from the debasing tyranny of the Turk, little of the Industrial Revolution ever came, and these people remained what their fathers had been before them, mountaineers or shepherds or farmers.

The Industrial Revolution in Russia

In Russia, all the eastern half of Europe, the Industrial Revolution began a hundred years after it commenced in Great Britain. This was not because the Russians lacked the materials for industrial development, since they, like the Chinese, had abundance of coal and iron and they had one of the largest supplies of petroleum in the world. Their backwardness was owing to comparatively low civilization, their unwillingness to take up manufacturing, and their lack of aptitude and skill. In Russia almost all the people, generation after generation, had done little more than carry on a rude agriculture; few of them had

any education or any industrial training, so that it was not easy for Russian capitalists to find skilled and industrious workmen, and what they could produce was often not to be made so cheaply or well as it could be in Great Britain or the German Empire. They were also immensely hampered by vast distances and lack of railroads and good transportation. Nevertheless, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the Industrial Revolution began in Russia. Factories were established and artisans trained and gathered together, mostly in the western parts bordering on Germany and Austria-Hungary, and the center of Russian industrial life was in what had been the old Kingdom of Poland. In the early years of the twentieth century Petrograd, Lodz, and Warsaw had their tall chimneys their slums, their proletariat, together with the dark, strange problems which the Industrial Revolution had brought to western Europe long before.

Impediments

General results in Europe

Some of the consequences of the Industrial Revolution in Europe were temporary, some were lasting. Europe, and especially the western part, obtained still greater supremacy and wealth. There was an enormous increase of population throughout Europe in the nineteenth century. Levasseur, the French statistician, reckoned the number of inhabitants in 1801 at one hundred and seventy-five millions. By 1900 the population was about four hundred millions. This was partly due to the increasing numbers of people on the wide Russian plain; but in some countries, like Great Britain and the German Empire, it was principally the result of industrial growth.

Industry and agriculture in Great Britain

In 1801 the population of England was only about eight millions five hundred thousand; in 1901 it was more than thirty-two millions, having very nearly quadrupled. During that period agriculture in Britain fell back, and it would have been impossible to feed the increasing multitudes except for increasing importations of food bought with manufactured goods. At last three fourths of all the people

were occupied in industry and commerce. Britain, being first in the field, found it easy enough to support growing numbers by selling manufactures to other peoples still mostly engaged in agriculture, and she had, moreover, an immense colonial empire, in many parts of which the greatest opportunities for a long time would be in agriculture, in grazing, or in mining. But obviously, in course of time, each country would desire to develop its own manufactures, and when this came to pass, the older industrial communities would no longer be able so easily to get their own living.

In the German Empire

Germany afforded some evidence of this. Her population also greatly increased as a result of the Industrial Revolution. In 1837 the population of the lands later on contained in the Empire was a little more than thirty-three millions; by 1910 there were sixty-five millions, the population having almost doubled. Three fifths of these people were now engaged in manufactures and commerce; and many of them got their living by making goods to be exchanged abroad for food. But the Germans had no great colonial empire to buy manufactured articles from them, and were obliged to compete in a field, largely taken by the British before them, which was now slowly diminishing as other countries established their own industrial systems. In the latter part of the nineteenth century Germany could well support her population by expanding manufactures and selling at lower cost; but many of her people believed that later on this could not be done unless they obtained great colonial dominions. At the present time the United States has become industrially self-sufficient, and other countries are on the way to achieving such state. Japan aspires to become the workshop of the Orient until such time as industrialism develops in China. Probably countries like Great Britain and Germany are not destined to continue indefinitely their expansion in population and wealth, in so far as that expansion is based on making and selling to other peoples the manufactured goods which they need.

Prospect of the future

Great development of cities

There was a change from rural to city life in many parts of Europe. Down to the end of the eighteenth century, there was no large community in Europe in which the great majority of the people did not make their living by agriculture and live in villages in the country. Afterward, however, in those countries like Great Britain, Belgium, and the German Empire, where the new industrialism most flourished, in course of time most of the people were gathered together around factories in cities or towns. So most of these people were cut off from contact with the soil, and in some of the larger places almost removed from knowledge and acquaintance with the country, from which their forefathers had developed character and derived their principal thoughts. In this manner arose not only a new set of problems, but also a different character and a new way of looking at things.

Shifting of centers of population

Furthermore, the Industrial Revolution brought about a shifting of population, with alteration in the relative importance of different parts of the same country, or indeed of different countries. Down to the middle of the eighteenth century the rich and important parts of England were the east and the south, containing the best agricultural lands and the principal seaports. After 1760 this was gradually changed until the greater part of the people lived about the new industrial centers of the west and the north. Scotland's larger prosperity dates from the latter part of the eighteenth century when industrial life developed on the banks of the Clyde. In the early Middle Ages Flanders and the western Netherlands contained splendid cities with flourishing small manufactures, but after the sixteenth century, those parts which freed themselves from Spain and which are nowadays known as Holland, beginning a great commercial development became far richer and more powerful than the parts which remained under the Spanish rule, known as the Spanish Netherlands, and which later as Belgium were made subordinate to Holland.

But with the industrial development which followed separation from Holland in 1830, Belgium, with her coal and iron and huge factories in the valley of the Meuse, went forward in wealth and population faster than Holland. Until the middle of the nineteenth century France continued to be as populous as Germany and stronger, but after that time, when German unity was accompanied by mighty industrial growth, Germany went forward so much more rapidly that in 1914 she had half again as much wealth as France and nearly twice the population.

Industrial basis of new military strength

Industrial development also brought great changes in military strength. As the Industrial Revolution progressed, machines and tools of all sorts became so much more complicated and powerful that a great change took place which was ill understood before the events of 1914-15. By the time of the outbreak of the Great War, the power of cannon and rapid-fire guns had become so immeasurably great, and so enormous the disparity between men supplied with modern death-dealing instruments and the very bravest not so equipped, that a nation's military strength was no longer in any direct proportion to the number of its warriors, but to the size of its armies equipped with modern weapons and supplied with the ammunition which they needed. Therefore, states possessing abundant iron and coal with developed industrial systems, numerous factories and machines, and multitudes of skilful workmen able to produce vast quantities of pig-iron and steel to be worked up into mighty weapons of precision and other implements without number, were the only powers that could fight a great war with any chance of ultimate success.

Downfall of Russia

Russia—which a hundred years before had appeared a colossus and still had by far the greatest number of fighting men to call into service, but which had as yet few railroads and factories and trained industrial workers—was found to possess slight military power compared with Germany. The industrial strength of Germany was then

seen to be the basis of military power so enormous that at first she easily defeated all her opponents. The war presently became fundamentally a stern duel between Germany and England, the other great European industrial nation; and was finally decided, after Russia with her millions had been completely crushed, by the entrance of the United States, the greatest industrial power in the world.

General changes

The problems, the ideas, the beliefs which arose out of the Industrial Revolution, varied in different places, and, also, in some parts of Europe they appeared much sooner than in others, since, generally speaking, the Revolution reached from the western part of Europe to the east in about a hundred years. But in all places there were certain conditions of primary importance, and in almost all places similar results followed from them.

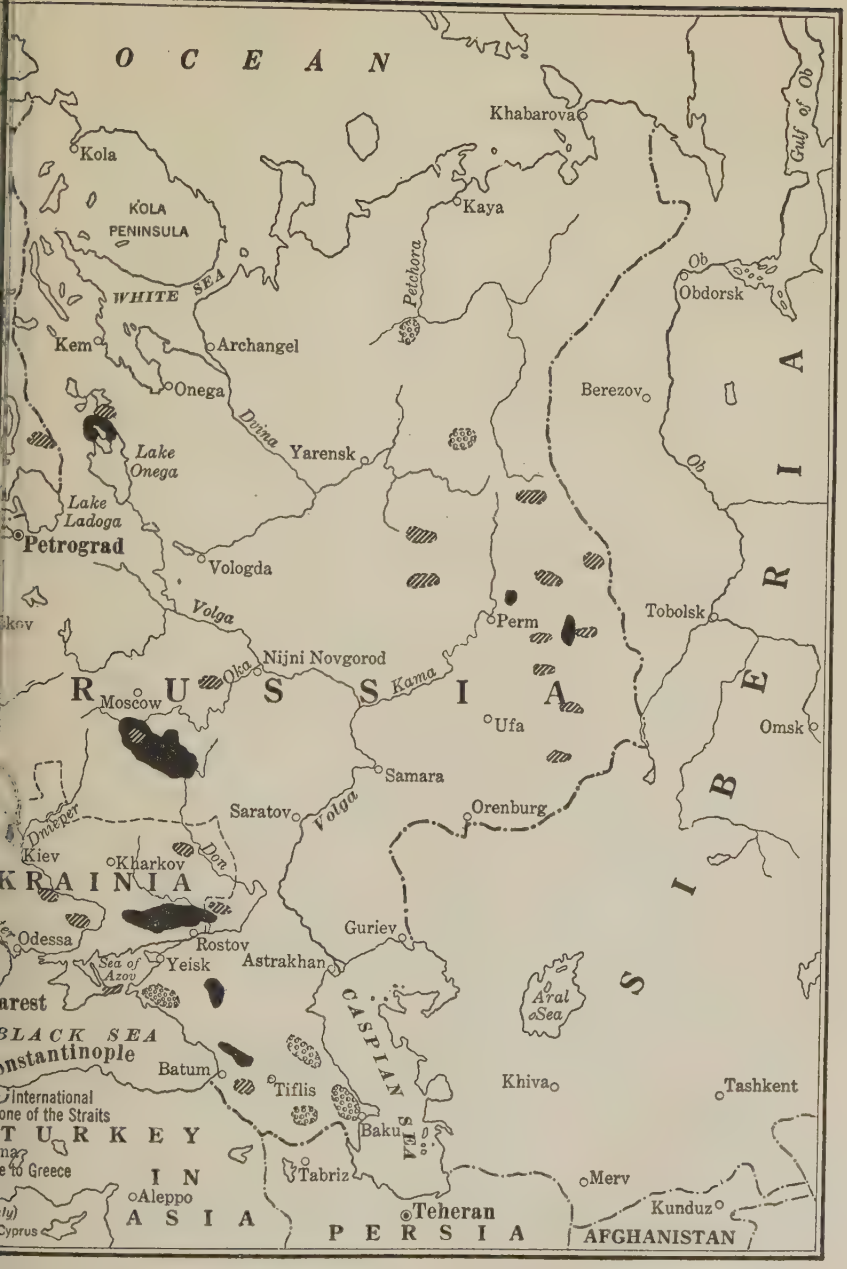
New industrial organization

The Industrial Revolution involved a fundamental change in manufacturing methods, in living conditions, and in relations between employer and employees. Machines came to be more important than workmen. Factories became larger and larger. Independent workingmen disappeared before capitalist employers, small capitalists before large ones; and in the end industry was more and more organized in stupendous corporations, in which there was no longer any personal relation between employer and employees, and often no understanding between them.

The domestic system

Under the old system of industry manufacturing was carried on mostly in houses of the workmen themselves. There the man of the house made his shoes, wove his cloth, or worked with his leather or iron, assisted by wife and children, or, where the guild system still survived, the master worked in the midst of apprentices who were learning their trades. Most of the work they did with their hands, or with small and simple machines. Personal, intimate relations existed among all these workers. The father

7. THE COAL, IRON, AN



RESOURCES OF EUROPE

might be a little of a tyrant; a bad master might abuse or overwork his apprentices; but an honest and kindly man watched out for the welfare of those around him, and was able to do it because he lived with them and knew of the things which concerned them. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries this system was being partly superseded by small factories and capitalism. None the less most of the manufacturing continued to be done as before by the domestic system, in the houses of the workers, and many of them worked for themselves.

Changed by the large machines

At first the new inventions made no great change. Not every successful workman could afford to buy Hargreaves's spinning-jenny, yet this machine was not very cumbersome or costly. But the heavy-power spinning machines of Arkwright could be got only by the few who had considerable capital to buy them and put up buildings in which to instal them. And when presently power-looms and spinning appliances were run by steam engines, then only capitalists could buy them.

The old system passes

This involved hardship in the time of adjustment, and entire change in the way manufacturing was done. In all countries where the large machines were brought into use most of the domestic industry was slowly crushed out. For a while the workers would strive desperately to compete, working longer hours and selling their products more cheaply than before; but almost always in the end they failed completely. Hence the old system passed away. Most of the workers drifted to the towns where the factories were rising. Some could find no place in the new system; and it seemed to them very wrong that through no fault of theirs they could no longer make a living, because machines took away all their chance. Sometimes they resisted desperately, and mobs of weavers smashed the new looms or tried to prevent other workers from using them. When the law was invoked all this came to an end, and, more and more, men and women who had

worked in their cottages with wheels and hand-looms gave up their efforts and asked for factory employment.

Factory towns

In Britain in the early part of the nineteenth century and in the German Empire in the latter part, it was less easy to make a living in agriculture, because grain and meat could be produced so much more cheaply on a large scale in Argentina, Australia, and the United States. German agriculture after 1879 always held its own because it was protected, but in Britain after the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, when such protection was abandoned, British agriculture declined, and people were not only attracted to the factories but to a considerable extent almost driven away from the farms. Long before this there had been a steady drift of workers to industrial towns, where they were crowded and huddled together in the miserable tenements of squalid parts newly built. There was wretched overcrowding, with much dirt and unhappiness and disease. Many people now spent their lives working in factories, living in narrow streets, blackened and soiled with smoke from the chimneys, after a while so far away from the country that many lost all love for nature.

Working conditions

Formerly, life had often been hard enough, and living very meager, but many of the workers had been their own masters. Now they worked very largely at the mercy of employers who owned the indispensable machines, and whose principal consideration was usually the getting of wealth, not the employees' welfare. Generally there were more laborers seeking work than were needed, so that the employer had great, even cruel advantage.

Laissez-faire, let do, or non-interference marks the Industrial Revolution

In all places the beginning of Industrial Revolution brought as much misery as benefit to the workers. This resulted very largely because certain principles and ideas were applied to conditions for which they were not adapted. The Industrial Revolution resulted not merely from great mechanical inventions, from power-looms, engines, and steamboats, but also because of the rise of the

doctrine of *laissez-faire* and the abandoning of previous restrictions by which industry had been regulated and employers and employees protected. Formerly in England and in Continental states there had been elaborate governmental regulations, which, though they were made by the upper classes, gave some protection to the workers. But in course of time, as the older system decayed, those who favored new methods believed that these regulations interfered with industry more than they helped it; and during the latter part of the eighteenth century the whole tendency had been to remove restrictions and let things take their own course. Hence arose the doctrine of *laissez-faire*, taught by Turgot and other French writers and brought by Adam Smith into England. At this time also Rousseau and his contemporaries were teaching that men had natural rights which had been obstructed or taken away by interference of the government above them. This doctrine developed in one direction toward equality, democracy, and self-government; in another direction it led to the belief that men should have freedom of contract, freedom to work in such conditions as they chose, or liberty to manage their business without governmental regulation. Experience was to show that the freedom of *laissez-faire* would give more power to the strong and put the mass of the laborers in more lowly and hopeless subjection.

Regulation abandoned

One effect of the Revolution was to establish a new upper class. "Aristocracy always exists," said Napoleon on one occasion. "Destroy it in the nobility, it removes itself immediately to the rich and powerful houses of the middle class. Destroy it in these, it survives and takes refuge with the leaders of the workshops and people." Napoleon could little understand the forces of democracy then rising, and he could not foresee that perhaps the greatest movement of the next hundred years would be the attempt really to improve the condition of the masses by giving them control of their governments and bettering their economic

The new upper class

position. Neither he nor his contemporaries could know, perhaps, that the Industrial Revolution then progressing in England would be the most powerful factor in bringing this change. But contemporaries must have seen then that one of its first great effects was to make a powerful new upper class.

Power of the capitalist owners

Owners and managers were an upper industrial class, since only the rich and successful could buy the machines and develop the great new industrial arrangements. In medieval times the barons and lords of the manor had held much power over the villeins who worked their estates; scarcely less great was the power now of manufacturers over their employees. There was frequently a surplus of labor; so they could get as many workmen as they wanted, decide which ones to employ, and dictate to them the terms and the wages. The government ceased intervening to protect the workers, and it was moreover controlled by the upper classes who considered their own interests first. The belief was held that poverty and suffering resulted from operation of natural laws, which kindness could never remove, and that best results were always obtained by each man seeking his own selfish interest.

Wages

It was often said then, as later, that larger wages would only result in larger numbers of children, after which the families would be no better off than before. So, the predominating doctrine in England was that capitalists should make as great profits and take from the workers as much labor as possible, and pay as low wages as they could.

Depression of the mass of the workers

And this was done in Britain, and at other times in almost all places where industrialism was being established. Great prosperity came to some, and the nation seemed rapidly growing rich, but actually there were horrible results. Workers with their families crowded into the factory towns because they could no longer make a living in their cottages or out in the country. The throngs of laborers bid against each other for work, and wages were

easily driven down. Often the man alone could not support his family. This had frequently been so under the older system, for in the home industries often the man was helped by his wife and his children. Now they also must go to the mills and get scanty wages. This depressed men's wages still more, for frequently capitalists found that their machines could be run just as well by the cheap labor of women and children. Not all of the picture should be dark; but in the mill towns of Britain there were presently many idle men and many more who got insufficient wages. There were also women working long, hard hours, and so weakening themselves that often their babies died soon after birth, or lived to grow up weak and sickly. There were also in the factories many small children, who should have been at play or in school, but who at the worst should never been have made to toil the long hours of drudgery given them. In England there had been for generations a sturdy agricultural population which supplied the fighting men who won England's wars; now a considerable part of the population degenerated, and the factory towns contained many poor, ill-nourished, over-worked men, women, and children, pale and weak and disheartened.

Degeneration

It was scarcely realized at first how much power the concentration of wealth was giving to the industrial magnates who possessed it, and how helpless the individual worker was before them. It is clear enough now that whereas in the Middle Ages aristocrats or the strong and able men either went into the church and rose to be powerful ecclesiastics, or got to be captains in the wars or noblemen with castles, men-at-arms, and manorial rights over their fellows, now the able or the privileged went into industry and commerce and won for themselves power and position with their gold or with their machines. Only by uniting could the workers hope to oppose them successfully. Long before the Industrial Revolution English

Combinations of workmen forbidden

workingmen had attempted to form combinations, but these efforts were frustrated and forbidden by laws, and at the beginning of the nineteenth century it was a well-recognized principle that unions of workmen were harmful to industry and also dangerous to the state.

Conditions worse, not better

The result was that for a great number of people conditions became worse and not better. Splendid new ideas about equality had come into vogue, and there had even been some attempts to let men govern themselves; but the mass of the people found that they could not get their living any easier than before and some found it harder than ever. The French Revolution had affected civil and legal affairs, rather than economic, and moreover new economic conditions were now being created by the Industrial Revolution which only new reforms could amend.

Amelioration

There was no simple remedy. In some respects a new world was being made, and for a long time the utmost to be accomplished would be the gradual bringing about of new and better conditions as the result of long work and patient endeavor. After a while some things were done. In England, where the Revolution first went far, the doctrine of *laissez-faire* was presently abandoned. In course of time people, becoming more enlightened and humane, could not believe that "enlightened self-interest" did bring the best results. The government began again to intervene passing laws to limit hours of labor for women and children, specifying the age under which children might not be employed, and presently allowing workingmen to combine in unions for their advantage and protection. Progress was slow, for legislators hesitated to curtail the rights of individuals or let the state intervene in industrial affairs, so that often the early laws did little to regulate conditions and brought small relief. Moreover, restrictions were generally evaded at first and ill-enforced. But in course of time the protection given workers by the

The state intervenes

Working-men combine

government was greater, and much good followed. Meanwhile combinations of workingmen, which had been specifically forbidden in 1799 and 1800 but legalized in 1824 and 1825, slowly went forward. They were very weak at first and usually lost their contests with employers. It could scarcely be foreseen then that less than a hundred years later labor unions would have got so much power as to be threatening governments and in some places making their members a specially favored industrial class. For the present, however, the condition of the industrial workers, or the proletariat, as they were getting to be called, was generally low, and improving so slowly that impatient or radical thinkers believed the whole existing system to be wrong, and that new conditions demanded a new and different system. This led to the rise of new doctrines, some of which were among the most important contributions of the nineteenth century, especially socialism, which, as Toynbee said, was one of the paramount results of the Industrial Revolution.

Socialism

To the humane French philosophers of the latter part of the eighteenth century the world had seemed full of abuses, and they had stated the means by which men could be given what they believed was their natural equality and the happiness which should be their due. These doctrines had been restated in the French Revolution, and attempt made to carry them into effect. Hence had come civil equality. But the radical reformers of the Revolution had clearly perceived that the better state which they hoped for could never be attained unless economic equality was brought about also. Presently the effects of the Industrial Revolution were apparent, and economic inequalities appeared still more striking. To remedy these conditions old doctrines were restated so strikingly that they have never since failed of attention.

The ideas now known as socialism did not originate in the nineteenth century, but in some form can be traced

Communist ideas in earlier times

back very far. Plato, who perceived the inequalities of his time, and who declared that in every city there were two great groups—the few who had, and the many who did not have, always at war with each other—described in his *Republic* an ideal state in which there should be community of goods and all fare alike. Others before him had dreamed of this, and the idea was handed on down. When Christianity was established something of communism was adopted. "If thou wilt be perfect," said Jesus to a certain one, "go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor." Holding of property in common for all the members came to be the rule of organization in the early church as it was in the later monastic societies; but as time went on it was not retained in the general organization of the Catholic Church. In 1360 John Ball and others preached to English villeins that in the beginning all men were equal and that serfdom ought to be abolished. The doctrine of communism was again memorably stated in the sixteenth century by the Englishman, Sir Thomas More, who described the blessed country of Utopia where community of goods prevailed. During the period of the Reformation there was some attempt to realize this, especially in places where the Anabaptists for a moment were in control. During the seventeenth century in England certain Levellers arose to preach that all men should have equal position. In the eighteenth century French philosophic writers again expounded the doctrine. In 1748 Montesquieu recalled the communism of the republic of Plato, declared that the rich obtained their wealth by taking from others, suggested that the state should divide great fortunes, and asserted that in return for their labor the state owed food, clothing, and a healthful living to all of its citizens. Somewhat later Rousseau, who learned much from Montesquieu, asserted in his *Discourse Concerning Inequality* (1754) that in the state of nature, before man's natural rights had been abridged, there was

In the church

Montesquieu and Rousseau

no private property, but all men were free and held the property in common.

Communism in the French Revolution

In the French Revolution the disciples of Rousseau and his fellows, both Girondists and Jacobins, held similar ideas; and, though these ideas had almost no actual result, yet during the most extreme part of the Revolution some attempt was made to put them into effect. One of the Girondists asserted that equality would come only if fortunes were equally divided by law, and if laws were passed to prevent inequalities in the future. In 1792 Robespierre declared that property held in common by all of society was indispensable. "The French Revolution," said Sylvain Maréchal in 1796, in his *Manifeste des Égaux* (Proclamation of Equals), "is but the forerunner of another revolution much greater . . . which will be the last . . . we move forward to something more sublime and just, the common weal and community of goods. No more private ownership of land, the land belongs to no one." By this time reaction was already under way, and the bourgeois Directory was in control. Against this government François Babeuf, who advocated complete equality and community of property, headed a conspiracy in 1796. His scheme, which at once came to naught with his capture and execution, had been the establishment of a state in which private property should not exist, and in which the commonwealth, holding all property, should direct all the work of its citizens, dividing their tasks among them, and, if necessary, compelling men to do the work assigned. Actually, during the Revolution the principle of private ownership of property was not seriously attacked, and despite much confiscation and change of ownership, such holding was thoroughly safeguarded. Indeed, in France presently more private property was held by a large number of proprietors than before. From France communistic doctrines had spread over into England, but no substantial results were apparent.

Economic equality by law

Private ownership upheld in France

The Industrial Revolution

For the most part the communistic theories of the Old Régime and the Revolution had to do with landed property, but during the first half of the nineteenth century the Industrial Revolution produced in western Europe such large results, such power and wealth in the hands of capitalists and factory owners, and made so evident the lowly dependence of a multitude of workers, that again the ideas of better arrangement of wealth and of regulation by the state were taken up. They were directed now more against the *bourgeoisie*. In Great Britain, and also in lands near by, the Industrial Revolution was now creating a new proletariat, for whom other measures were needed.

Socialism in England: Robert Owen

In England, where industrial change had been greatest, came the first important development in this period. Early in the nineteenth century Robert Owen, a Scotsman, developed at New Lanark a model factory community, where the workers shared in the profits of their labors. He believed that it would be possible for industrial and agricultural life everywhere to be so arranged. The enterprise at New Lanark was very successful, but attempts to set up similar communities in other places usually failed. It was generally found that a leader with the enterprise and the skill necessary to win such success would only work for himself, while the workers, much pleased to share in the profits, were unwilling or unable to assume any part of the losses. Later on, however, coöperative enterprises and stores were established, not only in Great Britain but elsewhere. Owen himself went beyond his undertaking at New Lanark, constantly interesting himself in assisting the poorer classes and reforming society. He tried to establish various communities in which property and interests should be in common. He was afterward regarded as the founder of socialism in England. Indeed, it was in connection with his efforts that the term "socialism" arose. He himself may have employed it, but as early as 1835 one of his disciples is

Origin of the term "socialist"

known to have used the word "socialist" (*socius*, comrade or ally). In the following years socialism permeated the ideals of the Chartist reformers, but died down with the failure of their schemes.

In France

During this time the Industrial Revolution was developing also in France, where factories, slums, proletariat, all attracted increasing attention. Thoughtful and humane men began to advocate fundamental reform, going back to the ideas of Rousseau, Robespierre, and Babeuf. Claude, Comte de Saint-Simon, later regarded as the founder of French socialism, who developed his ideas in the years 1817–25, proposed that all property should be owned by the state, that inheritance should be abolished, and industry regulated by men of science. François Fourier believed that reform should be made through establishing industrial communities, in which the profits would be divided among capital, labor, and talent. Somewhat later appeared Louis Blanc, who published his *Organisation du Travail* (Organization of Labor) in 1839. He condemned industrial competition, and taught that the state should institute "social" workshops, in which the workmen should choose their managers and divide the gains. His plan for national workshops was soon espoused by many workingmen in Paris. In the Revolution of 1848 a provisional government was set up in which Blanc and other leaders of the socialists were represented. National workshops were established but soon abolished. Then the socialists and workmen rose in revolt, but after three days of fighting in the streets they were mercilessly crushed, and the experiment came to an end.

Saint-Simon

Public ownership and nationalization

Nevertheless, the idea persisted that enterprises should be owned by the state and managed for the workers within them. In the following decades many of the great public utilities were purchased by the governments of European countries, and public ownership was widely extended. In France, in Prussia, in Italy, in England, railways,

tramways, telephones, telegraphs, were bought by the central government or by the governments of the cities; but the benefits of this public ownership were for all the people and not merely for the particular employees in question. After 1914 especially, the doctrine was spread about that capitalists must disappear, that industries, like transportation and the mining of coal, must be purchased by the state, and then operated and managed by their workers who would share such profits as arose.

Decline of the older socialism

Thus it is evident that ideas of socialism or communism had had a long development before the middle of the nineteenth century, and that many thinkers who contributed to its teachings continued to influence men after this time. But by the end of 1848 the socialism of Owen, Fourier, Saint-Simon, and their followers was visibly sunk in decay; their efforts had failed, and it was apparent that their teachings had not produced the results they hoped for. Chartism in England was dying out. The schemes of Louis Blanc had failed in Paris. As early as 1840 many radical workmen had lost faith in the doctrines of these teachers, and some of them began to believe that reforms by the government, and remedies brought by philanthropists or conducted by "men of science" would help them little. The betterment of the condition of the proletariat, it was said, must come through the efforts of itself. The doctrines which such men held vaguely and not yet well defined had to some extent been stated by the German, Wilhelm Weitling, and by the Frenchman, Étienne Cabet who in 1840 published his *Voyage en Icarie*, a philosophic romance which described the communism of an ideal state. Presently German refugees, followers of this workingmen's movement, founded the Communist League, a secret society, with headquarters in London. At this point appeared Marx, the great expounder of modern socialist doctrines.

New teachings

Karl Marx (1818–83) was of Jewish descent, and came

Karl Marx

of a middle-class family in Rhenish Prussia. He was destined for the law, but his own inclinations carried him to philosophy and historical studies. He was at first a liberal bourgeois, in the days of political repression in Germany before the Revolution of 1848. Soon he found it expedient to leave the country. In 1843 he went to Paris. There he met Friedrich Engels, his companion and co-worker thereafter. Through study of the teachings of Robert Owen, and through acquaintance with Louis Blanc in Paris, Marx became a social reformer and an advocate of the workingman's cause. In 1847 Marx and Engels attended a meeting of the Communist League held in London. The views which they there stated made much impression, and they were asked to draw up a working programme for the League. This they did, and in 1848 appeared the *Communist Manifesto*, a small pamphlet containing in brief form their socialist doctrines. "Let the ruling classes tremble," they said. "Workmen of all lands, unite." In 1849 Marx, having returned to Prussia, was expelled from the country. Presently along with his wife he took refuge in London, and remained in England until his death. During these long years, in the midst of poverty, discouragement, and meager living, sustained by the devotion of his wife and the sympathy of followers and friends, haunting, as many a scholar since has done, the *Round Room* of the *British Museum* in quest of materials for research, writing in his rooms, often in the midst of the children whom he loved, shouting, tumbling, harnessing him as he wrote and whipping him in the midst of laughter and shouts, he composed his profound and extensive studies which constitute a landmark in the development of socialist writing. His chief work, *Das Kapital* (Capital), was published in 1867.

Communist Manifesto

Finds refuge in England

Influence of Marx

Communism, or socialism, as it was called again later on, received vast impetus and new meaning from the teachings of Engels and Marx. Everywhere the *Communist Mani-*

festo attracted attention. *Das Kapital* did not directly influence many, but the ideas of the master were reduced to simple form, popularized and spread broadcast, as new teachings and great doctrines usually are, by numerous disciples who proclaimed them again and again. In another generation they had become mighty factors in the intellectual and economic life of the world; and when the century ended, it was seen that the teachings of Marx—like the exhortations of Luther and Calvin, like the theories of Rousseau, like the doctrine of evolution taught by Darwin—had profoundly affected the minds of very great numbers of men.

Doctrines of Marx and Engels

According to Marx there had always been a few at the top ruling and exploiting the many beneath them. Between the two groups there had been a struggle from of old. In ancient times the contest was between masters and slaves; slavery had gradually disappeared, but then society was divided into the lords above and the great body of the serfs beneath them; gradually serfdom had disappeared in most places, as nobles and lords lost their power, but from the ruins of feudal society had come the modern bourgeois society, and the age-long struggle was still being fought out between capitalists and industrial workers. "Society as a whole," said the *Communist Manifesto*, "is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: *Bourgeoisie* and Proletariat." In the end the upper class, the workingmen's enemy and master, would be completely overthrown. Now the workers toiled for their masters in factories and were huddled together in tenements and slums, but their number was great, and if they could unite with the workers in the country they might some day get the government within their control. Capital and wealth were held by a few; they were destined to be concentrated in still fewer hands; then, finally, when the people had control, all would be taken over by the

Struggle of classes

state for the people. Marx declared that upper-class capitalists largely owned as private property the wealth that had been created by the workers, and that with the destruction of the *bourgeoisie* and their organization, this would be brought to an end and capital be the common property of the people. The *Manifesto* stated in simple form some of the measures which it was hoped would be ordained: abolition of property in land, all rents to be taken for the public; a heavy progressive or graduated income tax; abolition of inheritance; centralization of credit in the hands of the state, the state setting up a national bank with exclusive monopoly; all means of communication and transport to be centralized, controlled by the state; state ownership of factories and instruments of production; equal liability of all to labor—establishment of "industrial armies"; free education of all children in public schools, and abolition of children's factory labor. "In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all." "The proletarians," said the *Manifesto*, "have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win."

Socialist ideas

It was the work of these communist teachers, and especially of Marx, to take the earlier socialist speculations, and give them apparently firmer foundation and certainly greater distinctness. The doctrines of Marx were no mere abstractions conceived in his own mind nor brilliant speculations based upon foundations which he merely assumed. For years he carried on tireless research in the past records of industrial history and development, and whether or not his deductions were correct, he deduced from study of the past his interpretation of the present and his prophecies for the future. His conclusion that all history recorded a struggle between classes was plausible enough, however true it may be. His prediction that the mass of the people

Their character

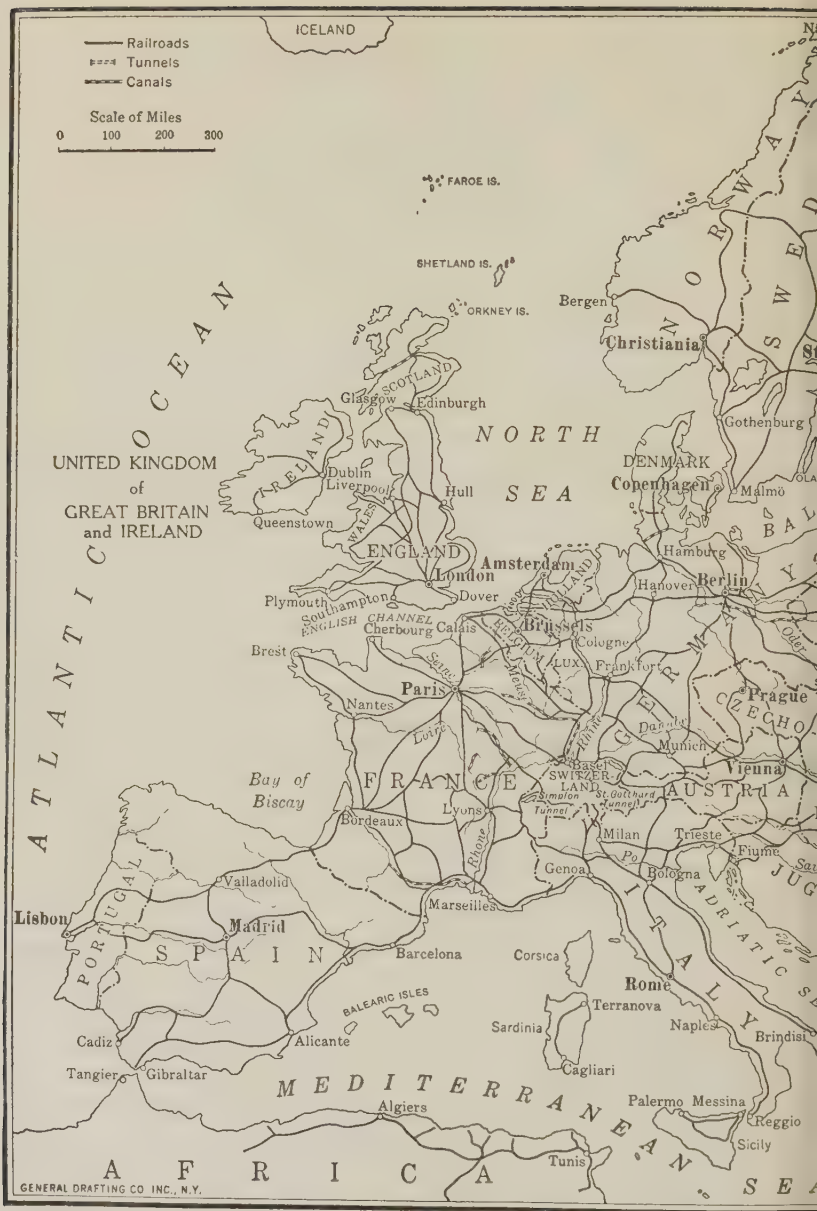
Generous idealism

would certainly control the governments of their states later on was in accord with the splendid dreams of the democracy then developing, which since his time have developed so much further still. His conclusion that under the control of the people communism would be established for the betterment of the lot of the people had for more than two thousand years been the dream of not a few philosophers who hoped to ameliorate the lot of mankind. His idea that the proletariats of the several countries had interests in common and should live together in amity and accord was but an aspect of the scheme which many noble spirits have cherished for the attainment of peace and things better.

More radical doctrines

The ideas of Marx and other great socialists were carried further and sometimes perverted by rasher and more ardent spirits, whose declarations filled contemporaries with aversion and horror. Socialism soon came under the stigma of intending to break up the family, abolish marriage, bring community of women, divide all property equally, and do away with the Christian religion. There was good reason to think that if those who cherished these ideals could, they would bring them to pass by force through sudden overturning and revolution. Accordingly socialism, like the doctrine of evolution, had to encounter not merely the conservative instinct of the time in which it appeared, but also the repugnance and dread of many who were frightened at radical wildness. For not all of this was Marx responsible. It should be remembered also that, whatever his mistakes, and some of them only time will determine, his motives were of the best. He was filled with a passionate humanity and desire to make the lot of his fellowmen better. "The poor always ye have with you," was the maxim brought down through the ages; but these socialists conceived of poverty as a disease in the state, curable, and preventable, indeed, if the state were but organized better.

Nobility of the motives of Marx



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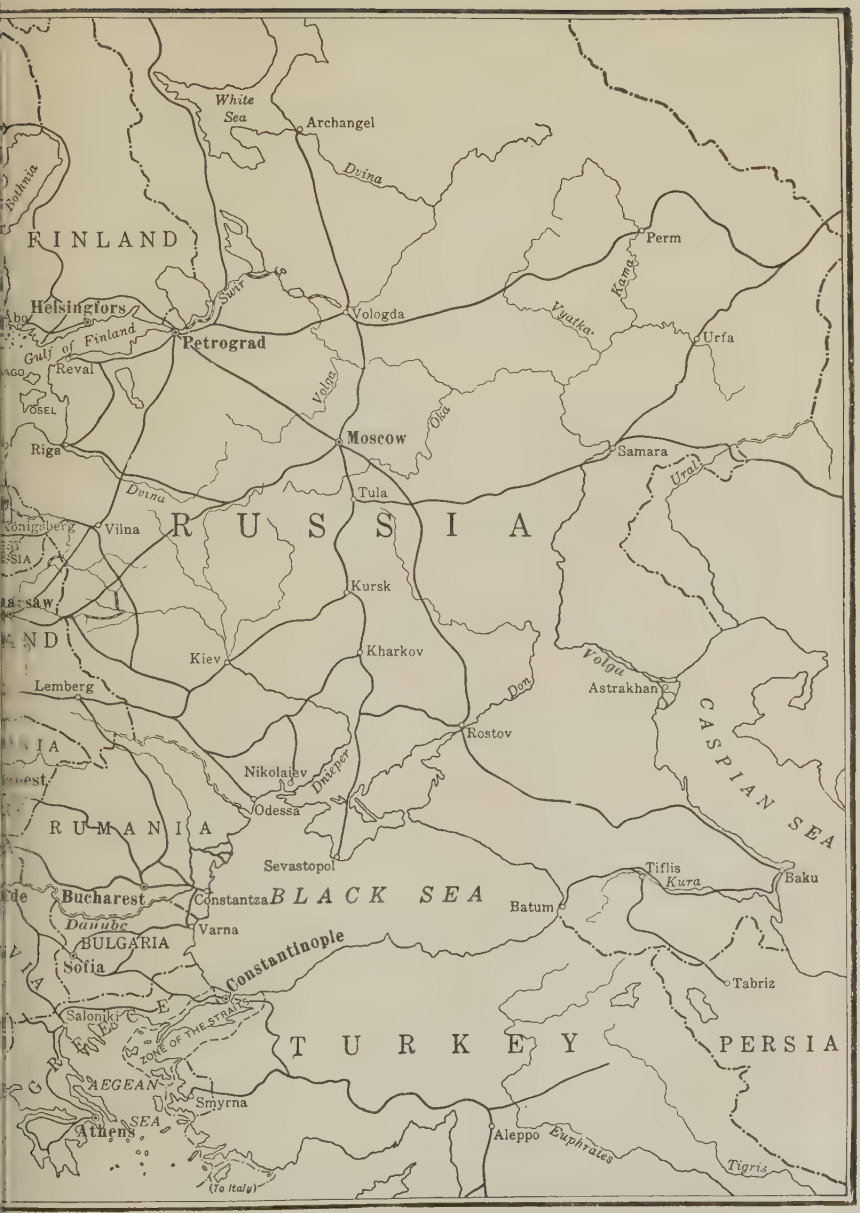

CANALS, AND PRINCIPAL RIVERS

Criticism of socialist doctrines

In the latter part of the nineteenth century socialist and communist doctrines became increasingly influential and important. Many of the socialists themselves gradually became less extreme, and expected to bring their reforms about slowly, in consequence of perception by most people that their doctrines were best. Some of their ideas in course of time were adopted by governments themselves and put into effect, for the most part, it would seem, for the better. Generally, however, their fundamental doctrine, that private property should be abolished and that all should be held by the state for the use of its people, found slow acceptance. It would be possible to point out that communism had existed probably in every primitive society, and that if the history of mankind extended over 100,000 years, perhaps much the greater part of this time had known the existence of communistic organization. It was certain that in the development of what most people conceived to be the better civilization of the more recent centuries, always common ownership had yielded to the system of private holding. Whether, then, communism was well adapted for advanced peoples, whether it could ever be put into operation for the welfare of the majority was for most people hidden in doubt and in the future.

Doubt concerning socialist doctrines

Hostility to socialism

No teachings in the nineteenth century aroused stronger opposition and greater dread than the socialist doctrines. They were boldly aimed at existing political and social systems, so that governments, churches, and the great body of conservative and propertied people everywhere were almost always hostile and suspicious, in so far as they knew anything about them. Twice did the French government suppress French socialists by force; and under Bismarck's leadership the government of the German Empire passed drastic laws against them. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, however, socialists became more moderate and also began to have wider influence. Ac-

cordingly, governments themselves undertook to carry out some of the socialist ideas. This state socialism was begun by Bismarck in Germany in the years 1883–9. Thence it spread into France; and largely as a result of the influence of the Fabian Society was to some extent accepted by the Liberal Party in the United Kingdom.

Hostility of the churches

More determined was the opposition of the churches. In England, in France, in Germany, and elsewhere, it is true, Christian Socialists, like Charles Kingsley and the Abbé Lamennais, had striven to amend the condition of the poorer classes through legislation by the state, but they were usually altogether opposed to the ideas of Marx; and most churchmen were against all socialist teachings. Greatest of all was the opposition of the Roman Catholic Church. Its authorities condemned the new teachings completely. In 1864 Pope Pius IX denounced socialism and communism in the *Syllabus of Errors*, and in 1891 Pope Leo XIII in his encyclical or circular, *Rerum Novarum* (Concerning New Matters), declared that socialist teachings violated the natural right of property, though he deplored the greed of employers and urged that the condition of workers be improved. "The last great fight," said a socialist leader, "will be between the Blacks and the Reds"; meaning the Catholic Church, with its black-robed priests, and the socialists who had taken for their standard the red flag. Socialists refused to follow the dictates of the church; while conservative people looked on the churches as a bulwark against radical teachings.

Further effects of the Industrial Revolution

Meanwhile profound changes had been brought about in the character and position of the great body of the people through consequences that followed the Industrial Revolution. Nothing else was so potent in advancing democracy and self-government, education, the emancipation of women, and the spread of numerous liberal ideas. Great numbers of people were brought together, and mere association with one another gave them the quicker, more

Increase of urban life

open, more radical minds which come in city life, the power of numbers, and the habit of acting together. However wretched their condition often might be, factory workers in the towns were soon mentally more alert, more apt to question existing conditions, better able to comprehend changes, and more insistent that changes should be made, than the inhabitants of farms or little villages had been. During the course of the nineteenth century the great ideas which had first been formulated in England, worked out in the United States, and afterward more grandly stated in France, were followed by the masses of the people in western Europe. Gradually in Great Britain, in France, in Italy, in Belgium, and to a less extent in the German states, workingmen and rural laborers were admitted to the franchise, after which, because they were the majority of the people, they tended to get control of the governments as Marx had foretold. They themselves, and the upper classes as well, saw that this power could not be gained, and certainly not well used, unless they obtained education; and in the nineteenth century, for the first time in the history of the world, it became a great purpose to see that all men and women should be able to read and to write. Then when most of the people had obtained some education and political experience, they began to demand reforms in government and life which would make their lot better, and after a while to agitate for thorough changes to bring this about. By the beginning of the twentieth century it seemed certain to many that the future of the world lay in democracy, even though democracy often had not yet learned to act wisely.

Education

Position of women altered

Finally, it was because of the Industrial Revolution even more than the French Revolution that the position of women was changed so much in the last hundred years. The Renaissance, the Reformation, even the French Revolution, which carried some men so far forward, left women much as they always had been, inferior

and subordinate to men. Down to the time of the new factories and the large machines, most of women's work was always done in the home, under control and supervision of the men, whose authority was recognized by law. But one of the results of the Industrial Revolution was that much of all the toil formerly done at home—spinning, weaving, making of clothes, preserving food and a part of the work of preparing it to be eaten—was taken away and given to factory workers. A large part of such labor had formerly been done by women in their homes; now they went forth to work for wages, which, after a while, they considered to be theirs and kept for themselves. In this way gradually some economic independence was achieved. Moreover, socialist and labor leaders almost always insisted on the equality of women with men.

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CHAPTER VI

THE UNITED KINGDOM, 1789–1832

> And all these rights and liberties it is our birthright to enjoy entire; unless where the laws of our country have laid them under necessary restraints: restraints in themselves so gentle and moderate, as will appear, upon farther inquiry, that no man of sense or probity would wish to see them slackened.
>
> BLACKSTONE, *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1765), book i, chapter i.

> The higher and middling orders are the natural representatives of the human race.
>
> MACAULAY, in the *Edinburgh Review*, March, 1829.

The Old Régime yielded slowly in Britain

THE history of Great Britain differs from that of other western European lands in that the French Revolution made no sharp break or beginning of a new era there. In France and some of the neighboring countries 1789 marks the end of an old régime. In England, where the Revolution had no profound immediate effects, the old system of things never ended abruptly, and was not seriously disturbed until 1832, when, indeed, there was no revolution. It was always by gradual changes that England of the eighteenth century was transformed into the democratic nation which existed just before the War. The English people had become conservative and for a long time they had no violent revolutions or changes very abrupt. At the same time they were so wisely liberal and constructive, that, continuously making changes as changes seemed needed, they often advanced along the

pathway of reform more quickly than any other people. Some, like the Americans and the French, established a new order, recording the change in a new constitution. After the first ten amendments (1791), the American constitution (1787–9) was for a long while scarcely altered at all. The French making several complete changes about the same time, several times afterward discarded their work and returned to an older form. But the British people have no constitution in any single document, and their constitution shows better than anything else how their government has been a gradual growth. It consists of great statutes from Magna Carta to the Electoral Law of 1918, of all the lesser laws which continue in force, the great decisions of courts, and a body of precedent and custom. The elementary student finds the American constitution in a few pages near the end of his text-book; only gradually is he able to discover what the British constitution is.

English government slowly changed

In spite of such gradual alteration, the changes in the British Isles since 1789, seen from a distance, are enormous. Britain of the twentieth century is a liberal democracy with government vested in representatives of the people, with men and women taking ever more decisive part in ordering the affairs that affect them, and constantly striving to direct affairs in the interests of the body of the people. The Britain of the eighteenth century, though the lot of its inhabitants was better than that of any others in Europe, was a land of privilege and wealth for the few, with power in the hands of a small number at the top, a land of class distinctions and class privilege, of vested interests and subordination of the many.

Eighteenth century England

It was still an age of established religion. At the time of the Reformation most Englishmen became Protestants, adherents of the Church of England. This church, established by the government, took for its use the old cathedrals and churches, and administered the religion which

Discrimination against Roman Catholics

all the people were to have. But some adhered to the Roman Catholic faith. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries these English Catholics were put under penalties, which, if enforced, made them outlaws. They might not sit in parliament or hold public office, or practise their religion openly, nor might they have priests in private, while the law compelled them to attend services of the Church of England. Some of the regulations were commonly not enforced, but always they could be an instrument of oppression in enemies' hands. There were also many Protestants who had desired reformation different from that established by the Anglican Church. Such were the Presbyterians, the Baptists, the Quakers, and at a later time the Methodists. For a long while now these dissenters had been allowed to worship as they wished, but they also were subject to discrimination and debarred from holding office by the Test and Corporation Acts passed in the seventeenth century, though they were now regularly relieved from the operation of these statutes by annual indemnity acts.

Against Protestant dissenters

Government

The government was a limited monarchy, with parliament the principal power. The king, who as late as the sixteenth century had almost all the functions of government in his hands, afterward lost to parliament his most important powers: making laws and levying taxes. During the eighteenth century his executive power and control of foreign affairs were taken over by the ministers of his cabinet council. According to the law the king still appointed officials, commanded the army and navy, executed the laws, which could only be passed when he approved them, and presided over the administration of affairs. And it should be noticed that it was partly because the statesmen who drafted the American Constitution believed that the king of England was really an executive that such powers as these were given to the president of the United States. Actually, however, in Britain almost all

The king loses power

of these powers had been completely lost to the ministers of the cabinet.

Cabinet government

The cabinet form of government arose in England. From of old English kings had had a council of assistants and advisers to help them in governing their kingdom. In the sixteenth century this body was known as the privy council. In the course of the seventeenth century the privy council became too large, and kings caused a few of its ablest and most trusted members to meet privately for important business. This followed contemporary usage in France, where the meeting was often held in one of the *cabinets* or smaller rooms of the king. Gradually in England the small body came to be known as the cabinet council. It was strictly subordinate to the king, who always presided at its meetings

Cabinet displaces the king

The king's power had long been declining, but in 1714 a dynasty of German princes was called to the throne. The first of them was not only dependent on the great leaders who gave him support, but could not speak English and knew little about the government of his kingdom. Accordingly, he soon stayed away from cabinet meetings, and in his place a first minister or prime minister presided. In the period 1714–60 the cabinet ministers, who were the leaders of parliament, gradually took away the king's power.

George III

In 1760 George III began a long effort to get back what his predecessors had lost, and for a while he had much success. After a period of disasters and trouble, however, he gave up the struggle, and since about 1783 the executive power in the British government has been in the hands of the prime minister and the cabinet. Gradually it was established that these ministers, who were leaders of the houses of parliament, were to be dependent on a majority of the representatives in the house of commons. In the British system now the executive, the cabinet, is a committee or part of the legislative, the house of commons, whereas in the American form of government execu-

tive and legislative are separate completely. In the American system the president, after being elected by the people, except where his power is shared with Congress, is, throughout his term, largely uncontrolled, save by public opinion. In Britain under the cabinet system the executive depends directly upon the approval of a majority of the representatives in the commons. When it no longer has this support, it quickly passes from power.

Parliament once not controlled by the people

In 1789 this had by no means completely developed. The ministry or cabinet was largely dependent upon parliament, but in no modern sense did parliament represent the people of England. Less than one man out of ten could vote; representation was not in proportion to population; and the franchise was dependent on property or old right to the suffrage.

Parliament in the eighteenth century

Parliament consisted of the house of lords and the house of commons. The lords were hereditary noble members. The house of commons was composed of members elected from the counties and from some of the boroughs or towns. From the counties members were elected by property-owners in accordance with a law passed in 1430. Most of the members of the commons came from the boroughs. By no means did all of the towns have representation—only those which kings had formerly invited to send members. For a long time no new ones had been invited. Now in the industrial regions large cities were growing, which had no representation whatever, while places once given the right continued to have it even though their population was small, or, as in some cases, it had disappeared altogether. In the boroughs the franchise was generally restricted to a very few voters, who were property-owners or had inherited their right to vote. Wealthy men were easily able to buy up the "decayed" or "pocket" boroughs and manage their representation as they pleased. Hence the principal members of the house of lords, wealthy nobles and landlords, had control of a

Many towns not represented

great part of the commons; and when George III tried to regain the lost power of the crown he began his efforts by buying members of the house of commons.

Representation not based on population

Only indirectly and faintly did such a parliament represent the people. Perhaps this was not to be helped, for most of the people could not read or write, and there were not any very effectual means of informing the people about politics or of making their influence felt. Long before, Cromwell had tried to reform the electoral system, basing representation on population, in the modern way; but this plan failed almost at once. At the end of the eighteenth century many Englishmen wanted parliamentary reform, but their projects had to do with giving representation to the larger places and taking it from some of the small ones. Not many advocated representatives in proportion to numbers, because very few believed that most men should vote.

Democracy little developed anywhere then

As yet there was little of democratic ideals. The democracy of Athens and other classical places had been for free citizens supported by a much larger number of slaves; and in the city communities of the Middle Ages power and privilege of government were generally limited to only a few. Some teachings of the Christian religion seemed to imply equality, but some of its precepts also proclaimed the subordination of the many to the few. From time to time there had been teachers who asserted the equality of men, but their schemes had failed and their teachings were regarded as false and misleading. Just before the French Revolution Rousseau and others had declared that government should rest on the consent of its people. Soon after, the Americans wrote in their Declaration of Independence "All men are created equal," and a little later the French Revolutionists asserted that men are born and continue equal and free. But the French soon went back to monarchy and kings; and the Americans had in their midst black men whom they did not consider, and according to

The American and the French Revolutions

the state constitutions which they drafted only a small proportion of their men had the vote. In Great Britain at this time there were only a few people, regarded as radicals or dangerous dreamers, who believed that men were equal or that government should be a democracy based on the votes of its men. "I do not know," said an English bishop, "what the mass of people in any country have to do with the laws but to obey them"; and there were few, even in the lower classes, at this time who would not have acquiesced in his doctrine.

The masses obey, not make laws

There was then much reason why the people of England should consider themselves well off as things were then. Most of the land and much of the property were in the hands of a small class of aristocrats at the top, but there was much simple well-being among the people. They did not control their government, and it was often directed in the interests of the upper classes, but the aristocracy did on the whole give good rule. Furthermore, there had long been limitations on the power of king and great lords. Men were entitled to trial by a jury of their neighbors, they could not be imprisoned without some cause being shown, and they were not put to torture; while until the days of the French Revolution, on the Continent men and women had little security against being imprisoned without trial or accusation, and against being put to torture to make them confess or to punish them. In Great Britain for some time it had been well established that no taxation could be levied by the government unless allowed by representatives in the commons, and little though these members really stood for the people, this was a limitation upon arbitrary government which down to 1789 existed in no other great country of Europe. Hence Englishmen rejoiced. "It requires no proof," said the Lord Justice Clerk, "to show that the British Constitution is the best that ever was since the creation of the world, and it is not possible to make it better."

Relatively good conditions in Britain

The life of the people

Most of the people were still engaged in agriculture, though more and more now made their living in the expanding industries of the time. Usually the body of the rural population had little part in the government, and, even in local government, offices were almost always held by the gentry from whom came the justices of the peace. The rural inhabitants were generally rude, ignorant, and simple; their work was long and hard; they were frankly regarded as inferior to the upper classes who lived in their midst. In the towns there were throngs of cheap laborers, almost entirely at the mercy of employers. Combinations or trade-unions were forbidden by law, and many laborers worked in the midst of bad conditions and long hours for low wages. Three out of four children, perhaps, never got education. As late as 1843 it seems probable that one third of the men and one half of all the women could not even sign their own names.

Position of women

The position of women was inferior to that of men. There had until recently been little work that a woman could do except about the home. Usually they were not supposed to have any learning except what pertained to home duties; and if they had education in other things they were often advised to keep their knowledge a secret, since female erudition was thought unwomanly and improper, not liked by men. In 1792 Mary (Wollstonecraft) Godwin thought that "women ought to have representatives, instead of being arbitrarily governed," but she was aware that this would be laughed at. Women were not allowed to vote or permitted to hold office, though it should be remembered that most men also were debarred. They might not serve on juries, and they were sometimes punished with harder punishments than men. Otherwise, if they remained unmarried—which few women wished—they had the same legal status as men. But married women, the great majority, were put on a distinctly different footing. The laws had been made in an earlier time

Married women

when women were very dependent on men for protection. Accordingly, women were expected to obey their men. A married woman had no separate existence according to the law, but was a part of her husband, who was responsible for her, and had entire authority over her. Upon marriage the husband became the owner of the wife's property, and the children were legally his. If he saw fit, he might chastise his wife. Finally, it should be noticed that in earlier times families were generally larger than now, and that a great part of all the energy and mental activity of most women was given entirely to the bearing and raising of children.

Effect of the French Revolution

In British life of the eighteenth century there was much apathy and also much contentment and disposition to believe that things were well enough as they were. There were some who strove zealously to remove the disabilities from Catholics and Dissenters, and effect parliamentary reform; and just before the French Revolution it seemed that there was fair prospect of changes being made. The vast cataclysm which now burst upon Europe, however, affected Great Britain profoundly. The conservative temper of the British people was shocked by the execution of nobles and king, the confiscation of property, the fundamental alteration in the life of the state. Moreover, Britain was soon involved in a long and terrible struggle with France and with Napoleon, and this made the reaction far greater. Hence reform was postponed for many a year, and reaction came in its stead.

Approval of the French Revolution in Great Britain at first

In England at first the French Revolution was viewed with approval or hailed with delight. Many people of property and substance thought England more progressive than France, and believed that France was now following good English example. Dr. Richard Price declared that the French were but carrying further the principles of the English Revolution of 1688. Charles James Fox, the Whig leader, thought the fall of the

Bastille the greatest and best event that ever had happened. A large number of the English dissenters approved and commended. Many of the younger thinkers and writers, as always in time of great change, were enthusiastic at the prospect of large alteration. In 1791 the young poet Wordsworth visiting France was stirred with generous emotion. The youthful Coleridge and the youthful Southey were full of sympathy and admiration. The radicals and seekers after social reform, of whom there were then many in England, gave warm approval, as long afterward foreign radicals gave it to the *Bolsheviki*. Mary Wollstonecraft, William Godwin, afterward her husband, and others were ardent champions and supporters.

Condemnation by Burke

Soon, however, a change of sentiment began. In 1790 Edmund Burke published his *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, and a little later his *Appeal to the Old Whigs*. In these treatises, which were the most important philosophic defence of conservatism ever composed, Burke condemned the methods of the revolutionists in France, and declared that their work could not be successful and was not to be imitated or approved in England. Human society at any time was the result of accumulated work and experience from the past. There was intimate and natural connection between those who had been, those who were, those who would be. Society was the product of gradual development—or as would have been said later on, of evolution. Change must be slow, and in respect of the past. Violent, complete alteration, revolutionary change was unnatural, and could not bring permanent amendment. Next year he was answered by the *Vindiciæ Gallicæ* (Vindication of France) of Sir James Mackintosh, and about the same time by Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man* (1791). Paine delighted in large alteration and was thrilled with generous hopes of mighty reform. He had assisted the American revolutionists some years before; now he enthusiastically supported the new leaders in

Defended by Paine

France; a little later he was elected to the French National Convention. In his striking and brilliant pamphlet, addressed to the mass of the people, he declared that the people never could surrender their natural rights, that they might always alter their government just as they pleased and establish whatsoever system they wanted.

General aversion and reaction in Great Britain

In Great Britain many had been persuaded by the reasoning of Burke. Many more were now terrified by the writing of Paine. The course of events in France heightened fear and aversion: old privileges were abolished, the lands of the church were taken, nobles driven from the country, the monarchy abolished, and presently the king then the queen put to death. The Reign of Terror struck Englishmen with horror, and French exiles brought over tales of pity and terror just as Russian refugees now carry them all over Europe. When the new French government announced that it would assist in overthrowing governments in neighboring countries and help to carry the French Revolution to other peoples, the great majority of the influential and propertied classes in Great Britain definitely drew back in reaction. Several associations, such as the Society for Commemorating the Principles of the Revolution and the London Corresponding Society, had been formed to communicate with the Jacobins in Paris. They were increasingly frowned upon. In 1792 a proclamation was issued against seditious writings. Presently English radicals were looked upon as enemies and traitors. There was now far less disposition for change and reform than before the French Revolution began. Men feared any alteration, lest violence tear all their edifice down.

Ministry of the younger Pitt

After George III's failure in the war with the colonies and with France, he had ceased attempting to control the government of England. In 1783 administration was committed to a ministry under William Pitt (1759–1806), son of that Pitt who led Britain to triumph in the Seven

Years' War, and who had presently become earl of Chatham. It has often been said that with the younger Pitt's accession to the premiership modern cabinet government was definitely established. Long before, the cabinet had been the king's select council. During the first half of the eighteenth century cabinet ministers had taken away most of his real control over the government. In 1760 George III had begun to reign. Soon he attempted, largely by using the measures of patronage, bribery, and favor that had enabled the principal ministers to get their control, to win back much of the power lost by the monarchs preceding. For some years he had great success, and again in Great Britain, as had once so long been the case, the king ruled while he reigned. In 1783, however, following disasters in war, the government of George III was compelled to cede certain possessions to France and to Spain and to acknowledge the independence of the principal colonies of the British Empire. With this collapse of his foreign policy, the king had to abandon his efforts to direct the ministers and control the government of the realm.

Attempt of George III to rule

The attempt was never resumed. It may be, however, that the definite establishment from this time of ministerial power mostly independent of the king was largely the result of accident and chance. There was no reason why the king or one of his successors should not have tried it again. Actually, however, George III soon showed signs of insanity. After several intervals of temporary derangement he became insane permanently in 1811. Great Britain was now administered under a regency controlled by the ministers. After the death of the king in 1820 two monarchs of small attainments followed with short reigns, to be succeeded in 1837 by a young girl, Victoria, who reigned until 1901. She had neither the ability nor the aptitude to struggle to regain lost royal power, even if she desired to do it; and after her long reign the new system of control of the government by the ministers of the cabinet

Governing power definitely lost by the crown

was too thoroughly established to be easily shaken. It should be noted, however, that the husband of Victoria, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, had much interest in state matters and especially foreign affairs, and gradually acquired great influence in them. By some it has been thought that had he lived longer, and especially if he had been king of England, the crown might still have regained much power lost in the century preceding.

Foreign relations

The first premiership of William Pitt the Younger lasted from 1783 until 1801; and after a brief interval he was prime minister again for two years (1804–6). When the French Revolution began Pitt had succeeded in recovering for Great Britain the high position she held before the American Revolution. In 1788 a defensive agreement, the Triple Alliance, had been formed of Great Britain, Prussia, and the Dutch Netherlands, for maintaining peace and the existing posture of affairs. A little later (1790) Spain was forced to abandon claims which she was maintaining to the Nootka Sound territory near the modern Vancouver. At first he made such effort as he could to avoid being drawn into French affairs. When in 1792 monarchy was overthrown in France, the British ambassador was withdrawn from Paris. A little later the French overran the Austrian Netherlands and threatened the neighboring Dutch country also. The Dutch government appealed to Great Britain, and promise was made of assistance if needed. Accordingly, Great Britain and the revolutionary French republic drifted toward war.

Causes of the war with France

While the French were preparing to invade Holland they declared the River Scheldt—closed by the Treaty of Münster (1648)—open to navigation; and the Belgian country was now treated as part of France. For ages England had dreaded to see this country in the hands of any strong power, for Antwerp and the estuary of the Scheldt afford one of the best possible bases for a deadly stroke at England. To prevent France obtaining this

country had been one of England's objects in the Hundred Years' War (1336–1453). At a later time invasion of Belgium by the Germans (1914) would bring England into the War of the Nations. Now in 1792–3 the British government negotiated with France to reverse what had been done, but the French refused. Presently the Revolutionary ambassador was dismissed, and early in 1793 the French declared war. Pitt believed there would be a short struggle, of one or of two campaigns. But Britain was entering on one of the most terrible wars in which she had ever engaged.

Beginning of the struggle

Great Britain proposed to carry on this war as she had waged other struggles in Europe. At sea she was all-powerful. The sea she would hold, and her enemy's outlying colonial possessions would be seized. Her army was small. She would dispatch forces abroad, but for operations on land she would seek allies and encourage and assist them against France. Alliances were made with Austria and with Prussia, and the First Coalition was formed with these powers, with Spain, and with some of the Italian states, while troops were hired in the German countries. For a moment in 1793 it seemed that France would be overthrown. On all the eastern frontiers the French were driven back. The British swept the sea, and presently the British and the Spaniards seized the great naval base at Toulon. But the French rallied, drove back their enemies, and Toulon was presently recaptured. The war now went against the allies, and the coalition threatened to break up. In 1794 a British fleet defeated a French fleet off Ushant near Brest, but on land the French carried all before them. By 1795 the coalition was dissolving, and all of Holland had been conquered. The Reign of Terror had now ceased in France, and in England a peace party insisted that the war be brought to an end. The contest had brought much suffering and discontent in the island, and when in 1797 Austria also made peace

The French defeat the coalition

with the Directory Great Britain was left to face her enemy alone. Pitt would gladly have made peace, but the French refused to give up the Austrian Netherlands, about which the war had begun.

Attempts to invade the British Isles

The French, now directed by Napoleon Bonaparte and his associates, strove to carry the war into the British Islands. In 1796 an expedition had set out for Ireland. About the same time another actually landed in Wales, though nothing was accomplished. The great cost of the war and the dread that the enemy might strike into England caused a financial panic. In 1797 the Bank of England was ordered to suspend specie payments: they were not resumed until 1819. France now planned a grand naval campaign for invasion of Britain. A Dutch fleet from the northeast and a Spanish fleet from the Mediterranean were to join the French warships at Brest, and the combined armada bear down upon England. But while the British blockaded their opponents at Brest and in the Texel on the Dutch coast, their Mediterranean fleet fell upon the Spaniards off Cape St. Vincent at the corner of Portugal, and won a decisive triumph. Here Horatio Nelson first gained distinction. Britain seemed saved by her naval power, but now mutinies broke out in the fleets at Spithead—off Portsmouth, and at the Nore or mouth of the Thames. Low wages and hard living conditions combined with the general spirit of unrest were the cause. For a moment England's shield was down, but before the enemy knew of the crisis the mutinies were entirely ended. A little later that year the Dutch fleet was defeated at the Battle of Camperdown off the coast of Holland. Meanwhile the unrest had spread to Ireland. There the disaffected appealed to Frenchmen for aid. In 1798 a rebellion broke out. After much confusion, savageness, and treachery, it was presently stamped out with ferocity and horror.

The naval mutinies, 1797

Rebellion in Ireland

The fortunes of Great Britain rose again. To break

British power in India Napoleon planned an expedition to the East. In 1798 he conducted a powerful fleet with a strong army to Egypt, seizing the island stronghold of Malta on the way. Then the French fleet was destroyed by Nelson in the decisive Battle of the Nile (1798), and Napoleon after fruitless victories was checked at Acre in Palestine. Some of the Indian princes had been roused against the British, but their power was broken and the foundations of a much greater British empire in India were laid. The Second Coalition against Napoleon was now formed (1799–1801), but Napoleon carried all before him on land while the British held the sea and captured Malta—thenceforth one of their important naval bases in the Mediterranean. In 1801, when the northern powers influenced by France joined in agreement prejudicial to England, a British fleet bombarded Copenhagen and then overawed all the Baltic. France now desired a rest, and the English were weary and disheartened. In 1802, by the Treaty of Amiens, Great Britain surrendered her conquests save for Trinidad taken from the Spaniards and Ceylon taken from the Dutch. Malta was to be restored to the Knights from whom Napoleon had seized it.

Struggle with Napoleon

The Treaty of Amiens

Next year the struggle was resumed. The British had delayed the surrender of Malta, and believed that Napoleon was making ready for another attack; while he apparently hoped to finish what the last war had left incomplete. A great French army was prepared for the invasion of England. Nelson guarded the seas with his fleet. In 1805 Pitt formed the Third Coalition of Great Britain, Austria, and Russia, but Austria was completely overthrown, and Russia defeated made peace later on. Meanwhile, however, Nelson annihilated the principal fleets of Napoleon in the Battle of Trafalgar (1805). During the remainder of the war, though never relaxing her vigilance at sea, England was not gravely threatened again. In 1807 the British, believing that the Danish

Struggle with Napoleon resumed

fleet would fall into their enemies' power, again bombarded Copenhagan, and seizing the fleet brought it to England. By that time Napoleon had conquered all his opponents on the Continent, and made a friendly agreement with Russia. He now undertook to ruin Britain's trade by closing her markets. By various decrees he shut the Continental ports to British vessels, while the British government promptly retaliated with orders in council blockading the enemies' coasts. In this contest, the British, having command of the sea, had the greater success. Moreover, Britain having by now, in consequence of the Industrial Revolution, become the main workshop of the world, her goods were much needed in Europe, and Napoleon often relaxed the Continental System so that her goods might be bought for his service.

Attempt to ruin Great Britain

Pitt had died in 1806. He was succeeded by various ministers less renowned who governed during the long struggle that continued. The navy was kept powerful and alert, and gradually, through the efforts of Castlereagh, secretary for war, a capable army was created. Suitable opportunity in a proper theater of war now appeared for this army. In 1808 Spain and Portugal were overrun by the French. A British army was at once sent to Portugal, which the British had several times before used as a base for operations against Spain and also France. When it entered Spain, Napoleon himself drove it out; but meanwhile Sir Arthur Wellesley had won successes in Portugal, and presently he began the long and difficult campaigns which ultimately destroyed French power in Spain completely. This might have been accomplished sooner if the British government had not decided in 1809 to use a great part of its available forces in a fruitless expedition against Antwerp. In the marshes of the island of Walcheren, at the mouth of the Scheldt, much of the army was lost and nothing accomplished.

The Peninsular War

None the less, the Peninsular War was waged with

increasing success by Wellesley, who became Viscount Wellington. He was assisted by the nature of the country, and by guerrilla warfare carried on by the Spaniards themselves; and gradually he built up a powerful army of veteran soldiers. For a time he was compelled to retire into Portugal. There he established his army behind the impregnable lines of Torres Vedras, which he constructed to defend his base at Lisbon. In 1811 he fought a series of bloody battles along the Spanish border, and next year when Napoleon had assembled most of his forces for the invasion of Russia, Wellington was able to commence decisive operations in Spain. In the summer he won the Battle of Salamanca, clearing the north of Spain and capturing Madrid. Next year he gained the more memorable Battle of Vitoria in northeastern Spain, by which French hold on the peninsula was broken. Napoleon's power was now everywhere falling to pieces. Accordingly, Wellington forced the passes of the Pyrenees, and carried the war into southern France.

Wellington's successes

While Great Britain was straining her resources to accomplish Napoleon's defeat, she was involved in her second and last war with the United States. In the latter stages of their struggle the French emperor and the British government had endeavored to crush each other by economic strangulation and blockade. In the course of this contest the rights of neutrals were often infringed. During this time the Americans had been able vastly to extend their carrying trade, and make great profits by selling to both of the parties. Through control of the sea, the restrictions of the British bore more heavily on the Americans and other neutral traders than did the decrees of the French, at the same time that Napoleon had much more desire than the British to buy. The British carried on rigid search, and took from American vessels as deserters not a few sailors, whom nevertheless the government of the United States considered to be citizens of its country.

Conflict with the United States

In 1807 the United States proclaimed an embargo, forbidding all commerce with Europe. For this two years later was substituted the Non-Intercourse Act, prohibiting trade with Great Britain and with Napoleon's jurisdiction. In 1812 the United States declared war on Great Britain.

The War of 1812

In the contest that followed the Americans, with superior vessels admirably handled, won a series of striking successes in single combat at sea. These victories had no decisive result, but they lowered British naval prestige, and enormously enhanced American national pride. On land the American armies were poorly managed, and after large preparations for the conquest of Canada, nothing was achieved. The principal American success was the striking victory of Commodore Perry on Lake Erie (1813). On the fall of Napoleon the British were able to make greater efforts. All of the American warships were now captured or contained and the coast of the United States subjected to stringent blockade. American privateers did enormous damage to British commerce at the same time that American trade was temporarily ruined. A British army of veteran troops was despatched, and Washington captured and burned. Early in 1815—news of the peace having not yet arrived—another British army was decisively defeated at New Orleans. Both sides had already become weary of the contest, it being realized now that the war should not have been fought. By the Treaty of Ghent (1814) the issues that had led to the war were passed over in silence, conquests were mutually restored, and provision made for settlement of other disputes outstanding.

Napoleon finally overthrown

Meanwhile Napoleon had been overwhelmed by Europe united against him. In 1814 he surrendered and was exiled to Elba. Louis XVIII was placed upon the throne of France, and with him Great Britain along with her allies made peace. She was beginning to participate in the Congress of Vienna (1814–15) for settlement of European

affairs, when Napoleon returned to France, and made a last desperate effort to recover his power. From all over Europe armies were at once moved against him, but the host that he led into Belgium was resisted first by an army of British and mercenaries under Wellington and by an army of Prussians. In 1815 his power was finally destroyed at the Battle of Waterloo. Another peace was made with France, Britain using her influence for moderation; the Congress of Vienna presently concluded its labors; and Great Britain joined Austria, Prussia, and Russia in the Quadruple Alliance (1815) to guarantee the settlement in Europe.

Liberalism thwarted by conservative reaction

During the long period of this struggle liberalism had fallen into abeyance. Reaction grew apace, and for the most part all ideas of reform were abandoned. During the struggle with Revolutionary France they in Great Britain who advocated alterations like those being made in Paris came to be regarded as enemies and dangerous traitors; while the Reign of Terror and the extreme consequences of the French Revolution soon rendered all thought of reform and revolution hateful to most British people. First conservatism increased, then intolerance and fear.

Reaction in England

A whole series of repressive laws was passed. Those who spoke or printed what the government considered to be harmful were sternly prosecuted, and in 1794 the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended. Failures in the war and bad harvests in England brought much discontent; and radical reformers, urged on by the example of Frenchmen and by the suffering at home, asked for peace and for parliaments elected every year by the votes of all the men. Then two measures were passed which made it treason to speak or write against the government, and practically took away the right to hold political meetings except under government supervision. Peace came after a while, but soon the giant struggle with Napoleon was resumed, and for long years Britain held out against most

of Europe. During these years there were not only the hardship and exhaustion and waste which always bring much discontent, but the changes of the Industrial Revolution were proceeding with a great deal of misery, unrest, and agitation. There were not wanting men who thought more of altering conditions which they disliked at home than of standing together against the enemy abroad. For the most part, however, the British people understood that the first of all tasks was that of saving their country; and so they turned away from reform for the time. The government kept sternly on at its task, until finally Napoleon was crushed and the Revolutionary period ended.

The war engrosses attention

Difficulties after the war

Britain in 1815 confronted conditions in many respects like those of 1918, after Germany had been overthrown. The war had been very expensive. It had been necessary to purchase huge quantities of provisions and obtain supplies at a time when labor was scarce and prices were high, while large sums had been loaned to Britain's allies on the Continent; so that the end of the struggle found the national debt amounting to £840,000,000 with annual interest of £32,000,000—sums which formerly would have been regarded as ruinous. There had been inevitable dislocation of business, with heavy losses. Prices had been high and there was much inflation. Now prices began to fall; business slackened; trade with other countries was poor; and many who had served in the army or the navy were dismissed and found it difficult to get other employment. Added to this was the general spirit of unrest and agitation which inevitably comes after long war. It was not only a time of slackened industry, but the new labor-saving machines made it harder for all to have work. Agitators found it easy to draw men and women to hearken to new doctrines which often people failed to understand but which they hoped would bring better conditions. There were much misery and distress; hence men were eager for changes. All sorts of doctrines

Unrest and discontent

were taught. Some thought that parliaments should be elected each year; some demanded universal suffrage; some would have repudiated the national debt. In 1816 men were calling for the destruction of British commerce and the putting of workmen back on to the land, as a hundred years later socialists and labor unions wanted capitalism ended, and the mines and factories given to those who toiled in them.

Changes demanded

Alarmed at these radical demands, the government and the upper classes, guided by conservative and reactionary leaders, carried through repressive measures. In 1817 another law was passed to prevent seditious meetings, and the Habeas Corpus Act again was suspended. Bad harvests caused distress and increased unrest. There was some disturbance, but the government sternly prosecuted those who took part. In 1819, in the midst of industrial depression and scanty harvest, a great crowd at Manchester—then unrepresented in parliament—assembled in St. Peter's Fields. Their banners were inscribed "Equal Representation or Death." If they had part in parliament, they thought, their unhappy condition would be bettered. Mounted soldiers charged the crowd; some were killed, others wounded. As the "Peterloo Massacre" this affair was long remembered and mourned. That year the so-called "Six Acts" were passed. By the first two, magistrates were instructed to seize arms and prevent unlawful drilling; the third provided that those who offended were to be tried at once; by the fourth those who published seditious libels were to be punished; the fifth put a prohibitive tax upon the cheap pamphlets which circulated among the masses; by the sixth meetings, in town or in country, were prohibited unless summoned by the local official. These laws, though at the time they seemed justified by prevailing and dangerous conditions, seriously infringed upon Englishmen's rights. But they were only of temporary duration. The unrest of the years after

Stricter repression

The Six Acts of 1819

the war largely disappeared. Economic conditions had been bad. As soon as conditions improved, popular discontent and repressive measures both passed away.

The task of the rulers

The men who were guiding the destinies of England considered things from the point of view of their class, and often, perhaps, of their own selfish interests; but it must also be remembered that they were facing difficult problems in the most difficult times that men had known for generations. In a brief span of years one of the mightiest of all revolutions had risen across the Channel, overturning old systems and kingdoms, and going like a storm over Europe. Then came the greatest of military commanders, and Europe was tormented with fire and with sword, with the march of armies and rush of events, year after year, until at last the disturbers were cast down and a mighty reaction began. In Britain, as in other countries, there was much unhappiness and justifiable discontent, and reforms were sought which ought to have been made. But many of the things that brought discontent were inevitable results of the war, and could only be cured slowly by operation of time. To the rulers and the upper classes, and generally to conservative people, the principal task seemed to be preserving the institutions just fought for; and they were determined to oppose the reformers and agitators who clamored for radical change. Actually at this time Britain was more liberal than any of the other countries near by.

Time needed for amendment

Foreign affairs

This was best shown—along with efforts to maintain the balance of power and conserve British interests—in foreign relations. England soon withdrew from alliance with the powers who were trying to undo as completely as possible the reforms made by the French Revolution. In 1822 she disapproved of intervention to restore absolutism in Spain, though she did not resist French occupation. A British fleet prevented complete triumph of the reactionary party in Portugal. Meanwhile, Britain

had seen the Continental nations, urged on by France, consider undertaking the reconquest of Spain's revolted colonies in America. The British government was determined to prevent this. George Canning, then secretary for foreign affairs—prime minister somewhat later—strove to arouse as much opposition to the scheme as he could. In 1823 he proposed that the United States and Great Britain should issue a joint declaration asserting that they could not see with indifference any part of the Americas transferred to another power. The American government refused to act jointly with Britain, but proclaimed by itself the "Monroe Doctrine" (1823), which announced that intervention by a European power against an independent American state would be regarded as an unfriendly act. "I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old," Canning afterward declared. Actually, there was little that the United States could have done to prevent any European action. Far more effectual was the opposition of Great Britain, because she had complete command of the sea. In reality, the independence of the Spanish-American countries was maintained by the sea power of Britain.

The Spanish-American countries

Changing times were now marked by the passing of statesmen and rulers identified with the old order. George III died in 1820. Sixty years before he had come to the throne a young man of much promise. He was brave, of good appearance, dignified, simple, and excellent in family life. But he had neither a large mind nor any of the qualities of a statesman; he was obstinate, often sullen, narrow-minded, not able to change with the changing times; and he was determined to maintain that which existed and win back the lost powers of the crown.

Death of George III

His failures and even his success had both cost his country dear. He had striven to make the American colonies more subservient, and in the end the most important were lost. A little later, in 1800, his minister, Pitt, had brought

His failures

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland

about the union of Ireland and Great Britain. Had the Irish acquiesced in this union it would have been the best thing for the people of both islands, and it seems now that they might have acquiesced had the Roman Catholics, three fourths of the Irish population, received the civil and political rights denied them because of their religion. Pitt, the prime minister, favored enfranchisement of these Catholics, and perhaps promised it to the Irish leaders; but George III opposed such inflexible resistance that at last the minister yielded. More than a quarter of a century then elapsed before the Irish Catholics received what they wanted, and then it was too late to make them loyal and grateful. Afterward Irishmen so often opposed the Union that men have sometimes thought George III lost Ireland to the British crown almost as completely as he lost the United States. A great many other factors, however, combined to drive Ireland and England apart. In the later years of his reign the old king was insane, but so long as he had influence it was thrown against reform or any change, and reformers saw clearly that little was to be expected as long as he lived.

George IV, William IV, Victoria

George IV (1820–1830) had neither character nor attainments to inspire respect or assist any constructive effort; but during the decade of his reign there was constant movement of great forces tending toward a change, and presently the difficult beginning of a series of great reforms. The movement was more rapid in the years of the next king, the simple, democratic, and rather foolish William IV (1830–1837). Indeed the electoral reform law passed in 1832 was to mark the beginning of a new era in British political life; and the first years of the reign of the next monarch, Victoria (1837–1901), may be taken definitely as the beginning of the new age.

Great forces had been operating for some time to bring about change. The existing political system had come down from a time when nobles, great landowners, and

political leaders had taken away the power of the king; but now the wealth of the nation was held not only by aristocratic landlords but by manufacturers and merchants also, and they—as had been the case half a century before with the French *bourgeoisie*—insisted upon a share in the government. Parliamentary representation also was based on conditions largely passed away. Once the people of England had been mostly engaged in agriculture, with the best farming lands in the east and the south. Then it had been very proper for political power and representation to be in those districts. But the Industrial Revolution altered the situation. The coal was in south Wales, or the west or the north, and the chief iron deposits not far away from them. Therefore, as the British population grew now most rapidly in connection with industrial development, people went to the west or the midlands or the north, and by 1820 the larger part of the population was in these districts.

Forces tending toward change

There had been a powerful and growing movement in Britain for parliamentary and political reform before the time of the French Revolution, but the excesses in France, the wars, and the violence of some leaders in England caused most people to look upon any project of reform with suspicion and dislike. At last now this time was gone. By 1820 the generation that remembered the Revolution was passing, and by 1830 men were coming to power who thought less about Napoleon than problems of the present, and who no longer had to think of change and reform as things dangerous or even helpful to the foe. Therefore, the reform movement which had been left to violent writers and agitators of lowly station, was now taken up by people of higher position, and became rather a movement of the middle class than of the lower classes as it had been.

Desire for parliamentary reform

Some of this change was owing to the writings of a group of celebrated men, of whom the most important was

Jeremy Bentham

Jeremy Bentham. He had expounded the idea that the end for which men should strive was always the "greatest happiness of the greatest number"; and declaring that the British political system mostly served the interests of the upper class who controlled it, he advocated extension of political power to the people. The influence of his teaching was spread abroad by friends and disciples, and presently had great influence with statesmen like Durham and Peel; and with radicals like Francis Burdett—who was zealous for parliamentary reform; Francis Place—the radical tailor and astute political manager; and William Cobbett—eloquent agitator, editor of the *Political Register*, and writer of radical pamphlets. Reforms are usually thus brought about by leaders who carry them forward, not by urging from the mass of the people.

Reform of the criminal law

Several important changes were now made while the government was still controlled by conservatives and "Tories." First came the reform of the criminal law. In the Middle Ages, in England as elsewhere, suppression of crime had been a difficult matter. There were many rude and lawless people, to whom might meant right; there was no effective system of police; and there were not enough jails and prisons. To offset this, great severity was used and numerous offences were punished with death. This system, like many other things, had lingered on down to the beginning of the nineteenth century, and while to some liberal reformers it seemed barbarous and absurd, to a great many it seemed right because it had so long been in existence. As late as 1819 there were about

Harsh punishments

200 felonies punished by hanging. Death was the penalty for picking a pocket of twelve pence; it was also the penalty for murder. It should be said that the savage harshness of this code was somewhat mitigated by a practice which had gradually come into being. In the Middle Ages, ecclesiastics had had the right to be tried in church courts, where they were punished less severely than they

London
EUROPE
Paris
Vienna
Sea of Aral
CASPIAN SEA
BLACK SEA
Rome
Constantinople
Madrid
Lisbon
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
A S I A
Algiers
Tunis
TUNIS
Madeira Is (PORT.)
Fez
ALGERIA
MOROCCO
Alexandria
Canary Is (SPAN.)
Cairo
TRIPOLI
EGYPT
Persian Gulf
ARABIA
Nile
RED SEA
SENEGAL
ABYSSINIA
BAB-EL-MANDEB
Gulf of Aden
GOLD COAST
Calabar

9. AFRICA IN 1800

would have been in civil courts, since the church was not willing to put criminals to death. This right was known as "benefit of clergy." It was greatly desired by criminals, and when tried they were apt to assert that they were clergymen. It early came to be a custom to allow this claim to all who could read; and by a statute of 1705 the privilege was granted, in the case of a great many crimes, to any one who wished to have it, on the occasion of his first offence. That is to say, while the criminal code ordained death for numerous crimes, actually the delinquent might in many instances escape severe punishment by asking for benefit of clergy. Even so, however, the existence of such ferocious laws was a grievous thing and brought about much suffering and debasement of character; so that reform of the criminal law was sought by many liberal spirits of the time. The work taken up, especially by Sir Samuel Romilly, was carried forward by Sir Robert Peel. In 1823 a law was passed which abolished one hundred capital offences; by 1837 the number of crimes punished by death had been reduced to six. Benefit of clergy was abolished in 1827, and a modern police force established in London ten years later. Meanwhile, other improvements were made. In 1815 punishment of offenders by putting them in the pillory was done away with, and the whipping of women a few years later. A more humane spirit was evident also in 1824 in the founding of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. Ten years later the baiting of bulls and cock-fighting were forbidden.

Benefit of clergy

Sir Samuel Romilly and Sir Robert Peel

At this time also religious discriminations were removed. In England the majority of the people were of the Church of England. After 1660 the triumph of the Anglican Church had been complete, and a code of laws was passed against all who dissented from it. The Toleration Act of 1689 had in effect given freedom of worship to Protestant dissenters, but there continued to hang over them

Discriminations against Dissenters removed, 1828

the Corporation Act of 1661 and the Test Act of 1673, by which they were debarred from holding political office, since this was conditional on taking the sacrament according to the Church of England. These laws were not stringently enforced and were indeed made ineffectual through frequent acts of indemnity; yet they remained on the books. Now, at last, in 1828 they were repealed, and all Protestants given equality in the state.

Catholic Emancipation, 1829

This brought no relief to the Catholics. Roman Catholics were not numerous in England, but they constituted most of the population of Ireland, and there for a hundred years religious disabilities had kept them in a degraded and inferior station. Irish Catholics had been allowed to vote in elections since 1793, but they were not permitted to hold office. Complete enfranchisement had been hoped for and expected at the time of the union with Great Britain, but nothing had been accomplished.

Daniel O'Connell

Now the movement was taken up by the Irish leader, Daniel O'Connell, who founded the Catholic Association in 1823 and soon caused such vast excitement among the Irish that the British ministry thought it best to yield. In 1829 the Roman Catholic Emancipation Bill was passed, by the terms of which the oaths of abjuration, allegiance, and supremacy, as well as denial of belief in transubstantiation—by which Catholics had been kept from office—were done away with, and civil and political equality given to Catholics for the first time in the British Isles since the sixteenth century. These great changes marked the formal ending of an old era of religious prejudice and lingering political discrimination.

Reform of parliament

In spite of these reforms, however, most of the inhabitants were still debarred from political rights; and parliament, which controlled the government, very poorly represented the people. The next great amendment, therefore, seemed to lie in reforming parliament and extending the franchise. This was only gradually accomplished in the

course of the nineteenth century, but the beginning made in 1832 seemed so momentous a thing as to mark a turning-point in the history of England.

The unreformed house of commons

In the house of commons there were 658 members. Those returned from the counties were generally dependent upon the great landed proprietors there. By far the greater number came from the parliamentary boroughs, and in them the old system was particularly bad. Originally, perhaps, there had been some idea of making the system roughly representative by having those places return members which were best able to give money to the king; though always, it would seem, some places were given representation not because of population and importance but since it was believed that their members would vote as the sovereign desired. In course of time the inequalities became more striking, as places which sent members to the commons stood still or declined in population, while other places, rapidly growing, had no representation whatever. Neither Leeds nor Birmingham nor Manchester nor Sheffield returned any members, though they were coming to be the very center of England; but there continued to be representation for Old Sarum, which had almost no people, for Gatton, a gentleman's park, and for Dunwich almost completely under the waters of the North Sea. The southern counties of England, with a fourth of the total population, returned almost as many members to the house of commons as three times as many counties in the midlands and the north with population three times as great. Cornwall sent eighteen members; Lancashire, with eight times as many inhabitants, nineteen. The majority of the house of commons, it was said, was elected by less than 15,000 persons. In most of the boroughs there were only a few voters, entirely under the influence of some great man near by, or else very willing to be purchased. In some of the larger places there were spirited elec-

Rotten boroughs

tion contests, but usually candidates were regularly chosen at the order of the magnate who owned the borough or controlled it. It was well known that electors could be bribed, and on one occasion a borough advertised itself for sale to the highest bidder. In 1793, it was said that 309 members were returned by private patrons, 163 of them by members of the house of lords; and just before the reform, that 487 came into the house through the influence of 144 peers and 123 powerful commoners. That is to say, the house of commons was controlled by members of the house of lords or other wealthy men who desired influence and power. And much power could be secured thus, since the government of the realm now rested upon the house of commons. Great men who controlled votes in the commons could not only help to pass measures which they wished, but were apt to get bribes, pensions, lucrative offices, contracts, and shares in government loans on very favorable terms. Altogether, it was a system under which most of the people had no vote, in which the representation was not apportioned according to the population, and in which the great aristocrats and political managers controlled the government of England and Scotland.

Control of the house

In the first half of the eighteenth century a certain politician had proposed parliamentary reform. Later on the earl of Chatham advocated disfranchising corrupt boroughs and adding their representation to that of the counties. Still later his son, William Pitt, proposed reform on three several occasions. In 1792 the Society of the Friends of the People had been constituted for advancing this movement. It was also advocated by Charles, afterward Earl Grey. But during the years of the struggle with Revolutionary France all reform fell under suspicion.

Earlier efforts for parliamentary reform

In course of time a more normal period returned, and meanwhile the long effort for amendment of parliament was receiving greater impetus as it obtained the support

Stronger movement for reform

of the powerful middle classes, whom the Industrial Revolution had made important, but who remained with almost no part in government affairs. The movement was led by Lord John Russell, of one of the great Whig houses; and under his wise and moderate leadership it gained strength year after year. The Tories, under the duke of Wellington, resisted; but in the general election of 1830, at the beginning of the reign of William IV, the Whigs were triumphant.

Passing of the Reform Law

Immediately parliamentary reform was undertaken. In 1831 a bill to extend the suffrage and to redistribute seats in the house of commons was brought into the commons, but defeated there. The ministers then had the king dissolve parliament. In the general election that followed there was enormous popular excitement. The Whigs again won a majority, and immediately a second bill very similar to the first was brought in. It passed the commons by a handsome majority; whereupon the lords threw it out. Then there were riots in the cities and violence by mobs, and such an outburst of popular feeling that the peers were terrified at it. When in the spring of 1832 a third bill was passed in the commons, the lords dared not openly reject it but tried to destroy it by amendments. Excitement now became furious, and people refused to pay taxes. England, indeed, was at the brink of revolution. After a period of great confusion the king agreed that a sufficient number of new peers should be created to pass the bill in the lords, an old device, which had been used before and was to be threatened again. But this was not needed, for some of the lords abstained from voting, and in 1832 the bill was made law.

The Reform Law of 1832

The Parliamentary Reform Act of 1832 re-apportioned representation and extended the suffrage. It disfranchised 56 "rotten" or "pocket" boroughs, each having less than 2,000 inhabitants, but which had returned 111 members to the house of commons; 30 boroughs with

population of less than 4,000 each were deprived of a member apiece, and a double borough had representation reduced from four to two. Thus 143 seats were obtained for redistribution. From them the county membership was increased from 94 to 159, while 22 large towns received two members each, and 21 smaller towns one each. Thirteen members were left for Scotland and for Ireland, in which, it may be said, the reform was effected by two separate bills. Other provisions concerned extension of the franchise. In the counties the old forty-shilling freehold qualification, established in 1430, was retained for freeholders who occupied their estates or who had acquired this franchise by inheritance or by marriage. In addition the right of voting was given to other £10 freeholders, to copyholders—who held not in full, free ownership, but subject to certain obligations embodied in a contract of which a copy was kept—and also to leaseholders holding for the long term of sixty years. For leaseholders of shorter terms a £50 qualification was fixed. As the result of a motion originally made by the marquis of Chandos in connection with the second reform bill, and designed to give the vote to tenants controlled by the landlords, a £50 qualification was also allowed to tenants at will. In the boroughs the various old franchises were almost all abolished, and the vote in parliamentary elections given to all householders paying a rental of £10 a year. Previously in the British Isles one person out of forty-eight might vote, and the franchise was controlled by the upper class. Now the electorate was doubled—from 500,000 to 1,000,000—and the franchise was controlled by the middle class as well as the upper.

Extension of the franchise

Importance of the reform

This legislation constitutes one of the great landmarks in English constitutional history. It altered a system that had been little changed for four hundred years, and ended the old political arrangement. But it seems a less complete change now than then. By no means did the

leaders believe in manhood or universal suffrage, nor did they design to make representation strictly proportional to numbers. These things were not brought about until another half century had passed. The significance of the change is not that it made Britain a democracy—no large country in the world was one at this time, except the United States of America, which had just been greatly extending the franchise—but that it began a process, which, after many years, was to establish democracy in the British Isles also.

Whigs and Tories

During this era new names came into use for the two principal political parties in Great Britain. Since their definite organization in the latter part of the seventeenth century they had kept the terms then applied to them: Tories and Whigs—the Tories originally supporters of the crown, the Whigs opponents. About the time of the struggle for the First Electoral Reform Law the old names yielded to new ones. The Whigs now came to be known as Liberals; Tories were called Conservatives. These appellations were thenceforth retained.

Liberals and Conservatives

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CHAPTER VII

THE UNITED KINGDOM, 1832–1867

I consider the reform bill a final and irrevocable settlement of a great constitutional question—a settlement which no friend to the peace and welfare of this country would attempt to disturb. . . .

Address of Sir Robert Peel to his constituents at Tamworth, 1834: *Annual Register, 1834* (Chronicle), p. 341.

That any form of Government which fails to effect the purposes for which it was designed, and does not fully and completely represent the whole people, who are compelled to pay taxes to its support and obey the laws resolved upon by it, is unconstitutional, tyrannical, and ought to be amended or resisted.

Chartist Petition, 1842, Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, 3d ser. lxii, 1373.

Abolition of slavery in the colonies, 1833

In the winter of 1833 the first reformed parliament assembled, and at once proceeded to memorable tasks. For a long time leaders like William Wilberforce and Zachary Macaulay, father of the historian, had denounced slavery in lands subject to Great Britain and had striven to have it done away with. In 1807 the slave trade had been stopped, but slavery continued to exist in the West Indies. Now it was brought to an end. The planters were compensated with £20,000,000 of public money. The negroes were no longer to be slaves, but they were to remain bound as apprentices for seven more years. It was only where slavery was violently overthrown, as it was in the American South by the Civil War, that servitude was abolished completely at once.

In earlier times there had always been a great deal of labor by children, but while manufacturing was done in

Factory legislation

the home, this had seemed to many people proper enough. Now as workers were brought into factories, the condition of the children employed there attracted more attention. Children as young as six years were made to work for long hours under conditions ruinous to health and not allowing development of body and mind. Protest against this had been made in Manchester fifty years before, and factory legislation in 1802 and 1819 had done a little to remedy the evils. It was difficult to accomplish anything that would really better conditions, for the powerful body of capitalist manufacturers were against any interference, and it was a cardinal policy of the Whigs themselves that the government should let such things alone. But not only were people now coming to be less willing to disregard suffering and wrong, but there was more feeling that the state should not permit things which were harmful to some of its people. Increasing agitation, led by Sir Robert Peel and by Lord Ashley, afterward earl of Shaftesbury, resulted in the Factory Act of 1833, which for the textile industry prohibited the employment of children under nine years of age, and limited and regulated the hours for older children. This was the first instance of general state interference in economic conditions since the Industrial Revolution, and while it accomplished little enough, for it applied only to one kind of labor and still permitted a child of ten to be worked sixty-nine hours a week, it was the forerunner of many other laws, and the real beginning of factory legislation in Great Britain.

The policy of *laissez-faire*

The Poor Law of 1834

In the next year another sweeping reform dealt with the problem of poor relief. In days of old and in the Middle Ages alms were given to the needy by the charitable or the religious. After the dissolution of the monasteries in England (1536–9), much of this kind of poor relief came to an end. But the need for assistance was so great that shortly after, in the time of Henry VIII and Elizabeth, a series of laws had been passed by which contribu-

tions for the needy were levied upon property-owners in the parishes where the poor were to be supported. The sick and the aged were to be kept in poorhouses and the able-bodied idlers put to work. As time went on this legislation had been badly enforced. Idlers were not compelled to work, and almshouses for the needy were insufficient. The changes of the Industrial Revolution had brought great hardship to many who could not adapt themselves to the times, and there seemed to be greater need for assistance. About the end of the eighteenth century began the practice of giving money allowances to those whose wages were not enough. The intention was good, but employers who paid as low wages as they could now made them lower, expecting the state to help, while the idle and the shiftless, feeling sure of some support, were more willing than before to be paupers. This created an intolerable situation; one out of every seven persons in Great Britain came to be dependent on state support, and the contributions or "poor rates" which had to be levied increased in amount until thrifty people moved away to avoid having to pay them. Now as a result of the Poor Law of 1834 the amount paid in poor relief was diminished. The act provided that all outdoor relief, except medical aid, should be abolished—that is to say, wages would be supplemented no longer; that women should support their own illegitimate children; and that able-bodied paupers should be put to labor in the workhouse—dread of which shortly drove many to work. The organization of poor relief was also improved: a central authority was created for better supervision and control; parishes were to be grouped in poor-law unions, so that the more prosperous might help the poorer; and greater freedom of movement was allowed the destitute and unemployed so that they might better go to other places where work was to be had.

Earlier relief by the state

Increase of pauperism

Reform of poor relief

Next year the system of town government was reformed.

Reform of town government, 1835

A long time before the government of the cities and the towns had been established by charters. In most of these places only a small number of people might vote, the franchise being confined either to persons descended from those originally allowed to vote, or to those who owned certain property. By the time of the parliamentary reform there were many populous places with a few voters each, and they often poor and lowly men, quite dependent on political managers. In effect, the government of these places was often in the hands of bodies of men who elected themselves to offices and to the town council. Now by the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 most of the boroughs and cities were to have a government vested in a council elected by the taxpayers, and a mayor and aldermen chosen by the councillors from their own number.

Accession of Queen Victoria

In this period of change began the reign of Queen Victoria, granddaughter of George III, and daughter of his fourth son, the duke of Kent. In her nineteenth year she was awakened early one morning, in June, 1837, to meet the great officials who came to say that she was sovereign of Britain. She was not beautiful, and she was entirely without the dominating and brilliant qualities of an Elizabeth of England or a Catherine of Russia; but she was a sweet simple girl who had been well brought up by her mother; and afterward her personal qualities as a woman and a mother and a good if not a forceful character, were to endear her to her subjects beyond almost any other sovereign who ever ruled England. Her reign of sixty-four years, the longest in the annals of the country, was to see such enormous changes, such mighty extension of empire and power, such greatness and prosperity, that long before it was over the Victorian Age would seem one of the most important of all epochs in the history of England. Victoria was to take comparatively little part in the government of the realm—though the British sovereign was not yet completely deprived of

power, partly because the monarch was no longer the real executive, partly because she lacked aptitude and the higher ability for such work. In 1840 she married Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, who thus became the Prince Consort. It was a love match, and their marriage was exceedingly happy. The prince had an excellent influence upon his wife, and because of his wisdom and ability he was often able to assist and even guide the ministers of the cabinet without ever intruding his advice or assistance upon them.

The Prince Consort

Reforms and improvements continued to be made. Of large importance was the beginning of "penny postage" in 1840, which did more to revolutionize communication between persons than anything before the invention of the telephone. Long before, a system of post had been developed by the kings for sending their own communications, and later on some men made a business of carrying letters and parcels. In the seventeenth century a monopoly of carrying letters in England was granted first to private individuals, but presently taken over by the government itself; and then the post office became a department of the central government. In those days of poor communications, bad roads, and comparatively small business, the charges varied according to the size and weight of the package and the distance it was to be carried. Generally the service was poor, the charges high, and letters were apt to be opened or lost on the way. In 1840, following the work of Rowland Hill, it was decreed that any letter not more than half an ounce in weight having on it an adhesive postage stamp costing a penny might be sent anywhere in the United Kingdom. Opponents had declared the scheme to be impracticable, and that it would overwhelm the post office with too many letters. Business did increase enormously, but the officials were always able to handle it; and seldom has anything brought greater assistance to business or more happiness and consolation to people.

Penny postage, 1840

Rowland Hill

Continued discontent

But the tendency of the times was such that discontent continued to increase. There were many bad harvests, a succession of them in the early years of Victoria's reign, with the hunger and misery, the political and social unrest always attendant. People were crowding to the factories in a movement that gradually transferred most of the population from the farms to the towns, a movement that was proceeding too rapidly and resulted now in bringing together great numbers of men and women in competition which lowered their wages. The poor law reform was an excellent thing, but scarcely any reform of an evil can be made without causing some temporary distress, which comes not from the reform but the evil before it. The old poor relief had indeed pauperized some of the people and encouraged them not to work; but now many found themselves with nothing at all unless they went to the poorhouse. Excellent reforms had been made, but they were not sufficient, and they had not yet had time to produce such betterment as they would later on. To many people, poor and discontented, the government seemed selfish and corrupt, the queen under the influence of evil ministers, and the reforms just obtained mostly made for the upper classes. The Reform Law of 1832 had only extended political power to masters of business and the middle class, and given nothing to most of the people. It was in these years that Chartism began.

Misery among the lower class

Chartism

In 1836 was founded in London a Workingman's Association to better the conditions of the employed. The socialists who were beginning their work at this time did not believe that much good could come from the existing system of government, but the Workingman's Association immediately began to strive for political reform. In 1837 they formulated a petition—which was by some called a Charter, after which they were known as Chartists—which concerned six things that they sought for. They demanded that property qualifications for

members of parliament should be abolished; that the members should be paid; that all men should be allowed to vote; that the voting should be by ballot; that the parliament should be composed of members elected from equal electoral districts; and that there should be a new parliament each year. Thus they proposed to make it possible for representatives of the people to be chosen from among the mass of the people, and to give to the people some effective control of the government which they obeyed. These things had already been demanded in England by radical reformers for some years; they were to be sought during many more years to come; and as times changed most of the proposals would no longer seem to be radical. By 1918 Great Britain was, in effect, to have all these things with the exception of annual parliaments, which still seemed unwise. But at the beginning of Victoria's reign, when there was almost no democracy in Europe, the idea of putting the government into the control of representatives of all the inhabitants seemed to conservative people dangerous and absurd. Moreover, when the movement was halted by obstacles encountered, it came under the guidance of extremists who preached violent action. In 1839 a great convention was held, from which the moderate leaders withdrew. Riots soon broke out, and then certain small insurrections. The government dealt severely with the leaders, and for a while the movement collapsed.

Demands of the Chartists

This was partly because things were made better. In 1842 appeared the famous report of the parliamentary commission appointed to investigate the mines. Children four years old were working in the mines. Children of six or seven had to carry great loads of coal up steep steps many times a day. The mines were often dripping with wet and stifling with heat. Young men and young women, naked to the waist, worked with "girdle and chain" in long passages two or three feet high—that is, they dragged

Further industrial legislation

Conditions in the mines

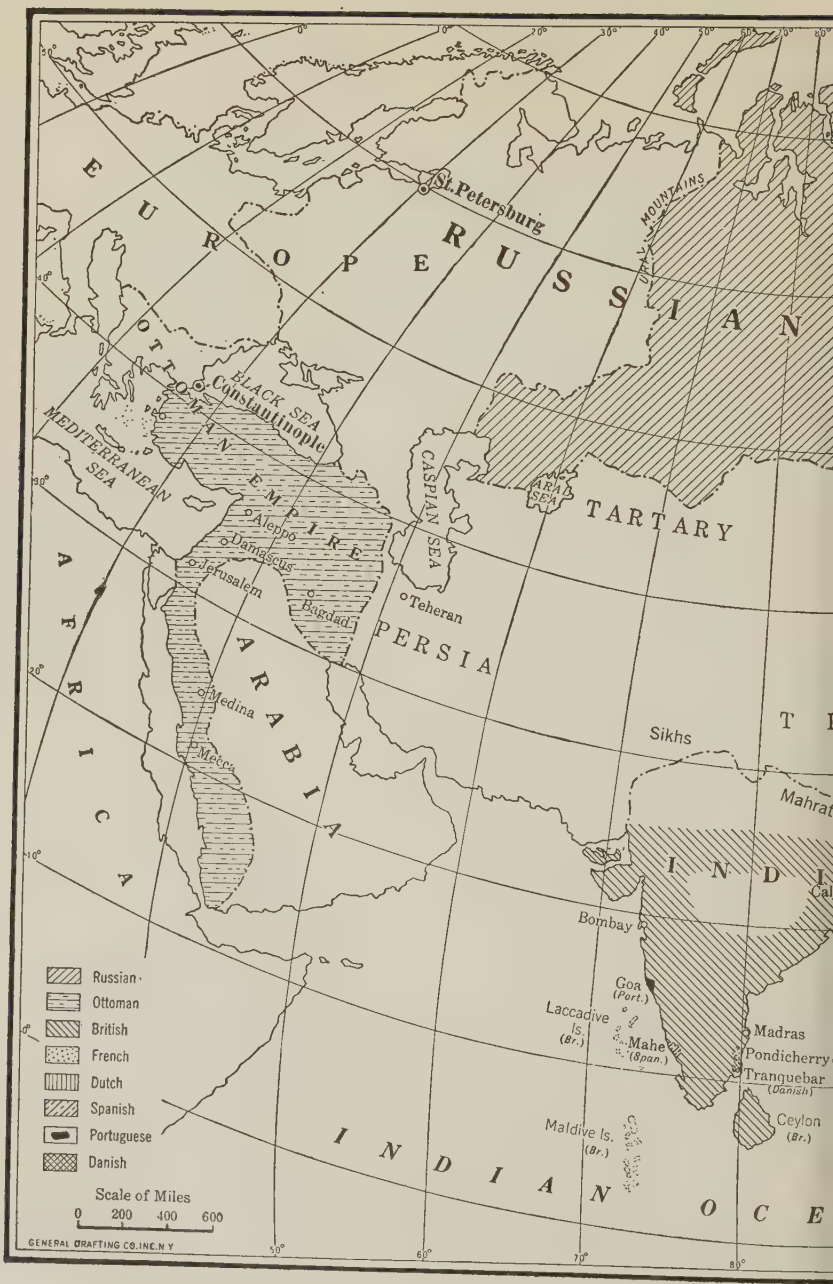
along heavy cars by a chain passing between their legs and attached to a girdle about the waist. Hours were long; the toil was brutal and debasing; there was no thought of morals or health. This "awful document," as Lord Ashley called it, aroused widespread terror, shame, and indignation. The result was a law which forbade women to work in the mines and excluded children under ten save for three days a week. This law resulted largely from the efforts of Ashley. In 1844 an act was passed which limited the hours of employment for factory women to twelve and regulated the hours of children. Six years later hours for women and children were reduced to ten.

The Corn Laws

Far more important at the time was the repeal of the Corn Laws—in the British Isles *corn* is the generic term for grain, and most often means wheat. In England, as in other countries, there had long been many tariffs and customs duties. With respect to grain there had in the period from 1436 to 1842 been many laws prohibiting or restricting importation of foreign grain, or giving encouragement by bounty to English exporters. These enactments, generally speaking, effected a tariff for the protection of native agricultural interests and the landowners who so long controlled parliament which passed the acts. In 1815 a law had been made prohibiting the importation of wheat into the British Isles until the price at home had risen to eighty shillings a quarter (eight bushels). This

Protection of British agriculture

was partly in order that British agriculture might not be crushed out by foreign competition. In that far the purpose was excellent, but as the industrial population was increasing it worked greatly for the interests of the landed proprietors, assuring them high prices without competition at the same time that it imposed on the industrial population a tax of high prices. Repeal of the laws had often been urged, but the agricultural interests were always sufficiently strong in parliament to prevent anything being done.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Jerusalem
Bagdad
Teheran
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Medina
Mecca
Sikhs
Mahrat
INDIA
Bombay
Goa (Port.)
Laccadive Is. (Br.)
Mahe (Span.)
Madras
Pondicherry
Tranquebar (Danish)
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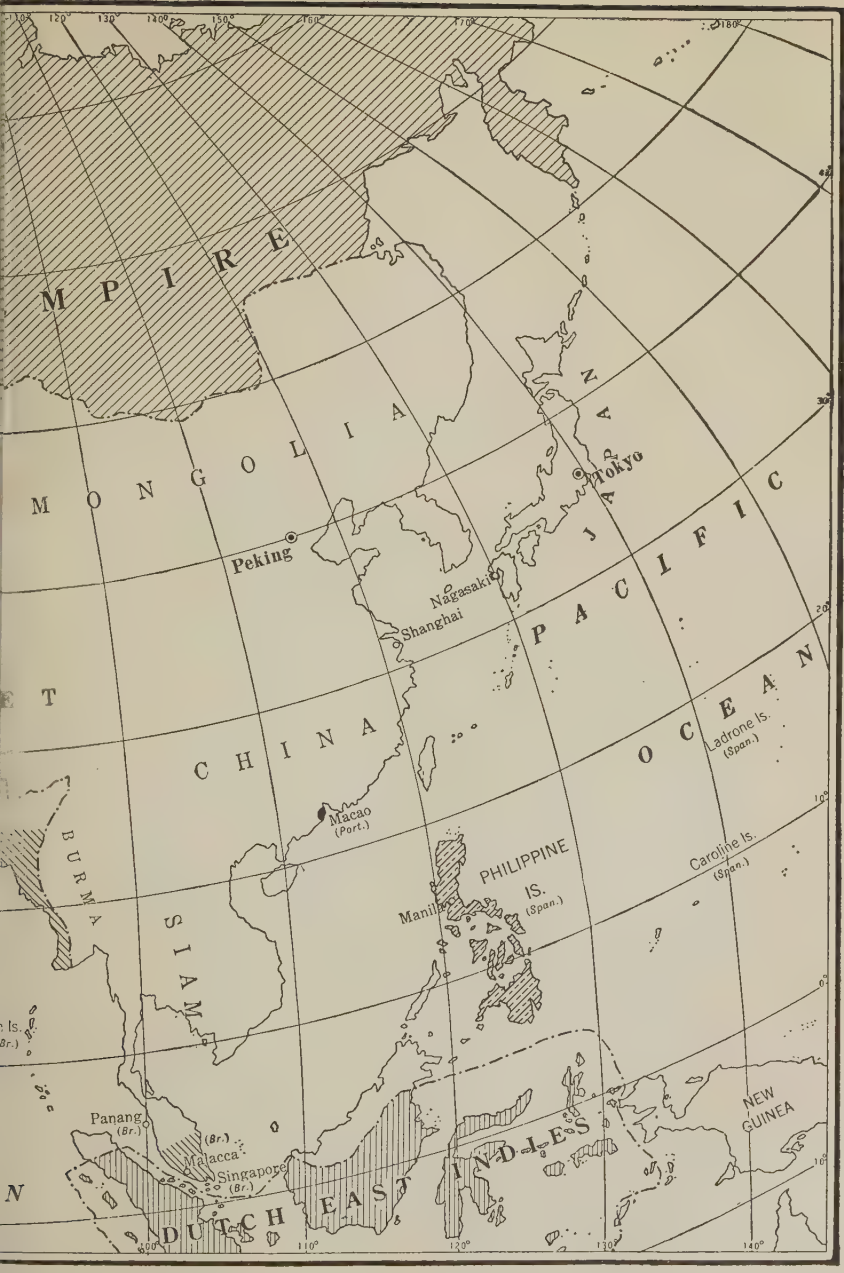
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The Anti-Corn Law League: Cobden and Bright

As time went on reformers, who desired to help the poor, and the manufacturing interest, which desired cheap food to make possible low wages, strongly supported the movement, and agitation became greater each year. The principal leaders were Richard Cobden—advocate of peace, free trade, and industrial development, and John Bright, both of them important industrial masters, and, like other factory owners, interested in cheaper food and living for the workmen. In 1838 the Anti-Corn Law League was established to work for repeal of the Corn Laws and free importation of wheat. For the work of this League manufacturers made extensive and increasing contributions; pamphlets were circulated broadcast; Cobden argued with convincing persuasion; and Bright became the most powerful orator of his time.

Protection and free trade: Sir Robert Peel

Meanwhile, many who took part in the movement had gone further, advocating removal of duties on other commodities and the institution of a policy of free trade. Gradually the Liberal Party accepted the free trade doctrines, but the general election of 1841 went against them. Sir Robert Peel, Conservative leader, and now prime minister, had been slowly convinced, however. In his budget of 1842 he reduced the tariff on 750 out of 1,200 dutiable articles, reviving the income tax—established by Pitt in 1799 but abolished on the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars—to make good any deficit. Next year he renounced certain duties altogether. He was still an avowed protectionist, but his followers were becoming alarmed. None the less, in 1845 he did away with more duties and reduced others further. The protectionists drew themselves up to resist any further changes, when a great catastrophe carried the movement on further.

Abolition of the Corn Laws: free trade

In 1845 in Ireland the potato crop, the principal food of the inhabitants, was almost a total failure. Further failures in the following years brought a terrible famine and then a pestilence that swept away a considerable part

Repeal of the Corn Laws, 1846

of the Irish population (1846–9). At first during the awful time of the famine was seen the spectacle of food being kept out by a tariff. Despite furious outcry that he was betraying the Conservative Party, Peel resolved to sweep away the Corn Laws, and in 1846 was able to secure their repeal. At the same time other customs were largely reduced, and thereafter, though some duties were retained —some still remain in existence—Great Britain became the principal free trade country in the world. Immediately after his achievement the ministry of Peel was overthrown.

Triumph of the middle class

This episode marked the completion of the triumph which the British industrial and commercial class was obtaining over the old upper class. Political equality or supremacy had been obtained by the Parliamentary Reform Law of 1832. By the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 the industrial and commercial leaders secured control of the cities, which had been controlled by the older *bourgeoisie* in the Middle Ages. Now by the repeal of the Corn Laws they had forced their economic policy upon the unwilling aristocrats and landowners. Profound changes and larger consequences followed. Cheap food now greatly stimulated industrial development, and Great Britain continued to be the most marvellous workshop in the world. Much distress was removed, and there was a greater amount of material prosperity for all classes than there had been before. Nevertheless, English agriculture, now brought into competition with the grain fields of America, passed partly away. As time went on farming was largely abandoned, and Britain with constantly increasing population became ever less able to feed her people. The island was a vast industrial hive and at the same time a place of gentlemen's estates and great parks. When, during the Great War, long afterward, the submarines nearly cut England's sea-routes over which the imported food came, for a moment England was in danger

Decline of British agriculture

of complete destruction. When the Great War was over it seemed to many that Britain during the nineteenth century had been able to produce a population too large for the island.

Last effort of the Chartists

In 1848 Chartism appeared for the last time. It was the year of revolutions, in Austria, in Italy, in France, and in Germany, when governments were falling or being threatened with destruction. In Britain the Chartists circulated a petition upon which they got an enormous number of signatures—many fictitious—and planned a procession to carry the petition to parliament. The government made elaborate arrangements to prevent insurrection or outbreak, the middle class rallied to its support, and a great number of special constables were sworn in to help to keep order. The petition was presented to parliament, but no action was taken upon it. The whole affair ended in ridicule and contempt, and the Chartist movement now finally collapsed.

Further parliamentary reform

For some time the movement for reform and amendment died down. The public became indifferent and the attention of the ruling classes was absorbed in economic development or in foreign affairs—the Crimean War, the Indian Mutiny, and the American Civil War. The next great step was taken after an interval when a second great parliamentary reform law was passed. Ever since 1832 there had been demand for extension of the franchise and a new arrangement of electoral districts. Again population had stood still or diminished in some places and grown amazingly in others; small boroughs returned as many members as great new industrial cities; while out of all the men of voting age only one in six had the franchise. The demands for further reform, which had slowly been gathering force, became stronger by 1865, when the American Civil War ended with the triumph of the North and the feeling that democracy had gained dignity and strength. Accordingly, in 1866, the Liberals introduced

a reform bill, which would have added 400,000 voters to the existing electorate; but this was defeated, and the Conservatives soon came into power.

The Reform Law of 1867

But now suddenly there was a great arousing of the workingmen and others disfranchised, and some violence which made a profound impression. At this point Benjamin Disraeli, afterward earl of Beaconsfield, the brilliant and versatile leader of the Conservatives in the house of commons, and later on the Conservative prime minister, concluding that extension of the franchise was inevitable, resolved that it should be the work of his party, even though they had just come into power opposed to such a measure. Once beginning, he soon went further than the Liberals themselves, and the result was a veritable revolution in the government of Great Britain. It is true that all men were not enfranchised, and the famous proposal of John Stuart Mill that women be allowed to vote was ignored and almost forgotten until many years later; but the Parliamentary Reform Act of 1867 not only made a new and better distribution of representation, but the franchise, far more widely extended than in 1832, was granted to part of the lower class, especially the artisans of the towns. By the terms of the act the franchise was given: in the boroughs to all householders who paid the poor rates and all lodgers of one year's residence whose yearly rent was £10; in the counties to all £5 freeholders and to all occupying tenants who paid an annual rent of £12. Altogether, 1,000,000 new voters were added, so that the franchise was now possessed by 2,500,000 people, or one out of every twelve of the entire population. This was the greatest step toward democracy that had ever been taken—with any lasting success—in Britain or in Europe. That same year the constitution of the North German Confederation, which later became the basis of the constitution of the German Empire, provided for an assembly, the *reichstag*, to be elected by universal man-

Wide extension of franchise

hood suffrage. But it was afterward seen that the *reichstag* had little real power, while the government of the United Kingdom was now almost entirely controlled by the house of commons.

The British Empire

Meanwhile momentous changes were begun in the character and organization of the British Empire. For the first time in the history of the world self-government and equal privileges were extended to outlying and subordinate dominions over the sea. Previously colonies had been allowed to drift away when they pleased, as was often the case with the Greeks, or else kept in strict subordination for the benefit of the country that ruled them. It was the glory of Great Britain in the nineteenth century to begin the reorganization of her empire into a commonwealth of self-governing communities with such privileges as they cared to have, and united with her at last only by common interests and affection.

Beginnings of the Empire

Just before the French Revolution Britain's possessions on the mainland of North America were almost all lost. A sixth of the English-speaking people separated from the homelands, and it almost seemed that the end of British imperial greatness had come. It also seemed to the people of England in those days that the lost colonies had been ungrateful, unwilling to bear their just share of the burdens of the empire, and eager to depart as soon as they could. Far from taking to heart, therefore, the lesson which some proclaimed—that the American colonists might have been held in loyal connection if what they considered their rights as English freemen had not been infringed—people in their bitterness believed that colonies would in any event try to break away, and that meanwhile they should be ruled for the benefit of the colonizing power.

Canada

After the establishment of the United States, Canada, which had been held in spite of the American Revolutionary War, remained Britain's largest possession peopled by

Europeans. In 1791 a constitution had been granted and the country divided into Upper Canada, later Ontario, containing English-speaking colonists, and Lower Canada, or Quebec, with French people. In each province the government was actually in the hands of officials not responsible to the people, who managed affairs as they pleased. In the French portion discontent became so great that in 1832 the legislature refused to appropriate money, and continued this refusal for five years, until a rebellion broke out led by Joseph Papineau. The disaffection spread to Upper Canada, where the discontented felt that the government was very different from that in the American commonwealths south of the Lakes. Actually the rebellion of 1837 was easily put down, but a crisis had arisen much like that in Massachusetts in 1775.

Lord Durham's mission

This was a turning-point in the history of the British Empire. In 1838 the Liberals sent out as high commissioner Lord Durham, a man of advanced ideas and great energy and courage; and full power was given him to deal with the situation. His high-handed, energetic measures aroused much opposition and presently brought about his recall. But in the following year he delivered his famous Report. He did not believe that self-government would cause the inhabitants to wish to abandon connection with Great Britain. Rather the tie would become "more durable and advantageous, by having more of equality, of freedom, and of local independence." And he added, with much nobility, that if in the future Canada was not to be part of the British Empire, none the less it was Britain's first duty to secure the well being of the Canadian people. He advised that, except for relations between Canada and the mother country and foreign affairs, matters affecting the colonists should be left altogether to themselves; with the exception of the governor and his secretary, all the officials should be responsible to an elected legislature; and that Upper and Lower

His advice

Canada should be joined in union. The British government soon adopted his suggestions and they were embodied in the Canada Government Art of 1840.

Success of the new policy

The Canadians now settled down in content and began working out the destiny before them. In 1867 another proposal in the Durham Report—that with the consent of Upper and of Lower Canada the other neighboring British North American colonies should be joined with these two in larger union—was brought to pass. The British North America Act now united Quebec, Ontario, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia into the Dominion of Canada, to which in after years were added all the territories in the northern part of the continent, with the exception of Newfoundland, which still remains a separate commonwealth, and Alaska. The government of this federation was entirely in the hands of the people, except that the nominal executive, the governor general, was appointed from London; but he had in Canada much the same position as that of the king in England. In course of time, as Canada increased in population and resources, the tie between the Dominion and the United Kingdom was little more than the security which the mother country gave to the colony and the loyalty and affection which the colonists felt for the old land. But the policy of Lord Durham was seen to be abundantly justified. Despite the fact that commercial and economic forces seemed to draw the Dominion ever closer to the United States, with the possibility that at last the two would be joined together, yet in 1911 the Canadians rejected a reciprocity treaty which might have begun this; and during the Great War against Germany the Canadian people showed their love for the Empire by sacrifices and magnificent efforts when the government at London never could have compelled them. Furthermore, the system established in Canada was later on to be worked out in Australia, in New Zealand, in South Africa, and elsewhere, the parts mostly inhabited by white people,

Loyalty and affection

until at last an Englishman could boast that the Empire was a "living home of divine freedom" in which the ends of the earth were united "in the name and the hope of self-government."

Failure with Ireland

In the midst of this success there was one great failure. Close beside England lies Ireland. Since 1800 it had been part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, but it had usually had the position of a colony or subordinate possession. Ireland had for a long time been the most perplexing problem in British administration, and in the nineteenth century it was more and more evident that here England had not succeeded.

Origin of the Irish Question

A long time before Ireland had been overrun by a branch of the Celtic race, the people who continued to live also in the Scottish Highlands and in Wales. A fine culture and literature had arisen among the Irish, but the country remained divided among warring tribes who failed to unite and make an Irish nation. Accordingly, they did not prevent Normans and Englishmen from conquering the east coast, establishing themselves in Dublin, and harassing the rest of the country all through the Middle Ages. Had Irishmen been able to free their country they might have become a prosperous, united nation. But they could not do this, nor could England make her domination complete until it was too late for it ever to be successful and effective. The conquest was accomplished in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, during the Reformation and the period of colonial expansion. After several vain rebellions the Catholic Irish were completely subdued. From part of the northeast country the Celtic Catholics were largely driven out and Protestants brought over to make the Plantation of Ulster. In the rest of the island most of the Catholics were deprived of their land, they were left with no means of livelihood but working on the estates of the conquerors, forbidden to enter the learned professions, forbidden to worship under

Conquest of Ireland by the English

their own priests, taxed to support the Church of England, and practically reduced to serfdom. They were treated immeasurably worse than the American colonists ever were, and had they been far away from England they would undoubtedly have risked their all to win independence. But they were close at hand, and resistance was hopeless. Therefore the eighteenth century was passed in despair, with many of the best young men leaving the country. It was an age of religious discrimination or persecution, when everywhere conquerors imposed harsh will on the conquered. Most Englishmen then were in inferior and lowly position, and had no control over their government and little knowledge of the condition of the Irish.

Subjection and despair

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Ireland had been entirely subordinate to the government of England. During the period 1782–1800, partly because of Britain's perplexity and trouble during the American Revolutionary War, Ireland was allowed to have an independent parliament. Notwithstanding some prosperity, there was presently such confusion in the island and such danger during the struggle with Napoleon that in 1800 an Act of Union was passed joining Ireland with Great Britain. Wales had long been united with England, and Scotland had joined in an Act of Union passed in 1707. In both instances the union had been of great advantage to all. But in the case of Ireland there were obstacles which would have to be removed before any union could be a success, and unfortunately the defects were not for some time amended. The Catholics had expected to see the discriminations against them removed, but this was not done until 1829. The land had once been taken away from the Irish proprietors, and the Irish population, constantly increasing, lived on little patches of ground rented at high price, even in best years scarcely sufficient for support.

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland

Continued misery and unrest

During the years when in Great Britain evil conditions were being slowly removed by the legislation of reformers, the Irish people continued to live on in ignorance, misery, hunger, and filth. The climax of their sufferings came in 1846–9. The main support of the peasants, their potato crop, failed, and, despite some attempts at relief and despite the hurried repeal of the Corn Laws, there was a terrible famine followed by a plague. These frightful years left an abiding mark upon Ireland. The best of the people left the stricken land, coming to America in a great migration. For a long time this continued. During the nineteenth century the population of England rose from 8,500,000 to 32,000,000, but that of Ireland, which increased from less than 5,000,000 to more than 8,000,000 by 1846, declined during the remainder of the century to about 4,000,000. During this time most of the Irish were discontented, and the country could only be ruled under coercion acts and by force, while there was a great deal of lawlessness and brutal crime. Many Irishmen wished to separate completely from Britain, and about 1865 the Fenians, a revolutionary organization, tried to bring this about by creating a reign of terror. It was not until the later years of the nineteenth century that a series of great and liberal reforms for a time brought quietness and better conditions.

Some Irishmen desire separation

India

Britain did not attempt to extend self-government to possessions not peopled by white men. Of these the most important was India, which during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had been won for the English East India Company by a succession of great captains and merchants. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the company had acquired various trading stations along the coast and built up a lucrative trade. At first the Dutch and afterward the French were zealous and successful rivals. Gradually the Dutch were driven away, but a long and doubtful struggle was waged with the

French. This contest was decided during the Seven Years' War (1756–63), in which the British triumphed all over the world. One result was that France was compelled to give over her ambition to found an empire in India. The success of the English there had been due partly to the genius of Robert, afterward lord, Clive, who conquered Bengal—a territory on the northeastern coast stretching back from Calcutta (1757). Two years later the Carnatic—in the southeast—was virtually acquired. The work was carried further by Warren Hastings (1732–1818), who extended the dominion and ruled with high-handed vigor. Great profits were made by the East India Company and its servants. The "nabobs" who returned to Britain astonished their countrymen by ostentation and wealth. There were many complaints and many accusations of bribery, corruption, and oppression. Hastings himself was impeached and put on trial when he returned (1788), but finally acquitted (1795), justly, it seems now. Meanwhile, in 1784, William Pitt had secured the passage of the India Act. By this law the Company was left to its commercial activities and in control of its patronage or appointing to positions—though the more important officials were to be subject to the approval of the crown—while a board of control, appointed by the king, was set up over the civil and military administration, so that the governing of India was to a considerable extent put under the control of the British government.

Robert Clive 1725–74

The India Act of 1784

During his struggle with the English Napoleon strove to wrest India from them. He was unable to reach the Far East, but he succeeded in stirring up many of the Indian princes against England. The result presently was a further extension of British rule. Under the administration of the governor-general, Richard, afterward marquis of, Wellesley—elder brother of the duke of Wellington—British dominion was greatly enlarged (1798–

Growth of the British Empire in India

Further acquisition of Indian states

1805). He strongly established the company's power in the south, overawing Mysore and the Deccan. In the years following this extension continued, as native states asked to be put under British protection or as further conquests were made to assure the security of what had formerly been obtained. Important among the further annexations were Lower Burma (1826, 1852)—on the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal; Sind (1843)—in the northwest, adjoining Baluchistan; the Punjab (1849)—to the northeast of Sind; Oudh (1856)—in the north. The British now held all of the eastern coast of the great peninsula and the opposite coast of Burma, most of the western coast of India, a great district in the center, and most of the north. Virtually all of the rest of India was divided among states subservient or under British protection. So, under the East India Company a huge Indian empire had been gradually acquired. It was ruled in such manner that the natives were in some ways better off than ever before, but entirely subject to Englishmen and Scotchmen, who amassed great fortunes among them. India, while ruled partly by the company, was yet controlled by the British government, which regarded her as the greatest possession in the empire, and one of the foundations of the empire's commercial importance.

The Indian Mutiny

Suddenly in 1857 a terrible mutiny broke out among the Sepoys, or native troops, who made the largest part of the company's army. The causes were many—reforms recently had been made which ran counter to native prejudice or custom, hatred of the aliens who ruled India, belief that religious prejudices were being violated by the British. There were terrible massacres at Cawnpore and other places, for which the English afterward took sternest vengeance. The few English soldiers in India were able to do little at first, but they behaved with great bravery, and, soon reinforced, they crushed the mutiny completely. The principal result was that English domination was

more firmly established than before. In 1858, since it was felt that the administration of so vast a domain was beyond the real power of any corporation, the remaining powers of the East India Company were transferred to the British government which now added directly to its dominions 800,000 square miles of land and 200,000,000 people. Somewhat later, by the Royal Titles Act (1876), Victoria, queen of England, was declared empress of India.

Foreign relations

Generally speaking, during this period Britain sought to be aloof from European affairs, taking little part in them, but meanwhile developing her commerce, her industry, and her empire. She had a small army, and wished to avoid being drawn into great wars. She was, moreover, paying off part of her gigantic national debt. Her navy was by far the greatest in the world, and after Trafalgar her command of the seas was at no time disputed.

Relations with the United States

With the United States relations slowly improved after the Treaty of Ghent (1814), which brought to an end the War of 1812. Seen in larger perspective since then this war is a landmark in the history of the English-speaking peoples, for it was the last struggle between the two great branches. Later on there were often disputes between the United States and Great Britain—about the boundary of Maine, about Texas, about Oregon, about Venezuela—but always they were settled by diplomatic negotiation and agreement, until at the end of a hundred years it was found that most people in the two countries regarded the very idea of war between the two as utterly criminal and absurd, and not to be thought of.

The British and the American peoples

The relations between the governments improved sooner than those between the peoples themselves. The Americans were a new nation, proud and sensitive, convinced of superiority over any other people, yet sensitive about their crudeness and defects. Englishmen, with more narrowness of spirit and insular pride then than

now, looked down upon them as rough settlers in a distant land; and travelers, such as Charles Dickens, wrote about them with a contempt which was bitterly resented. Moreover, there were the memories of the Revolutionary period: the British recalled that the colonists had broken away; the Americans believed they had been abused by a tyrant and had escaped from subjection to become freemen. Important also was the fact that for a long time Americans advanced more rapidly to democratic control of their government than the British. Down to 1867 the government of the United Kingdom was still controlled by the upper class and the middle class, and there was always an aristocratic character about it. The American Civil War (1861–5) marked an epoch. During that contest the British government would have been pleased to recognize the Southern Confederacy. Some of the governing classes sympathized with the Southern aristocrats notwithstanding that they held slaves. Others rejoiced at the disruption of the United States and the prospect of a permanent diminution of its power. On the other hand, great numbers of the plain people in England, most of them not yet enfranchised, admired Lincoln, hoped that he would be able to abolish slavery, and believed that in the end the North would triumph. They continued to maintain this attitude, with magnificent patience, though some of them, the Lancashire weavers, nearly starved when the Northern blockade cut off the export of cotton from the South. In 1865 the North was completely victorious. Two years later a great extension of the franchise made Britain far more democratic than ever before; and in the following years, with continued extension of democracy, the foundation was laid for real fellowship between these parts of the English-speaking people. On both sides of the water some continued to oppose better understanding, especially Irish-Americans in the United States, but after the Spanish-American War (1898), in which Britain

Old ill-feeling slowly abates

The two democracies friendly

showed unmistakable friendship for the American people, good accord rapidly developed. Then at last came the Great War to complete the work. In the dread hour when England seemed in mortal danger with all that England represented, many of the American people realized as never before how much the two nations stood for the same civilization and ideals; and this realization was one of the important factors in bringing America to the aid of the Allies against the German Empire.

Relations with European powers

With Continental peoples the relations of England were generally good. There was some rivalry with France over colonial projects and position in the Mediterranean. The establishment of the Italian nation was watched with sympathy, as was the progress of the Germanies toward union. Englishmen had helped the Greeks to win independence; but they maintained their friendship with Turkey. Often during this period there was fear that Russia, expanding steadily through Asia, might strike south against India, and also that she might destroy the sultan's power and take Constantinople for herself. In 1853 a dispute arose between France and Russia and between Russia and Turkey. Into this dispute England was drawn, though the government was most anxious not to go to war. None the less, when Russian troops attacked Turkey there was great popular feeling in England, and with a light heart the country went quickly into the contest unprepared. In the earlier part of the war the British fleet failed to accomplish what had been expected of it in the Baltic; but English and French armies, after a siege in which there were horrible privation and suffering, captured the fortress of Sevastopol in the Crimea. In 1856 the Crimean War came to an end with the Treaty of Paris, which guaranteed the independence and integrity of Turkey.

The Crimean War, 1854–6

During this period the British government had been conducted in turn by various ministries deriving their

Ministries and prime ministers

power from one or other of the two great political parties which divided the United Kingdom: Liberals and Conservatives. The Whig or Liberal ministry of Lord Grey (1830–4) was succeeded by the ministry of his colleague, Lord Melbourne (1834). The Conservatives then came into power under Sir Robert Peel (1834–5), and after an interval during which the Liberals again had control—the second ministry of Melbourne (1835–41)—Peel was premier once more (1841–6). Under Lord John Russell (1846–52) the Liberals were in power, partly because the Conservatives, who still had the larger number of supporters, were divided among themselves with respect to protection and free trade. It was in this ministry of Lord John Russell that the irrepressible foreign secretary, Viscount Palmerston, reached the height of his able and meddling policy. Later on he himself was prime minister (1855–8), and, after an interval, for a second time (1859–65). Meanwhile the Conservatives had been in power for a moment under the earl of Derby (1852) to be followed by the coalition of Liberals and adherents of the teachings of Peel under the earl of Aberdeen (1852–5). The Liberals returned to the ascendant with the second ministry of Lord John Russell (1865–6). Lord Derby, who had presided over a second brief ministry (1858–9), headed the Conservatives for a third time (1866–8).

Peel

Palmerston

Lord John Russell

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CHAPTER VIII

FRANCE BEFORE 1870

> Quand je considère cette nation en elle-même, je la trouve plus extraordinaire qu'aucun des événements de son histoire . . . la plus brillante et la plus dangereuse des nations de l'Europe, et la mieux faite pour y devenir tour à tour un objet d'admiration, de haine, de pitié, de terreur, mais jamais d'indifférence.
>
> Alexis de Tocqueville, *L'Ancien Régime et la Révolution* (1856), Chapter XX.

France after Napoleon I

The position of France in 1815 was in some respects like that of Germany in 1918. After long and exhausting wars France had been overwhelmed, and the memories of the struggle had left much bitterness and fear. Some, especially the Germans, believed that the French people ought to be placed under such restraint that it would be out of their power to make another aggression upon Europe, that they should be forced to make good the damage they had done, and surrender provinces which would leave them weak for the future. But apparently there was then less belief that outrages, atrocities, and violations of the law of war had been committed. Moreover, it was widely felt that a considerable section of the French people had not supported Napoleon, and that at worst they had been misled and compelled to obey him. There were French exiles who had always sought help from the Allies to return and restore whatever could be reëstablished; and after the abdication of Napoleon, the Bourbon heir was brought back and put upon the throne as Louis XVIII (1814–1824). So there was much disposition, especially on the part of the British, to deal with France mildly, and even

Restoration of the Bourbons

after the Hundred Days of the Waterloo Campaign, though a heavy indemnity was imposed and some territory taken away, yet lenient terms were still granted.

The settlement of Vienna

The Congress of Vienna, which disposed things after Napoleon's fall, proceeded to put an end to his arrangements. The incomparable skill of Talleyrand, the French plenipotentiary, who well represented the best aspects of his people at the same time that he quickly took advantage of divisions among the conquerors of Napoleon, was able to effect much in reëstablishing his country's position. Nevertheless, what Frenchmen had been doing in Europe for a score of years was now largely undone, and the settlement of Vienna was made by the conquerors of France. To a proud, warlike, high-spirited people like the French, who had just passed through such wonderful experiences and glory, this was an intolerable situation, and they would long chafe at that which the Allies had decreed. For a long while also the other powers would continue on guard against them. Hence for many years it would be difficult for any French government, which desired to keep peace and restore the prosperity of the country, to adopt such a foreign policy as would please foreign powers and yet please the people of France; while on more than one occasion weak or unscrupulous leaders would find it easy to divert attention from troublesome domestic questions by engaging in war or bold policy abroad.

The work of the Revolution unfinished

Moreover, it was a long time before the government of France could be settled on a solid foundation. In 1789 the intellectuals and the middle class of France, knowing that the country was bankrupt and that the government was slowly breaking down, and looking with disfavor upon the oppressive remains of the feudal system in France, had been able to abolish serfdom and feudal privileges, secure equality in matters of justice and taxation, and make the government a limited monarchy. This was as far as the great mass of the people cared to go. Most Frenchmen

The radicals in the French Revolution

strongly desired that a king should continue to rule them. In July, 1789, almost accidentally, the Revolution entered upon a more radical phase, and all sorts of changes followed in swift succession. It was not long before the church, which in spite of its faults was still dear to a great many people, was attacked and its property taken. The king was deprived of his power, presently he was put to death, and a republic established. These changes were wrought by a well-organized body of bold, able radicals, who were only a small part of the entire population, and who soon had to maintain themselves by military despotism and a reign of terror.

Reaction

Shortly after there was so much confusion and discontent, that presently what the people most wanted was the strong rule of some capable man, and Napoleon Bonaparte easily got supreme power ten years after the Revolution began. He did not become king, but as First Consul and emperor he wielded far greater power than Louis XVI ever had. Very wisely he restored as much of the old system of government and religion as the people desired; and yet he maintained the great reforms of the beginning of the Revolution and the best work of the Convention, which had the sanction of the majority of the population.

The work of 1789 maintained in 1830

In 1814 the Allies brought back to Paris the younger brother of Louis XVI and put him on the throne as Louis XVIII. The new king was not popular, and for a short time Napoleon easily dispossessed him; but supported as he was by the Allies, the people of France were willing to accept him, provided he did not try to undo the Revolutionary changes which the people approved. He was sagacious enough to understand this; but he was accompanied by supporters, who, as a contemporary said, had learned nothing and forgotten nothing. They wanted vengeance and restoration of nobles and church to the privileges and the position which had formerly been theirs. In a little while their policy prevailed; then they were

overthrown; and the results of the French Revolution were maintained by the Revolution of 1830; after which other reaction and revolution followed.

The Charte (Charter) of 1814

When Louis XVIII came to the throne he assumed that he held his title by divine right, but he granted to the French people a Charter. According to this Charter, the government was to be carried on by the king, but there was also to be a legislative assembly, consisting of two chambers, one composed of peers, hereditary or named for life by the crown, the other chosen by a small number of the people, the franchise being restricted to men, thirty years of age, who paid 300 *francs* a year in direct taxes, while only those who paid 1,000 *francs* taxes might be elected as members. In this way, out of a population of 29,000,000 there were less than 100,000 voters, and not more than 12,000 eligible to be elected to the chamber. Only the executive could initiate legislation, but the lower, representative chamber had control of taxation. Such a system was not greatly unlike the government of Great Britain at this time. It was approved by a considerable body of the nation.

Further progress

The reactionaries and the returned *émigrés* were by no means content with this. They hoped to bring back the old order completely. Their plan was first to restore the church, and give it great power, especially over education, and thus pave the way for a return of other things, which the church would advocate and teach. In the beginning the reactionaries could not get the approbation of Louis, guided first by the Duc de Richelieu and then by the Duc de Decazes, his premiers, who leaned upon moderate and liberal support. Altogether the years from 1816 to 1820 were marked by wise management and sound progress. Much greater freedom of the press was given; the confidence of the country was gained, if not its enthusiasm; and loans were easily floated. Meanwhile, the Duc de Richelieu gained the confidence of the Allies, and in

1818 the great powers decided at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle to withdraw the soldiers still occupying parts of France.

Reaction

This period came to an end when in 1820 a fanatic assassinated the nephew of the king. The great indignation aroused by this deed enabled the reactionaries to restore censorship of the press and suspend the safeguards of personal liberty which had been guaranteed by the Charter. A new electoral law was passed to give them control of the legislature. It did away with the secret ballot, which conduced so greatly to the elector's freedom of choice, narrowed the franchise, and gave a double vote to citizens who paid 1,000 *francs* in taxes—substantially the landed interest. In the election held now the extreme conservatives got control of the chamber, and the Comte de Villèle was put at the head of the ministry. Villèle, thoroughly reactionary, was yet patient, subtle, and very able. He went about the work of restoring the Old Régime with great skill. He remained in power for six years (1822–7), to the death of Louis XVIII in 1824, and after the accession of Louis's brother, Charles X. In the end he had nearly complete success.

Plans of Villèle

His plan was to proceed slowly, meanwhile curbing the headstrong zeal of his companions who would have tried to restore old conditions at once. He believed that if he had on his side the vast influence of the church strengthened and restored, he might be able with the assistance thus given to go on a great deal further. And he believed that the middle classes and people of substance and importance would make little opposition to political and constitutional changes if business were good and if their wealth increased. In the meantime, stage by stage, the power and privileges of the nobles could be won back again.

Therefore in 1822 the censorship of the press was tightened, and education was put almost entirely under the

control of the church. At the same time high protective tariffs were levied on imports, to the great satisfaction of manufacturers and owners of land. To strengthen his hold on the legislative assembly, reactionary peers were added to the upper chamber, and, the lower chamber being already filled with his supporters, the duration of parliament was extended to seven years—parliament amending the Charter of 1814 to allow this. Secure of the body that made the laws, Villèle proceeded to bring forward the measures toward which he had been working. He had now the added support of the new king, Charles X (1824–1830), who had from the first been the leader of the reactionaries, and who was at the head of the noblemen and the churchmen who hoped to secure restoration to former owners of the property confiscated during the Revolution. For the present it was evidently impossible to take away lands that were in possession of proprietors who had bought them. This was recognized by all, and the charter had explicitly promised that where confiscated lands had been purchased the titles should not be disturbed. It was now said, however, that for the great injustice done to the *émigrés* there should be signal though tardy reparation. The *émigrés* must be satisfied; at the same time the present owners should be made completely secure for the future. Such a settlement would bring reconciliation and harmony throughout the kingdom. Accordingly, it was proposed not to restore the confiscated lands, but to compensate the former owners with money appropriated by the state. The value of the property lost by the *émigrés* was estimated at 1,000,000,000 *francs*. Such a capital sum for compensation could not be raised, but Villèle and his associates proposed to pay the claimants 30,000,000 *francs* a year—interest on the capital at three per cent. The sum required was mostly to be obtained by the government arbitrarily lowering the rate of interest on the public debt from five to four

The work of reaction under way

Compensation for confiscated lands

Public creditors pay the *émigrés*

per cent. These schemes for compensation of the royalists were put into effect by a law passed in 1825. Then religious bodies were established again, the Jesuits allowed to return, and a "law of sacrilege" passed imposing severe penalties, even death, for profanation and crimes against churches. It was then proposed to alter the law of succession, ordained by the *Code Napoléon*—that property must be equally divided among the children—so that now a primogeniture should be established, and the eldest son receive the largest portion. In addition there was to be the right of entail to make possible the perpetuation of large estates. These proposals Villèle found it impossible to carry through the chamber of peers. In 1827 he was suddenly overthrown by a combination of the more extreme reactionaries, who thought he was doing too little, and the liberals, who were thoroughly alarmed at what he had done.

Primogeniture and entail proposed

Foreign affairs

A more bitter struggle ensued. By 1829 the issues were clearly drawn. A decisive contest was developing between the liberals, who feared that the work of the Revolution would be largely undone, and those who were bent on restoring as much as they could of the Old Régime in France. The royalists attempted to divert the attention of the people to foreign affairs. In 1823 an army had been sent into Spain, to overthrow the Spanish liberals in revolt against their king; and the French people rejoiced, for once more it seemed they were taking an important part in Europe's affairs. There were some who spoke of again trying to obtain the Rhine frontier, but wiser counsels prevailed. In 1830 the conquest of Algeria was begun, to avenge the insult given by the *bey* or ruler of Algeria to the French ambassador, and to arouse the national pride and ambition of the people. This conquest, not completed until 1847, finally put an end to the depredations of the Barbary pirates and also made the beginning of a new great French colonial empire.

Revolution of 1830

In 1829, despite the opposition of the chambers, Charles appointed a ministry made up of ultra-royalists headed by the Prince de Polignac. This minister announced that the government would soon restore aristocracy and give the clergy their old position and power. The chamber of deputies made strong opposition. Then elections were held which returned an assembly still more hostile to the policy of the minister and the king. In July, 1830, Charles proclaimed four ordinances by which the press was shackled, the franchise narrowed, the newly elected chamber of deputies dissolved before it met, and the recent elections being set aside as invalid new elections were proclaimed for September. Immediately an insurrection broke out in Paris. The printers and publishers urged on the others; the workingmen threw up barricades in the streets; all classes fell away from the king; and Charles, having sought in vain to appease his subjects by revoking the ordinances, fled into exile to England.

The July Ordinances

The French Revolution of 1830, the July Revolution, carried forward the work of the French Revolution. Like the English Revolution of 1688 it involved no radical changes. In neither case were parliamentary or economic reforms brought about. In both instances a dynasty was changed, but little alteration was made in the system of government or the life of the people. In each case the great achievement was that reaction was prevented and the way left open for progress in the future. In France now the government was put into the hands of another king, Louis Philippe, of the younger, the Orléans branch of the House of Bourbon. The insurrection had been made by men who wanted a republic, but the French people understood that the European powers were not willing yet to tolerate another republic in France, so monarchy was preserved for a time. A new constitution was made by revising the Charter of 1814. It took away the power of the king to proclaim ordinances for the good of

The new constitution

the state, which was one of the provisions of the charter, and had been the warrant for the July Ordinances of Charles X. The Catholic religion was no longer to be the state religion, though it was described as the religion of the majority of the people. Censorship of the press was abolished. And, above all, the theory of divine right, expressed in the preamble of the charter, was now omitted.

"Divine right" overthrown

A law passed in 1831, which remained in force until 1848, regulated the franchise. The double vote was abolished. The franchise was now extended to those who paid 200 *francs* a year in direct taxes, and to professional men who paid 100 *francs*. As a result of this there were about two hundred thousand voters in a population of thirty-two millions.

Results of the Revolution

The important results of the revolution were that the French people had now firmly established the great principles of the generation preceding—civil equality of individuals and constitutional liberty. They had established them firmly because their king was no longer one imposed by the Allies and ruling, as he said, by divine right but a monarch who had received his throne from the people whose power rested on the will of the nation.

Louis Philippe

Louis Philippe (1830–48) was now a middle-aged man. In his youth he had taken part in the liberal movements of the French Revolution, and had served in the Revolutionary armies. After the Restoration he had lived in Paris as a simple gentleman, winning the regard of workmen and *bourgeoisie*. After the flight of Charles X, when some wanted a republic and others a limited monarchy, he had been invited to be king by that chamber of deputies which his predecessor attempted to dissolve just before the outbreak. Frenchmen accepted him, and so long as he pleased them he might reign; but when he was seen to be essentially autocratic in his nature, and when in the course of time he could no longer please most of the people, then he would be overthrown as easily as he now was set up.

Political parties

In the years that followed the Revolution of 1830 there was no longer a struggle between reactionaries who would restore the old régime and liberals who would preserve what the Revolution had given. Politics were complicated and confused; there were several parties and numerous leaders. Generally speaking, the conservatives, led after awhile by François Guizot, eminent both as historian and statesman, and the liberals, presently led by Louis Adolphe Thiers, also eminent as statesman and historical writer, both accepted the government established by the July Revolution. The difference was that the conservatives believed enough had been accomplished by the settlement of 1830, while the liberals wished to go on with reforms which they thought had only been begun. For the most part, the period was one in which economic rather than political considerations absorbed men's attention. The *bourgeoisie* were in control. It was upon support of the middle class that the power of the king was founded.

Troubles under the July Monarchy

There was much unrest and confusion at first. Advocates of a republic continued troublesome, and although the government had declared that censorship of the press should never be renewed, there were repeated prosecutions of republican newspapers for attacking the government. There were several small republican insurrections. Moreover, the Legitimists, who supported the heir of Charles X, regarded Louis Philippe as a usurper, and tried to create disaffection. The government took measures against its enemies sufficient to make many believe that liberty was in danger, yet not drastic enough to quell the spirit of its opponents. Six times attempts were made to assassinate Louis Philippe, the most notable being the Fieschi Plot of 1835, in which a Corsican tried to kill the king with an infernal machine. But in the reaction and horror that followed, the government was able to pass the September Laws of 1835, by which special courts were established to try conspirators against the state, and a

Attempts to kill Louis Philippe

system of penalties provided which practically established again censorship of the press. For a while the government appeared stronger than ever, but these laws really weakened it by alienating liberal and moderate people.

Position of the king

Actually the king's position was never very strong. He had been put upon the throne not because he was popular, like Napoleon, nor because he had the best title to the crown, but because, in a difficult time, when opposing factions were compelled to make a compromise, he seemed the most available candidate. At no time was he widely admired, nor was his bearing or appearance such as ever to inspire reverence and admiration. Men called him *Le Roi Citoyen* (The Citizen King). He had rather the mien of a popular magistrate than of a monarch. Caricaturists loved to display his corpulency—rounding out at the waist like a pear, his umbrella, his bourgeois manners. He could and he did give France a stable government for many years. During that time his foreign policy was such that the enmity and suspicion of other countries were generally avoided, and France enjoyed long years of peace in which to recover her strength. It was during this time that the Industrial Revolution, which had for more than half a century been developing so mightily across the Channel, began also a great development in France. The new industrialism was managed by the middle class, whose interests the king specially cared for, and who acquired great prosperity and wealth. But the temper of most of the French people then was such that no mere material success, no career merely prosperous and quiet, would be enough. There was still an older generation that could remember glorious days when Napoleon dominated Europe and when France was indisputably leader of the world. Great battles had been won, great triumphs achieved, with resplendent glory and renown. Now this was past: France was ruled by a king who never seemed kingly; his policy led to nothing spectacular or

Industrial Revolution

showy. Furthermore, although manufactures and wealth were rapidly increasing, yet there were now in France the same disquieting problems—the miserable condition of some of the workmen, the widening gap between employers and employees, great factories with machines and numerous workers largely at the mercy of capitalist masters—that had long troubled England. Hence, even though the king's policy pleased the middle class and kept for him their steady support, it seemed to do little for other classes. Therefore socialist and revolutionary agitation constantly increased.

Discontent

It was afterward thought that Louis Philippe might have won the support and enthusiasm of most of his people had he embarked with success in adventurous foreign relations. There was much sentiment in the country that France should intervene to assist oppressed peoples in Europe, as—it was said—once she had done. There was continuance of desire to undo the settlement of 1815 and get for France her old position again. At the very beginning of his reign France along with Great Britain did take a stand against Russia and Prussia who proposed to force the revolted Belgians back under the rule of Holland (1830–1); but Louis Philippe declined the Belgian crown for his son, and he did nothing to assist the Italian and the Polish people when they also rose against their masters (1830–1). Steadily he refused to become entangled in war, or act in such manner that the eastern and central powers would combine against France. More and more the king himself guided foreign policy, along with his most trusted minister, Guizot. Foreign affairs were managed safely with skill and finesse, but never so as to bring the dazzling splendor or excitement which so many Frenchmen wished for. So, as Lamartine said, *La France s'ennuyait* (France was bored). The king's popularity did not increase. There was no glory won to render his throne secure.

Foreign policy

Peace but no dazzling success

Discontent with the government system

In course of time the management of internal affairs pleased the majority of the people no better. The government was completely in the hands of the king and the *bourgeoisie*. The July Revolution had made no sweeping reforms and had not extended greatly democracy or control of the government by the people. The middle class supported the king; he and they directed policy; and measures were passed in their interests. Louis Philippe and the leaders whom he most trusted believed that sufficient reform had been made in 1830; they took their stand firmly by the arrangement made then and resolved to resist further change. Only those who paid 500 *francs* taxes might be elected to the chamber, and substantially the franchise was confined to those who paid 200 *francs*. During the period 1840–8 the government of France was constitutional and parliamentary, the ministry depending on a majority of the chamber; but since, as in England in the eighteenth century, the government could give appointments or rewards to members who supported it, the king and his ministers usually found it not difficult to control about half the assembly. Since the franchise was confined to the middle and upper classes, and the electorate contained only about two hundred thousand voters, it was easy by means of bribery or manipulation of elections to secure all the additional votes that were needed. Accordingly, it was no more possible for the French people to control their government at this time than it was for the people of the United Kingdom to control theirs before the electoral reform laws.

Legislative controlled by the king

Discontent of the masses

In western Europe at this time economic development and the continued influence of the French Revolution were stirring up greater numbers of people to demand an industrial reform and such change in the government that the people could control their rulers. Socialism was rising and radical reforms were being preached in Great Britain, in France, and in the German lands. All the time French

republicans were hoping that a republic might be reëstablished, and an ever-larger number of discontented liberals were demanding that office-holders should be excluded from the chamber of deputies and that the franchise should be considerably widened. But Louis Philippe and Guizot were resolute against any such changes. Laws continued to be passed in the interest of the *bourgeoisie*. Unrest grew among the masses.

The Revolution of 1848

By 1847 the situation in France was much like that in England in 1831: a system too strong to be changed by ordinary means; popular opposition ever ominously increasing. Liberals desired extension of the franchise and reform of the governmental system. Socialists, disciples of Saint-Simon and Louis Blanc, wanted sweeping economic alteration. Clericals, who after the Restoration had been ardent supporters of the throne, looked upon the Huguenot minister, Guizot, with increasing suspicion and dislike. Alphonse Lamartine, whose eloquent but inaccurate *Histoire des Girondins* (1847) glorified the Girondists of the French Revolution, now predicted the fall of the monarchy. Many public political banquets were held by opponents of the government to arouse or sustain opposition. In England the controlling class had given way and constitutional change was made in the Parliamentary Reform Law of 1832. In France the government would not yield and a violent outbreak now followed. The crisis came in February, 1848, after the government had forbidden political meetings, when it resolved to prevent the opposition leaders from holding a banquet in Paris. Great crowds collected; barricades were thrown up in the streets; the National Guard refused to put down the insurgents. The king would now have made great concessions, but the republicans were determined to destroy the monarchy completely. It was easy to do this, for the king had long since lost the support of the nation, and now in his hour of need only a few rallied to support him. He, at once

The "February Days"

perceiving that all was lost, abdicated, and fleeing, took refuge in England.

The Second Republic, 1848–52

Some would have chosen Louis's grandson as king, but the mob of socialists and republicans would have none of it, and presently the Second French Republic was proclaimed. This republic, which came so suddenly, and at first with so little bloodshed, lasted nominally until December, 1852. But all this period is extraordinary and confused. First, for a month a provisional government managed affairs; then the Constituent Assembly during the remainder of the year 1848, while a constitution was being drawn up; thereafter, the president and the assembly which the new constitution provided.

The socialists

At the start the provisional government was composed of two parties: republicans—followers of Lamartine and others, who believed a republic the best system of government for France—and socialists, led by Louis Blanc and his comrades, who favored a republic, but only because they believed that with such government they could more easily bring about the social reforms that they favored. Their principal purpose was to effect changes that would improve the lot of the great mass of the people. "The revolution made by the people ought to be made *for* them," it was said.

Louis Blanc

Louis Blanc maintained that for all there should be the right to work, that private property must be replaced by public, and that industry should be organized not under capitalists but in coöperative societies, under control of the workmen themselves, who should share the profits among themselves—as was urged by the French syndicalists half a century later. The great majority of the people of France then, as afterward, were opposed to such schemes.

By the provisional government some great changes were made at once. Universal suffrage was established, so that the electorate was increased to nine millions. Freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, and the right to form

associations were proclaimed, and all citizens had the right to enroll in the National Guard, the military force of the state. Thus democracy was vastly extended, newspapers and cheap pamphlets multiplied, political clubs were formed, and some of the activity seen during the first years of the French Revolution was now seen again. The government would not adopt the red flag of the socialists for the state, as the workingmen demanded, but a commission was established under Blanc to sit apart and consider the reforms which socialists desired to have made.

Reforms following the French Revolution of 1848

Louis Blanc and his fellows had advocated coöperative workshops, for which at the beginning the necessary capital was to be advanced by the state, and in which the enterprise would be controlled by the workmen. But while the socialist leaders were planning the changes which they wished, the provisional government itself set up national workshops, in which the state was the employer. Such workshops were not favored by Blanc, and it was at once apparent that their management was in the hands of men opposed to socialist doctrines. Actually, the government had established a poor-relief system, putting men to work, irrespective of their training, at digging and similar tasks, and paying them the uniform wage of two *francs* a day. The disturbed times had brought much unemployment, and great throngs applied for the work, until there was not enough to go around. Among those left idle high dissatisfaction arose, and meanwhile the entire scheme, with which the authorities associated Blanc's name, was brought into disrepute. In April, elections were held by universal suffrage and the following month the National Assembly met to draw up a constitution. The socialists were in a hopeless minority in this body.

***Ateliers nationaux* (national workshops)**

Not co-operative workshops

Immediately the assembly proceeded to oppose the socialist efforts, whereupon the Paris workingmen rose and tried to dissolve the assembly. But the National Guard upheld the assembly, which then abolished the

The June uprising in Paris

The "June Days"

national workshops. The socialist workingmen, seeing the things they had hoped for about to be set aside entirely, rose in furious insurrection. A military dictator was appointed, and for four days in June, 1848, there was terrible street fighting in Paris. Many thousands were killed or wounded; but the socialists were completely defeated, and eleven thousand prisoners who were taken were at once condemned to be deported. In 1848, as during the first French Revolution, the radicals were crushed by the *bourgeoisie*.

Significance of the insurrection in Paris

It is this episode of the aspirations of Louis Blanc, the *ateliers nationaux*, the disappointment of the socialists, and the death-struggle that followed in Paris, which now give greatest interest to this revolution in France. A generation later historians looked back upon 1848 as a year in which revolutions, beginning in Paris, spread to all central Europe, overturning established governments in Italy, Austria, Prussia, and various German states. Very properly it seemed that the Year of Revolutions broke the system of Metternich, and continued the French Revolution. But when another generation had passed—during the period of the Great War—when an extreme socialist system was established in Russia by force, and when such forcible establishment everywhere was preached as desirable by advocates all over the world, then the *Commune* of Paris in 1871, the June revolt of the workingmen in Paris in 1848, the more remote and half-forgotten efforts of certain radicals in Paris in 1796, were all seen as distinct steps in a movement that aimed to overthrow capitalist organization and existing governmental systems.

The National or Constituent Assembly of 1848

It was difficult for the National Assembly to begin its work. It was forced to increase taxation very greatly, thus alienating the propertied classes and the peasants as it had just alienated the socialists whom it suppressed. A republic was proclaimed, and a constitution drafted in which the government was to be exercised by a legislative

assembly of one chamber elected by universal suffrage, and a president elected in like manner, with extensive powers similar to those of a president of the United States.

A Bonaparte elected president

When the election for president was held in December, 1848, the great majority of the people voted for Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, nephew of the great Napoleon, and now head of the Bonaparte house. He received 5,400,000 votes, nearly three times as many as were given to all his competitors combined. When, the following May, elections were held for the assembly, monarchists were two thirds of the entire number chosen. Apparently there was not yet firm basis on which to erect a republic in France.

Louis Napoleon Bonaparte

Louis Napoleon, who had long cherished ambition to revive the glories of his house, had respectable abilities and attainments, but his principal fortune was the name that his uncle had made great. The misery of France during the later period of the Napoleonic Wars, and the humiliation of 1814–15 had been passing from recollection, and almost all classes of Frenchmen now remembered with pride the glory and splendor of the empire. The kings who came after the Restoration seemed little creatures beside the legendary figure looming each year now vaster and more grand. A new literature arose concerning the emperor. Ideas, based originally upon some of the great Napoleon's own writings done while he was an exile in St. Helena, had become increasingly current. He had loved France well, it was said; he had fought victoriously against a world in arms; he had meant to bring justice to all; he had been the guardian of the French Revolution; and he had died at last an exile far from France. No one believed in the Napoleonic legend more implicitly than Louis Napoleon. His own publication, *Les Idées Napoléoniennes* (Ideas of Napoleon, 1839) had contributed to increase the tradition. No one profited by it so greatly. Twice he had attempted to seize power, but each

The Napoleonic legend

time he was easily overthrown. He spent some time as an exile in America and six years imprisoned in a fortress in France. He had escaped to England, and then returned when the Revolution of 1848 began. Now suddenly by the gift of fortune he was head of the French Republic.

Louis Napoleon overthrows the Assembly

Neither president nor assembly was prepared to support loyally the republic which they served. In the summer of 1849 a republican uprising against the government was followed by repressive measures. Next year the assembly passed a law restoring indirectly the property qualification for the franchise, thus debarring a third of the electorate from voting. But the president now went beyond the assembly. According to the constitution he might not be reëlected at the end of his four-year term.

The *coup d'état* of 1851

Napoleon secretly prepared a bold stroke. December 2, 1851, he arrested many important leaders and dissolved the assembly. Then he appealed to the people to judge between himself and the legislature, and asked them to sanction a government in which he would be president for ten years. The opposition was without leaders and in confusion, and resistance was sternly repressed. Three weeks later the people of France approved what he asked for by an enormous majority, and in November of the year following, when the question was put before the people whether the empire should be reëstablished, he again obtained overwhelming assent. Shortly after the Second Empire was proclaimed with Napoleon III as ruler. These elections, or *plébiscites*, had been skilfully manipulated and controlled by the government; yet it is probable that most Frenchmen were quite willing to have an empire ruled by a Napoleon again.

Napoleon III, 1852-1870

The Second Empire

The Second Empire lasted from 1852 to 1870. At first the government was much like what had existed under the Consulate at the beginning of the century in France. Universal suffrage was indeed restored—as it was kept in Germany when the German Empire was established some

years later (1871); but Napoleon III so arranged things that the people of France had as slight influence with their government as was left by Bismarck to the people in imperial Germany. The voters were to elect a legislative assembly, but it was to have little control over legislation and not much control of taxation. The power of the state was almost entirely concentrated in the hands of the emperor and the officials whom he appointed, as was largely the case in the German Empire before the Great War. Furthermore, the emperor could easily control the elections through his numerous officials and through the army; and he completely shackled the press.

Slight control by the electorate

In the midst of annihilation of freedom and the political repression that Napoleon III had brought, he strove to govern France well. His court in Paris became the center of a gay and splendid life. In 1855 a great international exposition was held in the city, and throughout his reign a vast scheme of improvement was carried forward which made Paris the most beautiful city in the world. Railroads were rapidly extended, canals constructed, and shipping increased. In all ways he strove to enhance the material prosperity of the country, and since it happened to be a period of economic success and expansion, his efforts seemed to achieve great success. Furthermore, he tried to assist and conciliate all classes of the people. Many things were done by the government to aid the poor and the needy, and the right of laborers to strike was conceded in 1864. All this was at first followed by much satisfaction. Business flourished, the finances were put on sound footing, the army was made strong, and Napoleon's government was presently recognized by all the other governments of Europe.

Success at first

None the less Napoleon III, like Napoleon I, held his position without a good title. So, as the years went on, he understood that his position was not secure, and that after he had given prosperity and order, he could remain in

His position not secure

power only by gratifying the people with glory, and by diverting their attention from domestic problems to matters abroad. Thus he was driven on not only to take a leading part in European affairs, but to try to give France a commanding and magnificent position in Europe.

The Crimean War, 1854–6

For a while he was greatly successful, and France again became the leading Continental power. To please the Catholics he had, while still president, laid claim to the holy places in Jerusalem. In 1740, by treaty with the Porte, France had acquired the right of protection and custody of certain places in or near Jerusalem to which Christian pilgrims were wont to go. Since then France had done little or nothing with respect to these places, and they had come more and more under care of the Greek Catholic Church. After the disasters of the Revolutionary period the Roman Catholic Church had entered on a period of vigorous expansion and militant assertion. Roman Catholics now desired to be guardians of the holy places. Under such leaders as the Vicomte de Châteaubriand and the Comte Joseph de Maistre the Catholic revival had been strong in France. The July Monarchy had fallen at last partly because of Catholic displeasure, and Catholic support had been largely responsible for the rise of Napoleon III. French Catholics were now eager to have the French government champion the Church of Rome against the Greek Catholics whom Russia supported. Because of this Napoleon III came into conflict with Russia, since the tsar resolutely upheld the claims of the Greek Catholic Church. This altercation dragged on obscure and involved from 1850 to 1854. By that time Napoleon was able to get the coöperation of England, since British statesmen were alarmed at the prospect of the destruction of Turkey by Russia. Presently, as a result of the various disputes, the Crimean War was begun. French soldiers took the leading part in capturing Sevastopol in the Crimea, and when Russia yielded it was at

Dispute about custody of the holy places

Paris that the conference assembled which made the treaty of peace. The Treaty of Paris was the first great European settlement made since the arrangements completed at Vienna. It was concerned mostly with Russia, whom it thwarted and checked, and with Turkey, whom it protected and admitted to the concert of European Powers. But it also seemed to mark the end of an era which had begun with the downfall of France in 1814 and the treaties that followed. Now in a new era France was the leader of Europe.

Treaty of Paris, 1856

L'Empire, c'est la paix, Napoleon had said, but the Crimean War was the first great struggle in Europe since 1815. England as well as France, and also Piedmont, which had joined them, gained satisfaction and prestige from the conflict; but the terms of the treaty were soon set at naught, and England and France were both of them afterward to regret the part they had taken.

"The empire means peace"

This success strengthened Napoleon's position and also awakened the French people to a desire for further glory and greatness. The emperor now began to cherish a magnificent foreign policy. Grandly but not clearly he seems to have conceived the idea of extending France again to her "natural frontier" of the Rhine, and also aiding the oppressed and submerged nationalities of Europe to obtain their freedom. Soon he awakened such uneasiness and suspicion in Europe that in the end he was left without a friend; and his policy after a while involved him in perplexities from which his moderate ability as a statesman could never extricate him entirely.

Schemes of Napoleon III

Encouraged by Napoleon, the inhabitants of the two Danubian Principalities elected the same ruler in 1859, thus paving the way for the establishment of the Rumanian state. In the same year he intervened to assist Piedmont (the Kingdom of Sardinia), the north Italian state, against Austria which then ruled Lombardy and Venetia, controlled neighboring Italian districts, and dominated

Assists the Rumanians and the Italians in nationalist movements

Austria defeated by France

the Italian peninsula. The Austrians were defeated in great battles at Magenta and Solferino, and all Lombardy taken from them. Much to the disappointment of the Italians, Napoleon then ended the war with the Truce of Villafranca, which was followed by the Treaty of Zürich. However, the Italians of Piedmont gained Lombardy, and thus achieved the first great stage in the unification of Italy. In return for the services rendered, France got the Italian provinces of Nice and Savoy on her extreme southeastern frontier. But all too successfully Napoleon had carried forward this nationalist movement. In a short time all Italy except for Rome had been brought into a great new state, and Rome was saved for the pope only because Napoleon occupied it with his troops. This he did to conciliate the French Catholics; but by doing it he lost the friendship of Italians despite the great services just rendered them by him.

Failures

After 1859 Napoleon's foreign policy resulted in a series of failures. In 1863, when the Poles rose against their Russian masters and appealed to the western peoples for help, there was immense sympathy for them in France, but the emperor could do no more than make a diplomatic protest, which helped the Poles not at all, while it alienated the government of Russia. From this occurrence came disastrous results later on at the time of the war with Prussia; but the misfortune lay hidden in the future. Two years before, in 1861, France, Great Britain, and Spain had sent an expedition to Mexico to protect their citizens and ensure the payment of debts. But Napoleon had greater designs, and when, the next year, Spain and Great Britain withdrew, his forces remained and overran the country. By 1864 he had established an empire in Mexico, maintained by French troops and ruled by Maximilian, brother of the emperor of Austria, to whom he had offered the crown. This proceeding violated the Monroe Doctrine of the United States. At first the government

Mexico

at Washington could do nothing, for the American Civil War was then raging. In 1866, however, after the Southern Confederacy had collapsed and the Union was completely restored, the American government protested, and France was compelled to yield. The French army was withdrawn, and Maximilian, who would not desert his followers, was left to his fate. He was soon captured and shot, dying with chivalrous bravery in a land far away from his home. His wife, who had gone to Europe to plead for assistance, went mad when the news was brought to her; and Napoleon's government, which had sent Maximilian to his throne and his death, never recovered from the disgrace of the occurrence.

France yields to the United States

A far more terrible disaster was approaching. Prussia under Bismarck was strengthening her army so that she might soon thrust Austria outside of German affairs and herself bring the German peoples together in the strong union which they had so long desired. Unification of Germany would be in accord with Napoleon's ideas concerning nationality, but it was no more to his liking that a strong Germany should be created under Prussia than it had been that a united Italy should be established under Piedmont. In either case the rise of a new strong power near by would make France relatively less great in Europe. Napoleon had no desire to see a Prussia too strong, yet he was willing to see a strong Prussia balance Austria's power. Bismarck, who was directing Prussian affairs, could never hope to carry through his greater designs if Napoleon gave Austria assistance against him. Accordingly, he played a game of unscrupulous diplomacy and crafty intrigue, in which Napoleon was completely outwitted. He held out to the emperor hope that France might obtain compensations along the Rhine if France remained neutral in the war that was approaching between Austria and Prussia. In the Austro-Prussian War (1866) Napoleon would nevertheless have intervened, but the conflict which lasted only

Relations with Prussia

Bismarck and Napoleon III

Napoleon thwarted by Bismarck

seven weeks was over before he could move. When he tried to get German land by the Rhine, Bismarck resisted, and was able to arouse German sentiment strongly against French aggression. Napoleon was then led to propose that he be allowed to take Belgium, but Bismarck was able afterward to use the document containing this proposal as a means of inflaming England against France. Accordingly, when later France declared war on Prussia, Napoleon's statecraft had brought it about that every power of any importance was alienated from France, and when presently France was overthrown and dismembered, not a government would come to her assistance. The Franco-German War began July 19, 1870. In the early part of the conflict, the French armies attempting to invade Germany were at once driven back; great German hosts came pouring into the frontier provinces, Alsace and Lorraine; and the French forces were everywhere defeated. September 2, Napoleon III with the principal remaining French army was captured at Sedan by the Germans. When the news of this terrible disaster came to Paris the enraged people cast down his empire and proclaimed another republic.

The Liberal Empire

During the latter part of his reign, the power of Napoleon had much diminished, and he strove to support it not only by more adventurous policy abroad, but also by making concessions at home. He put into practice the ideas which he had earlier proclaimed: that after order and security were established the people should be admitted to greater share in the government of the state. Year by year larger powers were given to the legislature, and in 1868 freedom of the press was restored. In 1870 the government was completely transformed, the legislature being given such power as parliament had in England, and the ministry being made responsible to it. In May of that year these changes were approved by a great majority of the people, and it seemed that at last France had

in the "Liberal Empire" a government strong yet resting on the people. A few months afterward this was all swept away by the disasters of the Franco-German War.

The "Liberal Empire"

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CHAPTER IX

AUSTRIA, THE GERMANIES, AND THE RISE OF PRUSSIA

Das liebe heilge römische Reich
Wie hälts nur noch zusammen?
GOETHE, *Urfaust* (1775).

Les diversités de ce pay sont telles, qu'on ne sait comment réunir sous un même point de vue des réligions, des gouvernements, des climats, des peuples mêmes si différents. . . . L'Allemagne était une fédération aristocratique; cet empire n'avait point un centre commun de lumières et d'esprit public; il ne formait pas une nation compacte, et le lien manquait au faisceau.
MADAME DE STAËL, *De L'Allemagne* (written in 1810), chap. ii.

Nicht durch Reden und Mehrheitsbeschlüsse werden die grossen Fragen der Zeit entschieden—das ist der grosse Fehler von 1848 und 1849 gewesen—sondern durch Eisen und Blut.
Speech of Bismarck before the Budget Committee of the Prussian House of Delegates, 1862: HANS BLUM, *Fürst Bismarck und Seine Zeit*, ii. 351.

Germany in the eighteenth century

DURING the eighteenth century and down to Napoleon's time "Germany," like "Italy," was merely an expression. It was not the name of a state, and it scarcely signified a nation. During the Reformation, in the sixteenth century, Luther had addressed an appeal to the nobility of the German nation, but he was using a term vague and not clearly defined. There was not such uniformity of character and manners that the Germans could think of themselves as one. The people of the Rhine provinces and Bavaria were much unlike the inhabitants of northern Germany and Prussia, the two being as dissimilar as the inhabitants of north and south France, or the people of

People not united

Aragon and Castile. But whereas in Spain and in France long ago there had arisen a strong central government, able in the course of time to weld together diverse populations and make them feel that they were part of one whole, in Germany this did not exist.

The Germanies

At the time of the French Revolution there were three hundred and thirty or more German States—the number is differently estimated, and difficult to ascertain exactly—some of them powerful and important, some of them large, the greater number insignificant and small, but most of them completely independent. Least important were the territories of the knights of the empire, some of whom ruled with despotic power and complete independence over little territories a few miles square. Next and more important were the free cities, fifty in number, survivals from early medieval time when cities and towns had complete independence or almost independent power, which after a while they had lost in most countries as strong central government arose. In Germany this had never arisen and such cities as Hamburg, Bremen, Frankfort, Lübeck, Augsburg, and others, continued with the political power and privileges which once they had had. More important were the other states, some insignificant enough, some like Bavaria and Saxony strong and important, and at the very top Austria and Prussia, greatest of them all. Austria had long been the leader; but for a hundred years Prussia had been steadily rising in importance, her power being based upon careful administration and the best army in any of the German lands.

The Holy Roman Empire

All of these jurisdictions were in some manner bound together in the Holy Roman Empire, which meant nothing very simple or exact, and which is neither easily understood nor defined. In the fifth century the Roman Empire in western Europe collapsed from internal decay and the attacks of barbarians from without; but the downfall had been gradual and slow, and the empire had lasted

so long that men would not believe it could ever end, and afterward believed that in some way it was still living on. As a matter of fact, it was never restored, but because of the mighty impression it had made on men's minds it was not difficult for Charlemagne, a great Germanic conqueror, to revive something of it. The power of Karl the Great was established about the Rhine, in what are now western Germany and France, extending thence to Spain, in another direction down the valley of the Danube, and also down the Italian peninsula. On Christmas Day, A. D. 800, he was crowned at St. Peter's, in Rome, Emperor of the Roman Empire, which he seemed to restore; and this empire came to be called Holy because it had been established under sanction of the church. After Charlemagne it soon fell to pieces; but in the tenth century it was revived by German rulers, and thereafter, so far as it meant anything, it signified the dominions of the German rulers who had themselves crowned emperors in Rome, a custom which they continued until 1452.

Karl the Great

No real German Empire established

No real empire ever developed. While the kings of England and of France were slowly building up out of the feudal fragments around them strong kingdoms and the beginnings of nations, the German rulers, trying to accomplish too much and uphold a great empire, lost all control over the outlying parts, and wasted their strength in the vain attempt to rule Italy and Germany together. Therefore the German people continued to be divided under princes and feudal lords, like the French in the early Middle Ages, though the name and the outward dignity of the empire lingered on. For a long time emperors were elected by the greater subordinate princes, but after 1438 the imperial dignity, still elective, remained in the House of Hapsburg. The princes and lesser rulers did much as they pleased. They owed allegiance to the emperor, but this was largely a form. The various cities and states sent representatives to an imperial assembly, the diet,

The rulers of the parts virtually independent

but this assembly was not a body which passed laws to govern the whole, for it had neither revenues to spend nor any armed forces to support its decisions; rather it was like a congress of ambassadors from the several states. Sometimes, indeed, the decisions of the diet were carried out by the *kaiser*, but generally he lacked the power and resources to enforce them. The real basis of his power was in the resources of the territory over which he ruled directly: Austria, and possessions like Hungary, Bohemia, and other territories which had been acquired through conquest or marriage. Usually he devoted himself for the most part to the care and increase of his own possessions, extending his power southward and eastward, until after a while Austria ruled more Slavic subjects than Germans.

The Hapsburg dominions

Some Germans, from time to time, seeing the weakness of division, and knowing how their weakness made it possible for foreigners to despoil them and bring war and ruin to their country, dreamed of a day when all of them might be truly one nation; but the mass of the people were inert, and all attempts at closer union were thwarted by the selfish interests of princes who wished no lessening of their independent power. So the Holy Roman Empire remained a curious relic survived from old times, pompous, weak, meaning little. It was not holy, said Voltaire, not Roman, not an empire. Yet it would be a mistake to believe that the witty remarks of intellectuals in the eighteenth century exactly represented the truth. Little as the empire meant to the German people in any substantial way, it was yet revered as an inheritance from their past, it vaguely represented former greatness, and it was the symbol of their nationality in the present.

Weakness of the Empire

There was small chance, however, of bringing the German people together in a better union while the Holy Roman Empire continued, and there could be little hope of making a great German nation so long as local interests

Failure to achieve unity

or the "particularism" of various states continued to be dominant. The eighteenth century came to an end with no progress by the Germans toward union or real nationality, and it seemed that fate was denying to their land the unity and strength which long before had come to Frenchmen and Englishmen and Spaniards.

Napoleon

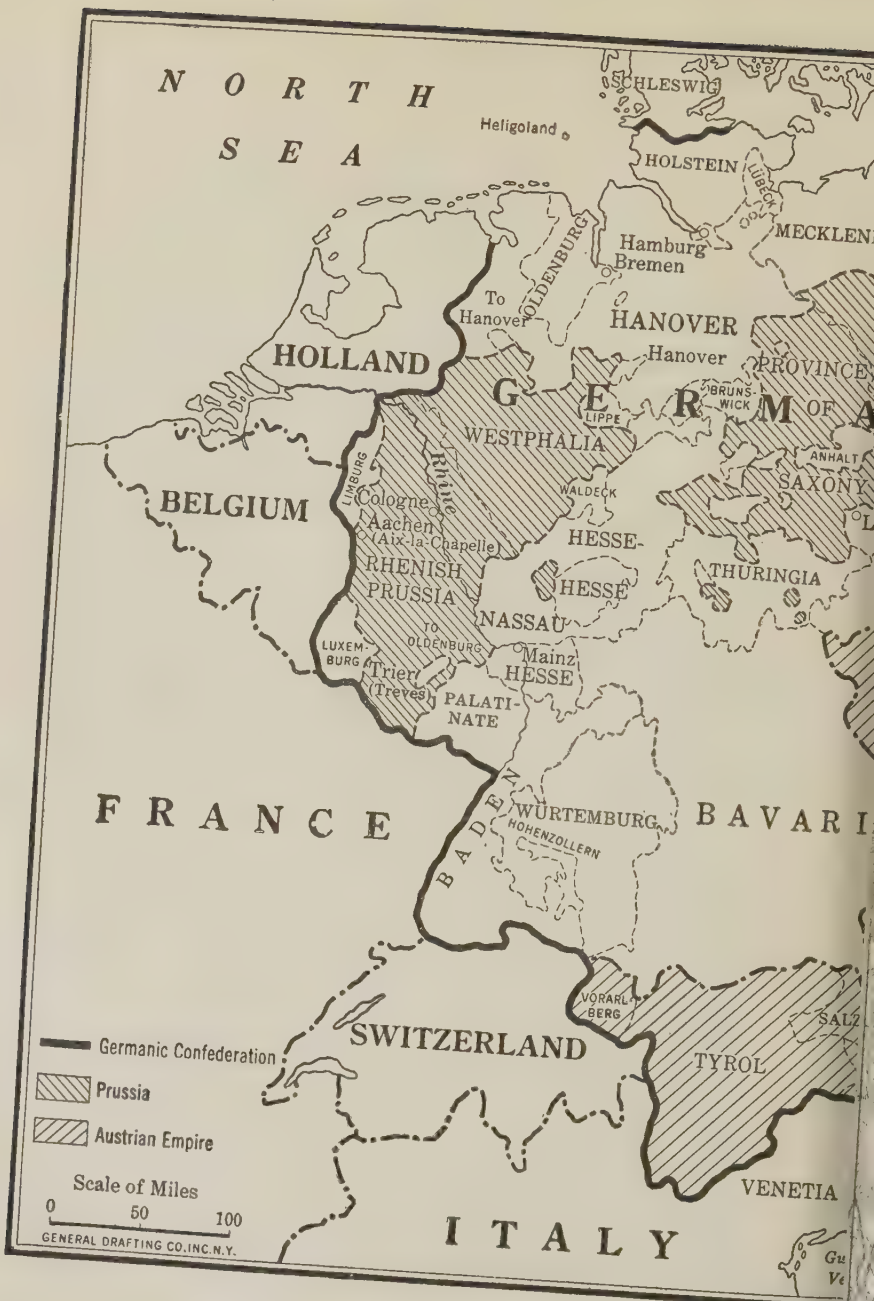
The first great step forward came at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the victories of Napoleon brought the time-worn fabric of the empire down into ruins. Ruthlessly, but with the constructive ideas of a great statesman, Napoleon swept the old system away. In accordance with the Treaty of Campo-Formio (1797) and with following arrangements, German princes compensated themselves for the territory lost when France extended her frontier to the Rhine by taking possession

Small states absorbed

of the ecclesiastical states and many of the free cities of the empire, and this was, indeed, ordered by the *reichsdeputationshauptschluss* (decree of the imperial delegates), in 1803. Then when Austria had been completely conquered at Austerlitz and Prussia overthrown at Jena, not only did Napoleon take much of their territory away, but, to counterbalance them, he strengthened certain states of the second rank dependent on himself, by giving them much of this appropriated territory and at the same time encouraging them to absorb the little states within their borders. In this way the small jurisdictions of the knights of the empire were abolished, and altogether the number of parts into which the German people had been divided was reduced from about three hundred and thirty to thirty-

End of the Holy Roman Empire

eight. Furthermore, in 1806, when Napoleon established the Confederation of the Rhine, dependent on himself, he declared that he no longer recognized the empire. A few days after, the Hapsburg emperor resigned his title, and the venerable organization came to an end, its ruler becoming now the first emperor of Austria, his hereditary dominions. Napoleon did all this for himself, not for the German people.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LIPPE
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NASSAU
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LUXEM-BURG
Mainz
HESSE
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PALATI-NATE
FRANCE
BADEN
WÜRTEMBURG
HOHENZOLLERN
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11. THE GERMA

NFEDERATION

None the less, what a long line of German heroes and emperors had failed to bring about he succeeded in doing; and he is entitled to rank as the first and one of the greatest workers in unifying the German people.

Reform in the Germanies

The influence of the French and their very nearness had brought the best work of the Revolution into western Germany, abolishing serfdom and feudal survivals, introducing civil equality and the excellent, simple law of Napoleon's *Code*. Similar reforms were brought about in Prussia by the minister, Vom Stein, assisted by others who labored to regenerate the people. There also serfdom was abolished and civil equality introduced, while education and the military system were reorganized and greatly improved. During this time the yoke of France was so heavy on Prussians and other Germans, and they so hated the foreign tyrant, that their common German nationality seemed more precious than ever before. For a while there seemed no hope of deliverance, but after the Grand Army had perished in Russia, the Prussians first, then other Germans, rose in a great spontaneous effort and completed the destruction of Napoleon's empire. The War of Liberation in 1813 was the work of the people of Germany, not of their sovereigns. It is true that most of them had risen up in their wrath to turn the invader out, and that as yet it was only the intellectuals and a few others who were filled with strong national feeling. Yet many of the German liberals and leaders hoped that now their sovereigns would willingly offer better governments, and that the German peoples might be brought together in one strong union.

Rise of national spirit

The Congress of Vienna

The German people, like the Italians, were soon disappointed. The leaders at the Congress of Vienna were little inclined to take account of new aspirations and passions. They were striving to reconstitute the old Europe, as far as they could. Alexander I, tsar of Russia, for the moment liberal leader of Europe, sympathized

with the wish of Germans for a better arrangement, and tried to assist them; but with respect to German matters Prince Metternich dominated the Congress, and he had no desire to see the German states bound in a closer union, since in such organization, he clearly foresaw, Austria could not remain leader. His efforts were successful, and no further unification was achieved. Yet the work of Napoleon in this respect was not now undone, for the Germans remained in thirty-eight states as he left them.

The *Deutsches Bund*, 1815–66

Out of these states the Congress of Vienna established the German Confederation. It was to be governed by an assembly or diet to meet at Frankfort. As in the Holy Roman Empire, the delegates were to be appointed by the sovereigns of the states. In the diet no fundamental change of any sort could be made without a unanimous vote, probably as difficult to obtain as had once been the case in Poland, thus precluding from the start any change toward better government or closer unity of the parts. This body was to legislate for the general concerns of the German people, but neither its power nor the scope of its work was ever defined, and it had no capacity to enforce its decrees. Metternich had planned this assembly and Austria had the presidency in it.

Character of the Confederation

Evidently no progress had been made toward the betterment or unification of Germany. No nation had been formed; there was no national flag; no strong state had been founded, nor any closely knit league. As political scientists said, it was a *staatenbund*, or league of states, not a *bundesstaat* or federal state. Its princes had kept almost complete independence for themselves. Each one might have his own diplomatic representatives abroad and conduct his foreign relations as he pleased, even making alliances with other countries, except that no member was ever to make war upon another. Furthermore, the confederation was not only loosely formed, but it contained members whose principal interests were outside.

A great part of Prussia, the non-Germanic portion, was not in the confederation, and two thirds of Austria was left out. Austria would certainly place her particular interests before those of the confederation, or "Germany."

Lack of progress

For the next generation German patriots and liberals lived on with hope deferred. Most of the people were occupied principally with reconstruction after the long wars through which Europe had passed; they were engrossed in the simple problem of making their living under new difficulties, and could give scant heed to reformers. The recent territorial changes in German lands, the enlargement of Prussia and the absorption of the small German states, engaged the attention of the princes. Most of the rulers desired to restore former conditions or prevent further change, if they could. And those who strove so hard to unite the Germanies were themselves not decided about that which was best to do. Above all, Austria continued to be leader of the Germanic countries, and Austria, under Metternich, continued to desire that the old system of things should remain.

Austria

In spite of the defeats of the Napoleonic Wars, and despite the large changes which had taken place on her borders, Austria was much as before. She had changed almost as little as Russia. For her the French Revolution had not occurred. In her domains no great alteration took place until about the middle of the century. Like Russia, Austria was a strange and conglomerate empire, formed of many pieces. The basis of her power, what linked Austria with the German peoples, was the territory around Vienna, bordering on the south German lands, the old possessions of the Hapsburg House. Here, and scattered about in other parts, dwelt the Austrian Germans, pleasant and agreeable folk, but politically more backward and conservative in character than most of the other German peoples. They remained as the Germans elsewhere had been before the spread of the Revolutionary ideas.

Peoples of the Austrian Empire

The Germans of the Austrian Empire, because of higher culture and the greater wealth and position they had for a long time possessed, dominated the other peoples, but they were only about a third of the entire population. For three hundred years the House of Hapsburg had been extending its dominions, at first by a series of fortunate marriages, then by conquest at the expense of the Turkish power which for a long while had been receding southward toward the Balkans, and by successful wars in Italy. The other two thirds of her subjects lived in these additions. There were West Slavs in Bohemia and Moravia; Poles and Ruthenians in Galicia; there were South Slavs in Carniola and Dalmatia, along the Adriatic, and in Croatia and Slavonia inland, with more just across the empire's borders in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which Austria would acquire in the future; in Transylvania were more Rumans than lived in the adjacent Turkish provinces which later on were to be Rumania; and above all there were the Hungarians, who with Transylvanians, Slovaks, and South Slavs composed Hungary, the other half of the empire. In northern Italy the Hapsburgs ruled Venetia, Lombardy, and Tuscany. The various people were divided from one another by race, religion, and speech. Toward the end of the eighteenth century attempts had been made to Germanize the non-Germanic populations, but these attempts had failed, and Italians, Bohemians, Hungarians, Rumanians, and South Slavs remained quiescent, indeed —for they lived, most of them, in ignorance and serfdom, ruled by nobles or their German masters, but they continued unassimilated, with little loyalty for the empire.

The Old Régime in the Hapsburg dominions

Such an empire could be held together most surely in the old manner. So long as education and industrial progress could be kept away, so long as most of the people were in lowly servitude under nobles attached to the Austrian government, that long, most likely, would there be no rebellions for Hungarian or Bohemian independence.

12. RACIAL MAP OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

It would be expedient to check all progress in neighboring German lands; since probably, as conditions there became better, the German peoples or their rulers, bringing about real union, would make Germany prosperous and great; and when that time came there would be no more of Austrian leadership in central Europe, for in a Germany really unified and progressive there could be no primacy for an Austria most of whose territory lay outside the Germanic Confederation, and most of whose people were of races alien and subject.

Metternich's system in central Europe

The Austria of Metternich and the Germanic Confederation continued to a great extent to be lands of the Old Régime. In Austria serfdom and special privilege lasted on as before. Throughout the Germanic Confederation were reaction and repression. The object of Metternich and those who followed his system was to keep out all ideas foreign or new, which were thought to be dangerous, and to prevent all change. Education was carefully supervised and controlled. Austrians were forbidden to travel abroad, and foreigners were kept out as much as could be. There was strict censorship of the press and of the theater, and government spies everywhere prowled about to listen at lectures, to watch students, to report conversations, to discover what might be dangerous to the state. In Austria it was not difficult to accomplish what was desired; the mass of the people remained in their lowly condition, paid their heavy taxes, and hardly stirred against the German masters above them; while the government remained unreformed, corrupt, inefficient. But in the German countries near by it was far less easy to maintain the old system, for into western Germany the spirit of France had entered profoundly; for a while French influence had been the guiding force, and Prussia had raised herself from humiliation and defeat by enacting some of the reforms which the French Revolution brought elsewhere. Nevertheless, for the time the Congress of Vienna

left things much as before, and the German princes, forgetting the promises made in their need, followed where Metternich led them. Some of the German states—Weimar, Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden—got constitutions, but most of them did not; and the government of Prussia was reactionary and strongly repressive.

Discontent in the German countries

Accordingly there was much discontent among the upper intellectual classes in Prussia and the smaller German states, particularly around the universities. In Prussia, moreover, there still remained patriotic societies, like the *Burschenschaft*, which had done so much to arouse the young men against Napoleon's rule. Great suspicion was shown now by the governments toward these societies and toward the university students. In 1817 members of the *Burschenschaft* from various universities celebrated at the Wartburg Castle the anniversary of Luther's theses and also of the Battle of Leipzig, and there they burned certain reactionary writings. This was magnified as a most dangerous event. Two years later a student stabbed to death a certain Kotzebue, known then as a dramatist of some little importance but better as an agent serving Russia. As a result of these occurrences Frederick William III of Prussia gave full support to Metternich's ideas, and, some of the other states consenting, Metternich had passed through the diet of the Confederation the Carlsbad Decrees of 1819. These decrees established drastic supervision of universities and strict censorship of the press, student societies were prohibited, and a declaration was made against constitutional reforms like those which had been brought to pass in England and France. It was about this time that the tsar of Russia, who had inclined toward liberalism before, became the strongest advocate of Metternich's principles. "Tell me what you desire," he said, "I will do it." Therefore from this time, the "Holy Alliance," which had been established in the first place from the best of motives, and for the one great pur-

The Carlsbad Decrees

pose of maintaining the settlement of 1815, now became also the great engine of oppressive reaction, and thus got the reputation which made it so hateful to men in after days.

Reaction and political stagnation

In the Germanic Confederation the Carlsbad Decrees remained to dominate the life of the people for the next thirty years. There was to be no further political progress and little betterment of conditions until the Revolution of 1848 swept over central Europe. It is true that the Revolution of 1830, which produced such important changes in Belgium and France, had effects in some of the lesser German states, but in Germany, as in Italy, 1830 produced no great alteration. During the remainder of Metternich's age, there appeared to be almost no progress at all, and in the long years of this stagnation the hopes of German liberals almost died. Spies and officials of the governments persecuted the men who had helped to liberate Germany from Napoleon, and who now looked forward to still better things. Jahn, who had founded the Prussian gymnastic societies, was thrust into prison. Arndt, whose poems had so stirred the German youth in the glorious days of the uprising, was persecuted and driven out of his profession. Emissaries listened to the words of the greatest preachers and professors. Some books were kept out of Germany, and some were suppressed. Most of the old governments continued as conservative as ever, and the Diet of the Confederation held the Germanic states together with as little effect as before.

Repression

The Industrial Revolution

But during these long, slow years, changes were taking place which silently brought enormous consequences. During the period from 1815 to 1848 economic causes were gradually eating away the very foundations of the old order; the Industrial Revolution began its work in central Europe as in Belgium and France. Hitherto, as from time immemorial, most of the people had been engaged in

agricultural work, and there were now little commerce and manufacturing, and few big cities, except the capitals and political centers. But during the second quarter of the nineteenth century machines and manufacturing on a large scale began to appear in Germany and Austria, and slowly railroads were developed. Workmen were assembled together in large numbers, means of communication were improved, and a prosperous middle class developed. There was not so much of all this as had appeared in France and much less than in England, but altogether a considerable amount. The rise of a *bourgeoisie* presently produced an important class out of sympathy with the old system of politics and government, and radical feelings were presently disseminated among a larger and larger number of the industrial workers. The reactionaries would have liked to keep out railroads and the new industrialism, but here they were working against forces which they could neither control nor understand. For many years Metternich's police and spies seemed to prevent all progress and change, but after a while his régime was left with much less secure foundation.

Middle Class

The Revolution of 1848

This was evident in 1848. In that year the Orleans Monarchy was overthrown by a sudden revolution in Paris. At once the movement spread far outside of France; and all through central Europe the existing arrangement went down in ruins.

When the news of the uprising in Paris arrived at Vienna, the government at once lost control, and Metternich was compelled to flee from the city. The government found itself helpless, and immediately promised far-reaching reforms. Freedom of the press was established, and a national guard of the citizens. April 25th, a new constitution was issued for the Austrian dominions. It established civil and religious freedom, and instituted a legislature, a *reichstag*, of two chambers, to which the ministers were to be responsible; and a little later, a legisla-

Reforms in Austria

ture of a single chamber with universal manhood suffrage. The imperial court, already deeply affronted at having to make concessions which it granted merely to save itself, now withdrew from Vienna to Innsbruck, which shortly afterward became the center of the forces of aristocracy and reaction.

Revolution of 1848 in Prussia

Meanwhile there had been revolutions in Prussia and other German states, where the people demanded religious freedom, freedom of the press, trial by jury, and governments responsible to representatives elected by the people. In March, the people of Berlin rose in insurrection and made barricades in the streets. The king, Frederick William IV, at whose accession there had been hope of reform, but who had made no liberal changes, was compelled to proceed through the streets of his city acknowledging the changes brought about. In Prussia, however, as in France at the same time, the revolution was

Reaction

followed almost immediately by reaction, and for the same reason. As soon as the middle class had achieved the reforms that it wished, it became alarmed at what the workingmen of the lower class proposed to get, and presently the Prussian *bourgeoisie* rallied to support the king, so as to get his support against the workmen. This made it easier for the conservative forces in the kingdom to recover their power. An assembly had been called to draw up a constitution for Prussia. Presently the reactionaries caused this assembly to be dismissed, and the king, of his own will and grace, granted to the people a constitution destined long to remain in force and long to be regarded as one of the least liberal constitutions in Europe.

Attempt to make a united Germany

While reform was dying in Prussia and while Austria was also preparing for reaction, German progressives were attempting the still grander scheme of making a liberal, united Germany. For a long time there had been desire for a real union of the German states, though this had been successfully opposed during Metternich's years. In

1847 certain liberals had met to declare that there ought to be a national parliament for the German people. To this feeling the Paris revolution now gave a powerful impulse, and March 5, 1848, a group of leaders meeting at Heidelberg, proposed that a parliament be summoned. The diet of the confederation was forced to agree; and a German parliament, elected by manhood suffrage, assembled at Frankfort.

The Frankfort Parliament

May 13, 1848, the Frankfort Parliament opened its sessions. Unfortunately, its members were not fitted for the work undertaken. They had grand general ideas about the nobility of man and democratic rights, but they lacked practical experience with government itself. In Germany, as in France, the great mass of the people had never had any part in the government of their country, and now they were found unequal to the task when they attempted to make constitutions. The Parliament of Frankfort was only possible because for the moment Austria, who would surely have prevented such a gathering if she could, was in the throes of revolution, and because temporarily the princes of the other states had to bow to the will of their people. This condition would almost certainly not long endure: either there would be more complete revolution, or reaction to the old state of affairs. But the members of the Frankfort Parliament, which Karl Marx afterward described as an "assembly of old women," spent long time in debating the fundamental ideas of their system. At the end of the year they were, indeed, able to proclaim equality before the law, and freedom of press, petition, and meeting, but they had not yet formed a strong government or got for their system the support without which it could never be established. The difficulties confronting them had been very great.

Failure

The problem of Austria

The great problem confronting them at the outset was what to do with respect to Austria. The entire Hapsburg state might be embodied in a new Germanic union, but

that seemed not desirable, and moreover the Austrian dominions seemed about to fall into fragments. It was also proposed to exclude Austria altogether, but as yet this conflicted too much with old associations and long-settled opinion to be accepted. Accordingly, a compromise was adopted, the constitution providing that no part of the "German Empire" might contain non-German lands. In the case of such a state as Austria, provided that the German parts were taken into the new German federation, the Slavic and Hungarian parts might thereafter be connected only through personal union under the Austrian ruler. Since in any strong union this would mean the partition of Austria, she refused to accept the arrangement, and thereupon was excluded altogether. This being settled, the members proceeded to arrange the form of the government. At the end of March, 1849, they decided that the new Germany should be an empire, with the king of Prussia as hereditary ruler. The scheme was accepted by a large number of the smaller German states, but Austria announcing that she would not suffer herself to be expelled from the confederation, the outcome of the affair now hinged altogether upon what action Prussia would take. Prussia was more and more looming up as the natural leader of the Germanies, though it was still hard for many people to turn their hearts from the old allegiance to Austria. German unity was some years later to be achieved under Prussian leadership; but now Frederick William IV shrank from an undertaking which would surely involve him in conflict with Austrian power, and possibly with that of Russia, who had come to Austria's assistance. Moreover, he had no sympathy with the revolutionary movement which had brought the Frankfort Parliament into being. As Bismarck afterward declared, the king looked upon this assembly as a revolutionary body. He would only accept the crown of a German Empire if the princes of the various states asked

Austria excluded from the proposed German Empire

Prussia refuses to accept leadership

him. Therefore he refused to take the leadership that was offered. Then, when not only Austria but Prussia had refused to accept the Constitution of Frankfort, Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, and Würtemberg likewise declined, and the work of the Parliament, accepted only by the smaller states, came to an ignominious end.

Significance of the failure at Frankfort

The failure at Frankfort in 1849 was afterward seen to have been a turning point in the history of the German people, and, indeed, in the history of Europe in the nineteenth century. The two great forces in the life of European peoples during that hundred years were the tendency toward democracy and self-government and the tendency to realize nationality. Slowly and with normal development democracy was going forward in the British Isles, and more slowly, in face of greater obstacles, in France and other countries of western Europe. Hitherto it had made little progress in central Europe, but in 1848 came the great effort of the German liberals. Had they been able to cope more successfully with the difficulties which lay in their way, had they been able to erect limited constitutional monarchy, had they been able to bring about the unification of the German peoples, then it may well be that the entire political history of Germany in the years following would have been very different. There might have been no battles of Sadowa and Sedan, nor the terrible struggles of 1914-18. But actually, after the liberals had stirred the hearts of the people, they got nothing done and the failing system of a loose Germanic Confederation and rule by sovereigns in the old way continued. The German peoples turned from republicans and liberals with contempt. Profound conviction grew that the great work still to be done must be done not by parliaments and the people, but by power and force and under the auspices of the princes and upper class. Somewhat later it was brought about through the military power of Prussia; its development went forward upon the

The liberals give place to militarists

battle-field; united Germany was made by the sword; and the government then established was left in the hands of princes and nobles. Then the military might which had accomplished so much was glorified by the German people, and their leaders made them hope for still greater power through greater armies led by their princes. All Europe became an armed camp, with Germany an ever greater danger and menace to other nations. It was the failure of 1848 and 1849 which definitively caused the German people to leave the path along which their western neighbors were then going forward. Not until after their Empire, which had been established on the battle-field, had been shattered on the field of battle was there possibility of erecting again a German government based on the German people themselves.

Germany united by power and force

Austria recovers

The failure of Prussia to accept leadership, and the collapse of the Parliament of Frankfort, were largely owing to the recovery of Austrian power. In 1848 that power had been broken to pieces; the subject peoples, so long bowed low, had risen and broken away from her empire. While the liberals and the lower classes of Vienna were extorting a constitution and universal suffrage in Austria proper, the Hungarians, the Bohemians, the Italians all shook off the Austrian yoke, and the numerous other peoples in the empire were aroused into wild excitement.

Rising in Italy

The northern Italians, subject to Austria or under her influence, hated their masters as alien tyrants, and longed for the day of their deliverance. Now in the midst of Austria's necessities they rose and declared their independence; and it seemed that under the lead of Piedmont a united, free Italy might be begun.

In Bohemia

In Bohemia a strong nationalist movement had long been developing. Since 1526 she had been united with Austria by personal union, the emperor being king of Bohemia. In course of time, a German minority of the

population had become the upper class, in possession of much of the power and the wealth of the country. But always the great majority of the people were the Czechs, with their own Slavic language. During the nineteenth century there took place in Bohemia what had occurred in Greece and afterward in Hungary, and what was later on to be so prominent in Ireland, a consistent effort to revive nationality, and especially use of the language and a love for the old literature and traditions. In June, 1848, a congress of many of the Slavic peoples was held at the capital, Prague. The leaders were dreaming of a day when their peoples would have freedom and independence, and perhaps enter into a great Slavic union for their mutual advantage. But they found now that there was no Slavic language which all the delegates could understand, and German was used at the Congress. Almost immediately the old and deep-seated antagonism between Teutons and Slavs was aroused. At first the Bohemians protested loyalty to the Austrian government. Presently they proclaimed independence.

Pan-Slavic Congress

In Hungary meanwhile a more important nationalist movement had taken place. When the power of the Hungarians had been broken in 1526 by the Turks at the battle of Mohács, part of the country had passed under Turkish dominion, but the remainder had been united in personal union with Austria. Since that time, all of Hungary, along with other dependent lands, had been reconquered from the Turks by the emperor, who was king of the Hungarian lands. In Hungary the most important element of the population was the Hungarians or Magyars, but they were exceeded in numbers by Rumanians and Slavs, just as the Germans of Austria were outnumbered by South Slavs, Czechs, and Poles. Croatia and Transylvania had some measure of autonomy, but ever since the Magyars had come into this region a thousand years before they had acted as superiors and

In Hungary

Condition of the Hungarian people

masters. Yet the mass of the Hungarian people were in as lowly condition as the other races about them. Hungary had an old constitution, according to which the power of the nobles was supreme. The greater nobles sat in the diet, and had nearly all the political power. There were some five hundred of these magnates or great men, but there were in addition about seven hundred thousand petty nobles, unimportant in the government, but raised far above the mass of the people. The nobles paid no taxes. They were supported by the labor of peasants, the great mass of the people, who continued in the lowliest serfdom, for Hungary was still a land of manorial, feudal, medieval customs. During Metternich's time the progress of western Europe had hardly reached into the country, though in recent years there had been some who had foreseen a change and tried to bring it about. Count

Reformers

Széchenyi, one of the most prominent of the magnates, endeavored to effect economic improvement; Louis Kossuth and Francis Deák labored for political reform. In 1847 their party had demanded liberty of the press, taxation of the nobles, and other changes. Along with this was going forward a nationalist awakening like that which had been developing in Bohemia. Hungarian leaders desired not merely reform, but a Hungary in which the Magyar people and language should completely prevail. In 1844 they had succeeded in getting their tongue declared the language of the government instead of Latin, though this was opposed by the Slavic peoples.

The March Laws, 1848

Such was the condition of affairs when news came of the Revolution in France and the outbreak in Vienna. At once the effect was felt in Hungary, and in the midst of enormous enthusiasm and excitement the Hungarian diet, passed the March Laws, which were reforms like those made in 1789 by the National Assembly in France. Serfdom and manorial dues were at last abolished, and the nobles deprived of their monopoly of political offices

and power. The diet was thereafter to be elected by Hungarians owning a stipulated amount of property. Freedom of the press, trial by jury, and religious freedom were also proclaimed. Furthermore, Hungary was now to have its own ministry and its own separate government, remaining connected with Austria only through the person of their common monarch.

The power of Austria revives

As a result of all these movements Austria's power seemed for the moment to be gone. Austria proper, the center of Hapsburg power, was torn by revolution, and the dependencies and outlying possessions, Italy, Bohemia, Hungary, had effected virtual separation. But now was witnessed a phenomenon, frequently seen again with surprise in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Down to the very beginning of the Great War outsiders often predicted the breaking up of the Hapsburg dominions. But they usually forgot that the Hapsburg power had developed because it held together diverse elements not strong enough to stand alone, and generally too jealous of one another and too different to unite in any other combination. Because of these factors Austria-Hungary remained one of the great powers of Europe long after the middle of the century, and, indeed, seemed to grow stronger with time. Now after 1848 it was the jealousies of the different parts and the incompatibility of the racial elements that made it possible for Austria to recover.

The Italians defeated

In Italy, indeed, her power was only shaken a little. The aged but able veteran Radetzky, driven out of Milan, retired merely to the position of the Quadrilateral, the four strong fortresses of the north, and shortly after reestablished Austrian authority as a result of his victory at Custozza. Almost at the same time an Austrian army under Prince Windischgrätz reconquered Bohemia where the Germans and the conservatives had arrayed themselves against the Czechs, the mass of the people. The forces of reaction were rapidly getting new strength. The

The Bohemians reconquered

Austrian Slavs, now rendered submissive, were used by the government to help in defeating the German insurgents in Austria. Racial jealousies were aroused, and dislike and suspicion fostered. July 22nd, a Constituent Diet for Austria assembled at Vienna. The gathering was torn by racial dissensions between Germans and Slavs, and made no important reform except the abolition of serfdom. Soon the democrats and liberals became alarmed at the signs of growing reaction; a new insurrection broke out; and the emperor, who had returned to the capital, again fled. But Windischgrätz now marched on Vienna; it was soon invested and captured; and by the end of October the power of the government was very largely restored in Austria. It was at this point, indeed, that Austria began effective resistance to the Parliament of Frankfort. Reaction now held full sway. March 4, 1849, a new constitution was granted by imperial authority, which proclaimed the unity of the Austrian dominions and organized them under central bureaucratic rule.

Vienna reduced

Racial troubles in Hungary

Only the Hungarians remained to be dealt with. By this time they had virtually established their independence, and their position seemed strong, but actually they were near to their fall. The Magyars did, indeed, want reform and liberal change, but they also wanted to preserve their own supremacy, and to make Magyar things everywhere supreme in the state. In this they were opposed by the Slavic and German and Rumanian populations who were unwilling to abandon their own nationalist aspirations. The Hungarians were less than half of the population of Hungary, and were only one among the seven peoples who inhabited it; but they were now determined that the Magyar tongue should be the language of the government in all parts, and, as far as possible, that the non-Magyar parts of the population should be slowly fused into the Hungarian race. But the Slovaks, the Croatians, and also the Rumanians of Transylvania, were

Magyar ambitions

strongly opposed to any attempt to incorporate them in a unified Hungarian state. As the Magyars themselves wanted complete autonomy if they were to remain connected with Austria, so the Rumanians and Slavs of Hungary wanted some measure of autonomy for themselves, and this the Hungarians were unwilling to grant. Kossuth told the South Slavs that before there could be any equality of the Slavonian tongue with the Magyar, appeal must be made to the sword. The result was that almost from the first the majority of the people in Hungary were against the revolutionary party.

Hungary at bay

Of this situation the Austrian authorities took easy advantage. The South Slavs tried to set up a kingdom, separate from Hungary and under Hapsburg rule, and presently the inhabitants of Transylvania also tried to separate themselves. For a time Austria waited, but as she recovered her strength she encouraged Jellacic, *ban* or viceroy of Croatia, to invade Hungary, and in January, 1849, Windischgrätz took Budapest. Just when the cause of the Hungarians seemed desperate, however, they rallied and regained almost all they had lost. But in April, at this last moment of their triumph, they separated completely from Austria and proclaimed a Hungarian republic. This was a fatal step, for at once it brought Russia into the conflict. Now when the Austrians and the Croatians advanced from the west, the Russians entered the country through the passes of the Carpathian mountains, and, overwhelmed on all sides, the Hungarian republic collapsed. Austria, triumphant, took savage vengeance. The leaders, who had not escaped, were put to death or cast into prison; Hungary's autonomy was suppressed and her constitution annulled; the country was divided into provinces, and in all of them German was made the language of the state instead of Magyar. Of the Hungarian movement all that remained was the social reforms; feudalism and serfdom had disappeared.

The Magyars overwhelmed

End of the Revolution in central Europe

Just before the Frankfort Assembly melted away, German radicals, disgusted with its failure, had tried to set up republics in some of the German states, like the one just established in Hungary, but these republics did not last beyond the spring and summer of 1849. In central Europe the revolutionary movement for the present had spent its force.

Struggle for leadership in Germany

The restoration of Germany was now attempted; first by Prussia, and then by Austria. The Prussian plan was to establish a German union from which Austria would be excluded, with a government, much like what was afterward adopted, in which Prussia should have the leading part. The Austrian leaders proposed to revive the Germanic Confederation, in which now all of the Austrian dominions were to be included. Prussia did attempt to establish a union, in which the smaller states entered, along with Saxony and Hanover, though these two states almost at once tried to withdraw. Austria began to establish a revived Confederation. Thus Germany was divided. Soon the matter came to issue over a dispute about Hesse-Cassel. Then Austria and the south German states put into the field an army of 200,000 men against Prussia, who was not prepared to make effective resistance. In November, 1850, by the Convention of Olmütz, Prussia yielded. Then the Germanic Confederation was revived; and Austria was once more, as previously, the leader among the German states.

The Confederation revived

The rise of Prussia

For a few years more the ascendancy of Austria continued, but it is evident now that forces had long been silently at work which had brought about a great alteration. Ever since 1815 Prussia, despite reactionary politicians and weak kings, had been developing into the strongest state in central Europe. The leadership of Austria, which had come down from olden times, had been owing to the fact that she was the most powerful state in the old empire, and hence it had seemed very natural for

her to be predominant in the Confederation. In older times south Germany and the lands in the Danube valley were more favored than the countries in the north. In Prussia and along the Baltic and the North seas the lands were poor and barren, but in the south agriculture flourished wherever it was developed. Moreover, in earlier times south Germany was the center of German commerce and industry and many of the trade routes led to the Mediterranean or down the Danube through Austrian lands. But gradually as time went on the great trade routes of Europe were in the north instead of the south, and presently Prussia and the north German lands lay not only along one line of communication from Russia to western Europe but across the routes from the south German lands out on to the Baltic and the North seas and thence to the Atlantic; and Austria and the south fell behind. Meanwhile Prussia had been carefully developed by a dynasty of sovereigns who built up Prussian power by their armies, it is true, but who also fostered commerce and industry to the utmost. Then in 1815 the Congress of Vienna had added greatly to Prussia's territory, giving her not only part of Saxony but also the Rhine lands to defend against France. She had now, after Austria, by far the largest population and territory of any state in the Confederation, and, since Austrian possessions were mostly non-Germanic, she appeared increasingly the natural leader of the German peoples.

Austria falls behind

During the period of subjection to France, the great minister Vom Stein had worked to make the land strong and prosperous so that the people might escape from the yoke of Napoleon. In 1807 serfdom was abolished, forty years before it was done in Austria; trade in land between the classes was permitted; occupations were thrown open to members of all classes; and trade barriers between country and town were removed. Previous to this time commerce had been fatally hampered by payments which

Reforms in Prussia

had to be made on goods taken through the German towns. Customs duties were, however, still levied at the frontier, and each of the states into which Germany remained divided after 1815 levied its own customs, the multiplicity and number of them greatly hindering German commerce. A great step forward was taken when in 1818 Prussia established a uniform rate for all parts of her widely scattered domain, with freedom of trade between all of these several parts and then invited other states near by to enter into the same regulations with her. The project of a customs union, or *zollverein*, was an old one in Germany, and long before, clear thinkers had seen the advantage which would come to German commerce and also to the German people if such commercial unity were brought about. Great difficulties and local particular interests stood in the way, but gradually Prussia won over some of the other states to join her. In the process of forming a *zollverein* she was greatly favored by her geographical position. As she won some of her neighbors to join her, others, like Saxony, presently found themselves cut off from easy access to the great trade routes and at such a disadvantage in commerce that presently they were compelled through self-interest also to join. In 1834 the *Zollverein* was established between Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, and fourteen of the lesser states; and by 1842 the only important states remaining out were Hanover and Austria.

The *Zollverein*

Thus, as the result of the working of economic forces, nearly all the German states were brought together in a commercial union, while Austria was left completely outside. It might very well seem to those who judged circumstances from politics and diplomatic relations that Austria was the leader of the German states bound together only in the loose Germanic Confederation ruled by the ineffective diet at Frankfort; and as late as 1850, when Prussia yielded so completely at Olmütz, Austria's

The position of Austria

13. PRUSSIA IN 1815

position might seem unimpaired. But the shadow not the substance of her former power among the German states remained; and what she still had she would presently be able to keep only through upholding it by force. More and more did north Germany and Austria draw farther apart in interests and importance. The Industrial Revolution came into central Europe at the time that Prussia was establishing the customs union, and developed in Prussia and the neighboring states far more greatly than in Austria and the lands of the south. The abolition of customs barriers fostered trade and industry greatly, and presently the countries of the *Zollverein* entered upon a splendid period of prosperity and economic advancement.

The economic unification of Germany

The significance of this work was afterward obscured by the apparent splendor and the success of the military achievements by which the political unification of Germany was brought about when the German Empire was established. But looking back now with altered perspective, it seems that it would have been better for Germany and the rest of Europe had it not been necessary for the work of Bismarck and his companions to be done, for it is evident now that while it was through their successes that German unity was finally achieved, yet the foundations were laid and the more important part of the task accomplished through the constructive and peaceful work of Prussian statesmen who established the *Zollverein* and with it the real beginning of German federation. Unfortunately, by the middle of the century it began to seem that they would not be able to finish the work of peacefully drawing together the Germans in one great nation. Then the task of unification was taken up by Bismarck, and by force, by strength, by military might suddenly and magnificently completed. But what Bismarck and Von Moltke did has since been undone; while what remains of Germany now and gives hope to the German people for the future is the work which was peacefully

wrought out in the first half of the nineteenth century.

The new leaders of Prussia

In the years which followed Olmütz the affairs of Prussia came into the keeping of leaders who resolved to increase the military power of their country so greatly that they might later on give Austria defiance. In spite of all the commercial and industrial progress which Prussia had made, she remained politically far behind England and France, and even when a constitution was granted in 1850 the government continued to be controlled entirely by the king and by the aristocracy and nobles. For generations the instinct of these men had been warlike; their fathers before them had won their possessions by the sword and kept them by strength and by force. Much of the power of Prussia had come from the armies which former rulers had built up, and from the victories won by Frederick the Great. To the Prussian upper class force and power seemed the means of successful government and advancement. In 1857 the brilliant but erratic and weak Frederick William IV, being afflicted with a mental disease, the administration of Prussia was put into the hands of his brother William as regent, who, four years later, in 1861, ascended the throne as William I (1861–1888). The new sovereign was a soldier by long training, and he resolved at once to increase the Prussian army. For this it was necessary to have additional revenue, which must be got from the Prussian parliament. But in the *landtag* the liberals were in control and they looked with disfavor on increasing the army. In 1862, by a great majority, they refused the money which the king required. In the bitter disappointment of this moment, William was prepared to abdicate his crown, but as a last resort beforehand he entrusted the administration of affairs to one who was destined now to guide Prussia through the greatest period of her career and profoundly alter the history of Germany and of Europe. This was Count Otto von Bismarck.

William I

Bismarck

Bismarck (1815–98), was a Prussian *junker* or noble-

man who had already gained some notoriety as a reactionary in the lower chamber of the Prussian *landtag*. He had served as Prussian representative at the Frankfort Diet, where he had stanchly upheld the dignity of his country; then, as ambassador to Russia and, for a few months in 1862, as ambassador to France, gaining invaluable experience in diplomatic affairs and much knowledge of the politics of Europe. His political tastes and instincts were thoroughly those of the conservatives and the nobility of central Europe. He had no patience with parliaments, and scant respect for representatives of the people. In his mind the king ruled by divine right, as the Prussian constitution declared. His principal desire was to uphold the power of his sovereign and his class, to increase the strength of Prussia, and effect the unification of Germany by grouping the other German states in union about Prussia. He was a thorough patriot and his motives, from his own point of view, were the highest and the best. He had great strength of character, iron resolution, dauntless courage, and the highest ability in conducting diplomacy and foreign relations. There was no one who dealt with him whom he did not overreach in the end. All the tasks he set out to accomplish he succeeded in effecting as he desired, and all that he gained for Prussia and Germany he kept as long as he remained in power. His success, indeed, was so immense that for a long time contemporaries and those who followed after him believed that he had been the greatest statesman of his century and the greatest one his country had ever produced. But afterward it was seen more clearly that some of his work was not based upon the moral foundations which give worth and permanence to achievement.

His ambition

Bismarck at once warned the lower chamber not to rely too much upon its power. When it persisted in its refusal to grant the money, he boldly continued for 1863 the appropriation which had been passed the year pre-

Bismarck and the Prussian representatives

ceding. Then the chamber asked the king to dismiss him, but the monarch supported his minister, prorogued the diet, and announced a strict censorship of the press. The Prussians, who had not behind them a long history of constitutional progress, and most of whom as yet cared little for representative government, made no strong protest, and such discontent as there was soon diminished in the midst of the great economic prosperity through which the country was passing. So, reorganization and strengthening of the army went forward until Prussia was by far the strongest military power in Europe. Meanwhile, with the greatest skill, Bismarck so conducted Prussia's foreign affairs as to make it certain that when the day came of contest with Austria, she would not be assisted by some other great power. After a brief war in 1864—in which Prussia and Austria together overcame Denmark—Austria and Prussia drifted steadily apart, as Bismarck so managed things as to make a contest between them inevitable. In 1866 the struggle came, and then, to the astonishment of the world, the Prussian army laid prostrate the power of Austria in the brief Seven Weeks' War. The king and some of the Prussian leaders wished to continue the war and take away from Austria a part of her territory, but Bismarck opposed them, for he desired only to thrust Austria outside of German affairs, to make a united Germany under Prussia's leadership, and hoped when this was accomplished to have Austria's friendship. By the Treaty of Prague much of the work which had so long been going forward in central Europe was now formally completed. Austria, paying to Prussia a small indemnity, but losing no territory except Venetia—which she ceded to Prussia's ally, the Italian kingdom—withdrew now from any part in German affairs; the old Germanic Confederation was dissolved; and Prussia prepared to establish a new confederation of the north German states.

Prussia's army strengthened

Austria overthrown

The North German Confederation, 1867

When the war began every German state of any importance had ranged itself on Austria's side. Now all of them were conquered. From the south German states little was taken, but elsewhere Prussia did her will. She annexed Schleswig-Holstein, the subject of the dispute with Austria, all of the kingdom of Hanover, the duchies of Hesse-Cassel and Nassau, and also the free city of Frankfort. Thus was her territory rounded out, and her population increased by four millions and a half. She then formed the North German Confederation, a strong federal union of all the German states north of the river Main. Local affairs were to be regulated by the members, but there was now also a strong central government. In this central government the executive, an hereditary president, was the Prussian king, who commanded the armed forces of the union and managed its foreign affairs. There was also to be a *bundesrath*, or federal council, made up of representatives of the governments of the various member states, and a parliamentary assembly, *reichstag*, of which the members were to be elected by manhood suffrage.

Government

The German Empire established, 1871

What remained to be done was soon accomplished. The states south of the Main—Bavaria, Würtemberg, part of Hesse-Darmstadt, and Baden—feared France, and considered themselves too weak to stand alone. Accordingly they formed an offensive and defensive alliance with Prussia. Bismarck believed that France would not willingly acquiesce in the creation of such a great new state on her border, and he saw clearly that triumph over France would create such enthusiasm everywhere among Germans that most probably the south German states would enter the union also. Therefore he skilfully led France on, as he had done with Austria, assisted however in this case by a rash and foolish war party in Paris. In 1870–1 France was completely crushed on the battlefield. Then amidst immense enthusiasm a German empire, including

all the German states, south as well as north of the Main, was proclaimed, with a constitution much like that which the North German Confederation had possessed. To this new empire France was compelled to cede Alsace-Lorraine. In their rejoicing Germans thought of Bismarck as the unifier of their country after leaders had failed during a thousand years before his time.

Austria outside of Germany

Austria meanwhile had gone forward on her separate way. No longer absorbed in keeping her leadership of the German states, she turned to consider her domestic problems. In 1851, after the Magyars and the Slavs were reduced, she had entered upon a course of absolutism and reaction. The constitution which had been granted in 1849 was annulled; there was henceforth no constitutional government whatever; and in Austria, as in Russia, the will of the prince was law. The government, however, did go forward vigorously with reforms at the same time that it tried to Germanize all the various elements of the population.

A period of disaster

Had Austria continued to be successful in her foreign relations, she might have continued to rule despotically and try to Germanize all of her subjects, but soon began a period of great disasters. The Italians, striving to win freedom and unity, got the assistance of France, and in 1859 the Austrians were defeated, and forced to surrender a part of their Italian possessions. Austria weakened, now felt it necessary to make concessions, and the period of reaction ended in the following year. The liberals, who were influencing the government's course, hoped to preserve a unified state, and advocated a parliament in which all the races of the empire would have part. But national divisions were too strong for this, and neither Hungarians nor Slavs were willing to be merged even in a liberal Germanized empire. The Hungarians, who were the strongest of the dissenters, now got back again the status which their country had had before the Revolution

Unwilling subjects

of 1848. But they were in no wise satisfied with this, and demanded the restoration of the March Laws, which had given them greater independence. Then Hungary was again made a province of the empire, and allowed to send representatives to its diet.

Francis Deák

The Hungarians refused to accept this position and began a vigorous opposition. Their leader now was Francis Deák, noble in character and wise and constructive as a leader. Patiently he tried to attain his ends by constitutional means, declaring that he did not wish to separate Hungary from Austria and break up the empire. His opportunity came when Austria was overthrown in 1866 in the Austro-Prussian War. The Hungarians had stood aloof while the Prussians gained their victories, and it was feared that they might now break away in complete independence. The result was that Austria readily yielded what Deák had been striving to obtain. In 1867 an arrangement was made known as the *Ausgleich* or compromise, by which the relations between Austria and Hungary were regulated, and the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary established. By this arrangement Hungary was put on a footing of complete equality with Austria, and given entire control over her internal affairs, as had been the case under the March Laws. There were now two states, each with its own ministry, its own parliament, and its own officials. They were to have one flag and a single ruler, who was to be emperor of Austria and king of Hungary. They were also to be united with respect to affairs concerning them jointly, such as war, finance, and foreign affairs, by a joint ministry of three parts, these ministries to be supervised by "delegations," or committees of the two parliaments, meeting together alternately in Vienna and Buda-Pest.

The Dual Monarchy

Success of the *Ausgleich*

This remarkable system of dual government, which seemed strange enough to peoples more uniform and united, lasted successfully for half a century, and was not

destroyed until the Great War broke it to pieces. It was, indeed, a very successful solution of the difficult problem of holding together under one government two peoples not alike enough to unite completely, and not strong enough to go their own separate ways. Its greatest defect, as was afterward clearly seen, was that it erected a system of dualism in an empire where there were three important races, not two. Hungarians and Germans were now contented, but the more numerous Slavs were not. Indeed, the *Ausgleich* was an arrangement whereby a minority, the Germans, in Austria, allied themselves with a minority, the Hungarians, in Hungary to hold down in subjection the more numerous Slavs whom they ruled. And in after years it was to be seen that the Slovaks, the Jugo-Slavs, and the Rumanians were just as discontented with the Dual Monarchy as ever the Magyars had been before the *Ausgleich* was granted.

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CHAPTER X

ITALY

O Rome! my country! city of the soul! . . .
Lone mother of dead empires!
BYRON, *Childe Harold*, canto iv (1818).

Che in Italia la condizione miserissima delle cose sia giunta a quel punto, in cui non v'è salute che in una intera e generale rivoluzione, non è oggimai chi ne dubiti. . . . Perchè dunque la servitù dura tuttavia in Italia? . . . a questo non v'è che una risposta: l'austriaco . . . lo stupido, lento, pesante austriaco—. . .
MAZZINI, *La Giovine Italia*, 1833.

Sono celebri le parole pronunziate da Bismarck al 1879, che l'Italia non era una potenza militare temibile . . . Oggi tutto è mutato in nostro vantaggio ed io non permetterò che l'Italia ritorni in quello stato di umiliazione. . . .
FRANCESCO CRISPI to Commendatore Ressman, September, 2, 1890.

Italy divided, in subjection

AT THE end of the eighteenth century even the most ignorant Italian peasant must have known dimly something of the glory and excellence of his people in the past. Italy, long before, had been the center of the greatest of empires; later on the seat of noble cities, whose monuments and beauty still fascinated beholders; and later still the Renaissance had risen in these cities and thence spread outward to inform and stimulate other parts of Europe. For ages Italians had been leaders in the thought and the knowledge and the artistic work of mankind. And yet after the Congress of Vienna, as Mazzini said a generation later, they had no standing among the nations of Europe, no flag, and no common center, but their country

was dismembered into parts, some ruled by foreigners, some by tyrants, and some by princelings subservient to a foreign master.

Earlier history

When the Roman Empire broke up in the west the invaders of Italy were unable to found strong lasting states, and the only great jurisdiction which arose there in the end was the religious power of the popes. After a while the German emperors carried on a long struggle to unite Italy and Germany in one strong large domain; but it was an impossible task, and their failure left Italy divided in parts. Meanwhile the popes were able to do no more than found a small state lying across the middle of the peninsula and cutting it in two, thus effectually contributing to keep Italy from being united. Splendid and prosperous cities arose, seats of the highest civilization in Europe, and small prosperous states were founded, but they could never be brought to unite, and, like the communities of ancient Greece, expended much of their energy in interminable contests with each other. Meanwhile strong nation states had slowly been made in France and in Spain. Before them at the end of the medieval time Italy lay as a helpless prize. At the end of the fifteenth century France entered the peninsula to conquer it, but she was speedily expelled by the power of Spain, after which for a long time Spain ruled the southern part of the land, Sicily and Naples, and made her influence predominant in the rest. Slowly Spain sank in weakness and decay, and at the beginning of the eighteenth century, her possessions in Italy went to Austria, though in course of time, Sicily and Naples, passed under Bourbon power, and, like Spain, were ruled by relatives of the kings of France.

The French Revolution and Napoleon

At the time of the French Revolution a great change began, for the Italians, stirred at the mighty changes taking place beyond the Alps, began to dream of better things for themselves. Soon, on the north Italian plains,

Napoleon shattered Austria's power, and laid the foundations of his military renown. Later on, when he had become First Consul and Emperor, changes were made which brought more benefit to the Italians than anything which had happened for ages. It is true that they were treated as a conquered population, works of art were carried off into France, soldiers lived on the country, and generals amassed fortunes for themselves; none the less, here, as in Germany, sweeping reforms were brought in. Feudalism and the remains of serfdom were abolished, the *Code Napoléon* introduced, laws were made uniform, and civil equality proclaimed, at the same time that industry was fostered and opportunity opened to all. The small republics recently set up when the French came into the peninsula were abolished along with the old and wornout states, and Italy was consolidated into three large divisions: the territory down the west coast from Genoa to Rome was joined with France; the land to the east, in north Italy and along the Adriatic was made into the Kingdom of Italy and joined with France under Napoleon who was its king; the southern part, almost half of the whole, was made into the Kingdom of Naples. The Italian mainland had been largely united by the French; and what they had done could not afterward be entirely forgotten even though it was largely undone.

Congress of Vienna

When the Congress of Vienna settled Europe's affairs the feelings of the 17,000,000 Italians counted for little; they were again divided up among many masters; and a period of reaction, which immediately began, restored as many as possible of the things which the Revolution had removed. Austria got in Italy once more the position she had so long had: Lombardy and Venetia, the best and richest parts, were included in the Austrian dominions, and the neighboring districts of Tuscany and Lucca, Parma and Modena, were put under Austrian princes, and made practically dependent on her. To the south, and straight

across Italy as of old, were the States of the Church, while the southern half including the island was again made the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, under the Bourbons, in close alliance with Austria. Only in the northwestern corner—the Kingdom of Sardinia, containing Savoy, Piedmont, the island of Sardinia, and Genoa, recently given to it at Vienna—was there an Italian state with any degree of independence and strength. In this Italy, with its eight parts, reaction for a time held full sway. In the Papal States as in Spain, the inquisition was set up again, and the King of Sardinia, for a time even restored serfdom.

Condition of the Italian people

As in other countries during this period the outlook for the people was dark. In Lombardy and Venetia the Austrian government tried to carry out its policy of Germanizing, as far as possible, the populations of the different provinces of its empire, political activity on the part of Italians was suppressed, the offices and the courts were filled with German officials, and the people burdened with taxes far heavier than in other provinces of the Hapsburg dominions. In the neighboring duchies the rulers imitated Austrian methods, though sometimes conditions were better. In the Papal States a burdensome and ineffective government was entirely in the hands of ecclesiastics. The people of the Two Sicilies were subject to a corrupt and ignorant despotism which succeeded less in governing than oppressing. In none of these states were there parliaments or constitutions or any limitation on the despotic rule of the princes; there was no freedom of speech or of the press, and little education. It is true that such conditions prevailed generally over Europe then, except only in England and France, and that the German people also were divided among despots at this time. But it was the misfortune of Italians that they, almost as much as the Poles and Hungarians then, suffered oppression largely from foreign masters. Throughout Italy, except in the Kingdom of Sardinia, the power or influence

The foreigner's yoke

14. ITALY IN 1815

of Austria was supreme. Metternich declared Italy to be only a geographical expression, and it was his policy to keep her divided in fragments and within the parts uphold the rule of the petty, subordinate princes. It seemed hopeless to strive for an Italy free and united. The Italians had been so long divided among numerous city states and princes that now local differences made it difficult to bring them under one government. Moreover, so long as Austrian power continued in Italy, there could be small hope of improvement in political conditions, since the most reactionary rulers in the peninsula were encouraged by Austria to resist all change and supported by the overwhelming Hapsburg power. And there seemed small chance of removing Austrian influence and domination, since Austria was now leader in Europe. In Italy there was no state which could for a moment have successfully challenged her. Accordingly, for some years political and social discontent in Italy took the only form that was possible. A secret society, whose members called themselves *Carbonari* (or charcoal burners), was formed in the Kingdom of Naples and thence spread all over the peninsula, until it numbered several hundred thousand members. The purpose of the *Carbonari* was to drive the foreigner out of Italy and make things better, but working furtively and without good general organization they did little, and Metternich never considered them very formidable. They had much to do in bringing about revolutionary movements in 1820, 1821, 1831, and 1832, but these uprisings were easily suppressed by Austrian troops. The principal work of the *Carbonari* was to keep alive the spirit of nationality and patriotism, which the years of the Revolution and Napoleon had awakened.

Hopeless outlook

The *Carbonari*

Mazzini

That work was carried forward in the following years, in the period known as the *Risorgimento* or era of resurrection. Gradually a great many of the most active, eager, and intelligent Italians were aroused until the deliverance

and reform of their country became a great passion. First and chief among the leaders of this period was Giuseppe Mazzini, father and prophet of the movement. In his youth he felt strongly the woes and degradation of his country, and, dreaming of her freedom, joined the secret society, for which he was arrested and imprisoned. After his release, almost all of a long life he lived as an exile in England, Switzerland, and France. In 1831 he founded the Society of Young Italy, believing that successful revolution could only be made by the people and that the people were most easily led forward by their youth. At a time when most Italians still desired only to drive Austria away or to bring about reform, Mazzini believed that the Italians must be one nation, and he taught this with burning eloquence to the followers who gathered about him. He tried to make them remember their common language and their culture and the glory of their fathers in the past. But he was an enthusiast and a splendid dreamer much more than a practical statesman. He believed that the deliverance of Italy must come through an uprising of the people and the establishment of democracy by them. Actually, however, this idea took little hold on the minds of most Italians, and the liberation and unification of Italy were to be brought about by others who followed.

The *Risorgimento*

Mazzini and his followers wanted a republic. But all the patriots who worked for the *Risorgimento* were not agreed as to the methods by which the unification of Italy should be brought about. Many believed that a republic was impracticable. Some, like the priest Gioberti, thought that the utmost to be hoped for was a federation under the leadership of the pope. Others believed that the hope of Italy lay in accepting as leader the one strong Italian state, Piedmont or Sardinia, ruled by the House of Savoy.

Italian Unity

In 1846 Pius IX, a liberal pope, began his pontificate. He was believed to be opposed to the Austrians, and it was known that he had been much influenced by Gioberti's

The Revolution of 1848

writings. At once he proclaimed a pardon for political offenders, and instituted reforms in the States of the Church. Such was the effect of this upon Italians elsewhere that in the following month the Sicilians rose in revolt and set up a constitutional government, and this led Ferdinand II, King of the Two Sicilies, to grant a constitution in Naples. What had been done in the southern districts now influenced the states farther north, and constitutions were soon proclaimed, by the pope, in Tuscany, and finally by the government of Piedmont. Metternich was not able to intervene, for in the spring of 1848 he was driven from power. The end of the Austrian Empire seemed to have come. In Lombardy the Austrian troops were driven out of Milan, and the Republic of St. Mark was established in Venice. The rebels sought the assistance of Charles Albert, king of Piedmont, and when now he accepted leadership, Italians from all over the peninsula joined him. But Radetzky, the Austrian commander took refuge in the Quadrilateral, and the Italians failed to follow up their first triumphs and cut him off from his base and reinforcements. Then the pope, who regarded Catholic Austria as one of the main supports of the church, withdrew from the contest, and was followed by the king of Naples. The people of some of the north Italian states now voted for union with Piedmont, and that power continued the contest; but the Piedmontese were defeated in the battle of Custozza, and the Austrians, capturing Milan, were masters of north Italy again. A revolution now breaking out in Rome, a republic was proclaimed under Mazzini. Early in 1849, Piedmont, which had made an armistice with Austria, began the war again, but was soon totally defeated at Novara, after which Charles Albert abdicated in favor of his son Victor Emmanuel II, and went into exile. Venice was still holding out, but she also was overcome, and once more the power of Austria was completely restored. Meanwhile France,

Piedmont defeated

The Roman Republic

wishing to forestall intervention by Austria, had sent troops into Italy and brought the Roman Republic to an end.

The new era

Thus the *Risorgimento* seemed to have failed. In the course of another decade, however, most of the work of unification was achieved, and the foreign master driven out almost completely. This was the work of Piedmont, and it was brought about very largely through Count Camillo di Cavour (1810–61), the greatest and most successful statesman of the nineteenth century.

Cavour

In the midst of the humiliation of the years after Novara, Cavour came to the head of the government of Piedmont. First he gave himself to remarkable constructive work in reforming the finances and developing the prosperity of his country, at the same time that he strengthened its army. This was the prelude and foundation of his greater work later on. From the beginning he planned to expel the Austrians from Italy. He knew very well that Sardinia could never hope to oppose Austria unaided, and yet that the great powers would be more apt to side with Austria in preserving the *status quo* than assist a part of Italy against her. Nevertheless, he went to work with patience and consummate skill, first to raise Piedmont in the estimation of Europe by strengthening her power and enhancing her prestige; to get her some powerful friend; then, to isolate Austria so that she would have to stand alone against his combination; and finally to provoke Austria to be the aggressor.

Austria isolated

He assumed the direction of the Sardinian government in 1852. Three years later he brought Piedmont into the Crimean War along with France and Great Britain, thus getting the gratitude and esteem of these powers. He had his reward in 1856, when he represented Piedmont at the Congress of Paris, and succeeded in bringing to the attention of Europe his protest against misrule by the Austrians in Italy. He had now got the friendship of two great governments, and increasing sympathy for Italian aspira-

tions among the people of France and especially of England. On the other hand Austria was finding herself more and more friendless and alone. Prussia was getting ready to challenge her leadership in Germany, and she had just lost the friendship of Russia, from having failed to give assistance in the Crimean War to repay Russian help in 1849 in suppressing the Hungarian revolt.

Napoleon III

Cavour now gained a great and powerful ally. Napoleon III of France desired to strengthen his position by successful policy abroad. Moreover he sympathized with Italian aspirations. He understood also that his people would rejoice at any overthrow of the settlement of 1815, imposed on Europe when France had been defeated. So Cavour was gradually able to win him over, and in 1858, at the Conference of Plombières, Napoleon promised to give assistance in return for the cession to France of Savoy.

War with Austria, 1859

It was soon evident that great events were impending. The statesmen of Europe suggested a congress of the powers for settling the Italian matter. In 1859 Austria rashly declared war. The forces of the allies under Napoleon and Victor Emmanuel encountered the Austrians on the Lombardy plains and gained the great victories of Magenta and Solferino, as a result of which Milan was taken and the Austrians driven into Venetia. Solferino was the greatest battle which had been fought since the time of Napoleon I, 260,000 men being engaged and the losses very heavy. Neither the French nor the Austrians had spent their force yet; nevertheless the war went no further. Austria had a strong position behind the Venetian fortresses, but Hungary was restless behind her. In France the clericals were now in bitter opposition to the Emperor's Italian policy, while the Prussians were making ominous preparations along the Rhine. Furthermore, in Italy events were fast running beyond what Napoleon had expected. As the Austrian garrisons were withdrawn

from northern Italy, the people of Tuscany, Parma, Modena, and the Papal States, rose in an enthusiasm that could not be restrained and asked to be joined to Piedmont. Napoleon had gone to war to win the Austrian provinces for Piedmont, but he had no more intention of erecting to the south of France a powerful nation embracing all Italy than somewhat later he had welcome for the unification of the German peoples. Therefore, hastily now and without the knowledge of Cavour, he concluded the armistice of Villafranca. By the terms of this arrangement, which were afterward embodied in the Peace of Zürich (1859), Lombardy was ceded to Piedmont, Venetia remained with the Hapsburgs, and it was arranged that the pope and the deposed princes in northern and central Italy should be restored.

Enthusiasm among the Italians

But the Italian people now went forward with the work themselves, those who had obtained freedom from their Austrian princelings refusing to acknowledge them again. Napoleon was in a dilemma: he had never planned to let things go so far, yet he wished to support the principle of nationality which so often before he had proclaimed. Therefore he would not allow Austria to intervene with force, and agreed to the proposal of Great Britain that plebiscites should be held to determine the wishes of the inhabitants themselves. The people voted by huge majorities to join the Kingdom of Sardinia. For his support which had made this possible Napoleon got from Piedmont her province of Nice as well as Savoy; but Piedmont had now become the most important and powerful of all the Italian states. Within a year her territory had been greatly enlarged and her population increased from five millions to eleven millions. Since the time of the Congress of Vienna there had been no lasting political change such as this.

Unification of northern Italy

The expansion was now carried much farther forward by the impulses of the people and the leadership of an

Garibaldi

Italian patriot whose splendid and picturesque exploits revived the deeds of the time of old romance. All the southern part of Italy was still included in the corrupt and backward Bourbon monarchy of the Two Sicilies, established on the ignorance and wretchedness of its people. Now, men who had once been inspired by Mazzini planned to overthrow it. Soon they came under the lead of the bold and dashing Giuseppe Garibaldi, a native of Nice, who had served the Roman Republic, then fled from Italy to serve in South American wars and live in exile abroad. In the spring of 1860 he suddenly landed with his followers, the "Thousand," in Sicily. At once the effete Bourbon power tottered and fell to the ground, and in September the Garibaldians also took possession of Naples. Then they planned to march northward and occupy Rome, still garrisoned by soldiers of France. The papal government collected a force of mercenaries from catholic countries to resist, and there was grave danger that some of the European powers might intervene and undo much of what Cavour and the Italian leaders had accomplished. But again Cavour managed the situation with the greatest skill and good fortune. The government of Piedmont called upon Rome to disband its new forces, and, when this was refused, declared war. Almost at once the forces of the pope were routed at Castelfidardo, and the States of the Church were occupied. Then the victors marched southward across the frontier of the Kingdom of Naples, and, meeting the king, Garibaldi surrendered to him the authority which his arms had just gained. Again the device of the plebiscite was tried. In the autumn the people of the Two Sicilies, and about the same time the people of the Papal States, voted for annexation to the Sardinian Kingdom by such overwhelming majorities that men could say the unification of Italy had been achieved by the will of the people as well as by diplomacy and fortunate battles and the march of events. In Feb-

Southern Italy joined to the north, 1860

ruary, 1861, an assembly representing all Italy—except Venetia, still in Austria's hands; Rome, still kept by the pope; and Nice and Savoy, now ceded to France—met in Turin, where, a month later, the Kingdom of Italy was proclaimed, under the king of Sardinia, and the names of Sardinia, of Piedmont, of Savoy, receded as glorious memories into the past.

The Kingdom of Italy, 1861

A few months later Cavour passed away, his death brought on by the excessive burdens he had carried. He died just before his work was completely accomplished, but when the indispensable part had been fully achieved. What remained to be done could be brought about by successors when opportunity arose. He seems now to have been the greatest and most truly successful statesman of the century in which he lived. Shortly after, Germany was united and a far greater power built up by another statesman, whose mighty success for a while made Cavour's accomplishment seem small. But a great part of what Bismarck did was done by violence, and, after two generations, by violence much of it was undone. On the other hand, Cavour throughout his career believed in constitutional government based on the will of the people; what he helped so greatly to bring about was made possible largely by the will of the people affected, and so was based solidly on their affection and desires. When he died his work was virtually done; it has needed no great wars to maintain it; and it did not violently disturb European politics or afterward make Europe an armed camp.

The greatness of Cavour

In 1866 Italy joined Prussia against Austria in the Seven Weeks' War. The Italians were defeated by the Austrian forces which opposed them, but the absence of these forces contributed to the Prussian success. As a reward Italy now obtained Venetia, rounding out her kingdom in the northeast. Not all the Italian people of this part of Europe were given to her, many remaining under Austrian rule across the Alps, in the Trentino, and

Venetia obtained, 1866

along the northeastern shores of the Adriatic. Furthermore, the frontier was so drawn that Austria kept all the heights of the mountains and places of strength.

Rome and the completion of Italian unity, 1870

The unification of Italy was completed with the taking of Rome in 1870. This acquisition was one of the consequences of the Franco-German War. Napoleon III, who had had so much to do with making possible the establishment of the Italian nation, by the help which he gave to Sardinia against the Austrians in 1859, had not expected the work to be carried as far as it was, and viewed with displeasure the appearance of a new great state on the southern border of France. Moreover, the powerful Catholic party in France, then very active and aggressive, was deeply offended at the taking by the new state of most of the territories of the pope in 1860. Partly to appease them and gain their good will, Napoleon III occupied Rome, with French troops, to uphold the authority of the pope. Soon after the beginning of the war with the Germans these troops were withdrawn, Rome was then taken by Italian forces, and the capital of the Kingdom of Italy, which had first been at Turin, then in 1865 had been removed to Florence, was now brought to Rome.

The government of the Kingdom of Italy

The government of the state was based on the *Statuto Fondamentale del Regno*, which had been granted by Charles Albert of Sardinia (Piedmont) to his subjects in 1848, and later extended to the other districts as they were added to Sardinia to make the new kingdom. In course of time the *Statuto*, while not changed or amended, was enlarged and overlaid by much supplementary legislation and with custom having the force of law. By virtue of this constitution Italy became a monarchy, with a government of the model of England or France, where the authority was vested in a parliament, of two houses, with an executive, the ministry, responsible to it. The franchise was at first restricted by rigid property and educational qualifications, so that only one person in

forty could vote. A great extension was made in 1882, when the franchise was given not only to those who paid a certain amount of taxes but also to those who were able to read and write. In 1912 a reform was made by which manhood suffrage was, in effect, introduced.

Vatican and *Quirinal:* church and state in Italy

The extending of the franchise in Italy was long delayed and much hampered because of the illiteracy of a large part of the population, especially in the south. The effective working of the government was long impeded by hostility of the pope. When Rome and the little strip of territory around it were occupied in 1870, it was not the purpose of the Italian government to drive the pope away or to interfere with him as pope. Cavour's ideal had been: *libera chiesa in stato libero* (a free church in a free state). Next year the Italian parliament passed the Law of Papal Guarantees, still in force, which guaranteed the pope's sovereignty, possession of the *Vatican* and other places, and a large pension in perpetuity. Pius IX refused to accept this, hoping that the lost temporal possessions of the church would be returned to him, and as late as 1914 Benedict XIV expressed hope that this would be brought about. The popes refused to take the pension, and remained in voluntary isolation, "prisoners" in the *Vatican*. As the years went by and no Catholic power restored to the papacy what had been lost, the popes tried to thwart and obstruct the Italian authorities. In 1883 the decree *Non expedit* (not expedient) declared it not well for Catholics to vote at parliamentary elections or to hold office under the Italian government; and in 1895 a further decree, *Non licet* (not allowable), proclaimed that the church forbade these things. The trend of ideas in the nineteenth century was such that there were numerous Catholics who no longer considered it well for the church to be a temporal power, who conceived its functions to be purely spiritual and ecclesiastical, and who therefore had no hostility toward the Italian government

Prisoners of the *Vatican*

because of the seizure of the Papal States. Accordingly, the orders of the popes concerning Italian politics were by no means generally obeyed. The strongest impulse in Italy continued to be the fervent feeling of patriotism awakened during the great years of unification. The Catholic population was divided by a conflict between nationalism and the church. Many had no hesitation in zealously supporting the government; many, more scrupulous and obedient, heeded the behests of the church.

Improvements necessary for union and progress

Huge tasks confronted the new state. The effects of the weakness, the misery, the oppression of the centuries past, were not to be made up at once by any device. Especially in the south, so long weighed down under the oppressive tyranny of the Bourbons, there were old conditions surviving, poverty, illiteracy, ignorance, which it would take much to overcome and remove. In this southern part there were no railroads yet, ecclesiastics and rulers there having long considered them to be works of the devil, good communications had not yet been opened, and manufactures were utterly wanting. In the north there were railroads, good communications, and flourishing industrial cities. In this part there was a sturdy body of small proprietors, among whom the lands had been parcelled out. In the south, especially in Sicily, the land was held in large estates by the nobles, as in Russia, and as in western Europe during the Middle Ages, worked by an ignorant and debased peasantry. The nation was poor and taxation inevitably oppressive; but though the south contributed least, it was necessary for a while that the greater part of the revenue should be spent there, since the country could not be truly united until the chief differences between the northern and the southern portions were removed.

Conditions in Italy

Development and progress

Considerable development followed. New railroads were constructed, manufacturing extended, commerce developed. Much of this was accomplished in the face of

Resources

difficulties that remained very great. The principal occupation, as in France, was agriculture, but much of the soil was not rich, methods of cultivation were primitive, the peasants in the south very backward, and the land there held in the manner of the Ancient Régime. It was difficult to develop manufactures as Great Britain and Germany were then doing, since Italy was almost entirely without iron and coal, and could obtain these essentials only by buying them at high price abroad. Italy had no large quantity of exports to send out, and it was difficult merely to develop carrying trade in competition with the great seafaring nations. From a country thus poor and lacking rich natural resources it was necessary to raise huge taxes, partly to do the necessary things long left undone, and partly to sustain the ambitious foreign policy upon which the country soon embarked. The taxation was so crushing as to bow down the people and hamper the development of business; yet for a long time almost all the public revenue thus raised was devoted to paying interest on the large national debt, and to paying for the army and the navy. Notwithstanding all these things, and notwithstanding that many people could barely make a living, the birth-rate was high and the population increased rapidly, just as it had under still worse circumstances in Ireland in the first half of the nineteenth century. In 1914 the population of Italy was almost as great as that of France, and nearly twice as large as that of Spain, though the area of each one of these countries was twice as great as her own. Italy, indeed, like Japan at the same time, was unable to support her rapidly increasing numbers. Accordingly, there was a large and increasing emigration, to the South American countries, and especially to the United States, where myriads of Italian peasants became small farmers, sellers of fruit, or did the construction work on railways, sewers, and public improvements, always hoping for the day when enough

Heavy taxation

Increase of population

money would be saved for them to return to the land of their birth.

Italian nationalism

It was ardent nationalism that made possible the strong union that was accomplished in Italy. During the Middle Ages Italy had been divided into states as completely self-conscious and distinct as were the states of Germany at the same time; and these divisions had been maintained down into the nineteenth century. Yet when the unification of the country was brought about a centralized nation state was erected, like England or France, whereas in the German Empire no more than a federal union of the parts was effected. The people also were filled with recollection of the greatness of Rome in the past, and with desire to have Italy important in the present. The Italian leaders resolved to make their country a great power. Partly through fear of France and also because of anger at her course, and partly because of previous association with Prussia, Italy joined the alliance which the German Empire and Austria-Hungary had made, and thus helped to form the Triple Alliance (1882). A large army and a large navy were now deemed necessary, and the expense of maintaining them not only constituted a burden beyond the real resources of the country, but took a great part of the public revenue which was sorely needed for education and internal improvements.

Italy enters the Triple Alliance

Foreign relations

During this time, while Italy was an appendage of the German alliance, she felt that she had security from France, and set out to acquire a colonial empire. Some possessions were taken in eastern Africa, but when attempt was made to conquer the independent kingdom of Abyssinia, the Italian forces suffered a crushing defeat (1896). For some years Italian colonial aspirations remained in abeyance, until in 1912, when a great change had come over international relations, Italy suddenly tried to take Tripoli away from Turkey. During this time Italy's connection with her partners had been growing weaker and

weaker. The old fear and suspicion of France seemed to disappear. On the other hand, while relations with the German Empire remained cordial, with the Dual Monarchy they never became completely satisfactory. In 1866 Italy had joined Prussia against Austria, and though defeated had shared in the Prussian success. It was then that she had obtained Venetia, rounding out her possessions in the northeast. But at this time not all the Italian population in this part of Europe was given to her, a considerable portion remaining under Austrian rule across the Alps in the Trentino, at the head of the Adriatic about Trieste, and scattered along the Dalmatian shore of the Adriatic. Italian nationalists, fired with patriotic feeling, longed to bring their brethren of this *Italia Irredenta* into union with themselves. This could never be accomplished, so it seemed, until Austria-Hungary was defeated and conquered. Furthermore, extension of Austrian power down the eastern shore of the Adriatic always seemed threatening to Italy, whose own Adriatic coast, low and defenceless, might lie helpless before the naval power of Austria based on the fortresses of the mountainous shore across the sea. Finally, there was in the twentieth century a conflict of ambition between the two, since both Austria-Hungary and Italy desired to extend their power and dominion in the Balkans. This opposition gradually weakened the Triple Alliance, and it was the principal factor in bringing Italy into the Great War against the Teutonic powers in 1915.

Better relations with France

Italia Irredenta (Unredeemed Italy)

Italy abandons the Triple Alliance

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CHAPTER XI

RUSSIA, 1789–1881

What man ever thought that Moscow would one day be accounted an Empire? Once by the river Moskva stood only the hamlets of the worthy boyar, Stephen Kutchak, son of Ivan.

—Russian tale of the seventeenth century.

Ты и убогая, ты и обильная,
Ты и могучая, ты и безсильная,
Матушка Русь!

[Thou art destitute, yet abounding,
Thou art powerful, thou art weak,
O beloved Mother Russia!]

Nekrasov (1821–1878)

Russia and western Europe

It was not until the eighteenth century that Russia really became a factor in European politics, not until the nineteenth that she became an important factor, and she did not greatly affect the western world until only a short while ago. In old times her land and her inhabitants were little known to other European peoples. Scarcely any of what now is Russia was ever a part of the Roman Empire. When the poet Ovid was sent an exile to Tomi near the mouth of the Danube, it seemed to him that he went forth into the farthest region of the world. In the Middle Ages Spaniards, Frenchmen, Italians, Englishmen, knew little of the Slavs who would one day possess all the eastern half of the continent. The Roman Empire had been divided into two portions, a Latin half in the west and an eastern half essentially Greek, which little understood each other and easily fell apart. Then Europe for

many hundreds of years was divided into a western half, with peoples having the Roman Catholic religion and Romano-Teutonic civilization, and an eastern half, held by the expiring Eastern Roman Empire at Constantinople, and after a great while by the intruding Turks, and also by Slavonic people, who had taken the Eastern Christianity of Constantinople. Except in the south the two halves had little intercourse and knew little of each other, save that throughout the Middle Ages the Germans of central Europe were pushing eastward, slowly but steadily driving back their Slavic neighbors, and founding Austria and Prussia.

Tartars and Mongols

During this time the Poles, a part of the Slavic people, were founding a great state in east central Europe. The Russians, another branch, were laying the foundations of a state in what is now southern Russia, about Kiev. On their southern and eastern frontiers they were harassed by Tartar nomads whose cruelty and rapine long hindered the development of better culture among them; and in the twelfth century all of eastern Europe was scourged by a more terrible and lasting barbarian invasion than had ever come to the west. The Mongols from central Asia, brave and skilful warriors but merely horsemen and shepherds, who had already spread their conquests and desolation across to the Pacific and down into China, came also into eastern Europe, and the rising Russian state was broken to pieces. The people long remained under debasing tyranny, ruled by their own princes, but compelled to pay tribute to the Mongols, whose capital was at Seraï on the Volga. For some centuries they remained subject with no chance for the development of free institutions like those emerging in western Europe. Russian princes fawned upon their Mongol lord and sought his favor, and so long as they paid tribute they had his protection. Of all who paid court the princes of Moscow gained greatest favor. In course of time they became strong enough to

throw off the conquerors' yoke and in Muscovy made the beginning of modern Russia, taking for themselves, in imitation of the Roman emperors, the title of tsar (Caesar). So the medieval period came to a close. These Slavs, with their rude culture and little prosperity, were scarcely thought about in England and France. As late as the time of Queen Elizabeth the Russians were not so well known to the English as the people of India and China, and traders and explorers were just beginning to cross the vast distances and reach them.

Muscovy

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Russians of the country about Moscow, increasing in numbers, spread steadily forth to the south and the east, gradually getting for themselves a huge inland empire. Geographical conditions were very potent, just as they always have been. The Russians were placed in the greatest of all the plains in the world. From the Carpathian Mountains, to the east of Hungary, a great level stretch of land runs eastward over the remaining half of Europe, spreading out to the north and south as it goes, until it is partly bounded by the low Ural Mountains. But they afford scarcely an obstacle, and through them men easily cross into Asia where the plain continues interminably all across the breadth of the continent, until at last, seven thousand miles from where it began, it ends north of China on the Pacific. It is vast, monotonous, seldom rising high or sloping much, not often divided by mountains, nowhere broken off into distinct parts, traversed by broad, slowly moving rivers—always its best avenues of communication. This plain is the mother of the Slavic peoples. In the sixteenth century the teeming Russians from the district about Moscow began spreading out over it. In the course of two hundred years they had occupied most of it, and by the latter part of the nineteenth century they had brought almost all of it within one great Russian empire.

The Russian Plain

The expansion of Russia

The Russian colonists went forth along their rivers and into new stretches of the plain somewhat as the American colonists and pioneers took the middle part of North America in the nineteenth century. The extension of power was forwarded by the vigorous and able ruler Ivan (John) IV, the Terrible, in the latter part of the sixteenth century. In his reign, Russian colonists went east and began to conquer the tribes of Sibir. In the period 1581-1700 all northern Siberia was taken. Until the end of the sixteenth century the Poles had been the principal Slavic power in Europe, and had sometimes held many of the eastern peoples in subjection, but under the new Romanov Dynasty, which began to reign in 1613, the Poles were checked, and in 1667, by the Treaty of Andrussovo, the Russians obtained Kiev, part of the Ukraine, and got the frontier of the Dnieper river.

Russia a European power

Down to this time Muscovy had been a state with interests and ambitions to the east rather than the west, essentially eastern and even Asiatic in character; but the Romanov rulers began to cherish the ambition of extending their territory to get an outlet on the western seas. This work, begun in the seventeenth century, was the great task of the century that followed. When it had been brought to completion Russia's three western neighbors, Sweden, Poland, and Turkey, had been destroyed or much reduced, and Russia was one of the greatest of the powers of Europe.

Peter the Great

The third of the Romanovs, Peter I (1682–1725), surnamed "The Great," was regarded afterward as the founder of modern Russia. He centralized his government like that of Louis XIV who was reigning then; reformed his army so as to make it like that which the Prussian rulers were developing; and completely subordinated the Russian church to his authority, organizing it under the control of the Holy Synod, afterward one of the principal means of upholding the autocracy of the

tsars. Furthermore, he studied the civilization of western Europe, and strove to introduce it into his dominions. Since he ruled over a vast population composed mostly of superstitious and ignorant peasants, he was able to influence only the upper classes, his nobles and officials; and after his time foreigners could note how in Russia most of the population had the uncut hair and long beards, the eastern dress and the eastern customs which had long prevailed, while the upper class resembled in dress and habits the people of Germany and France. It was Peter who began the triumphant march of Russian arms to the west. Much of his reign was spent in successful war against the Swedes. By the Treaty of Nystad, in 1721, Russia acquired provinces from Sweden on the south shore of the Baltic Sea and the Gulf of Finland. There already, in 1703, the tsar had founded St. Petersburg, to which he moved the capital from Moscow. Russia now extended to the Gulf of Riga, and she had her first good outlet on the sea and her first good opening for communication with western Europe.

Russia reaches the Baltic

The forward progress was continued a generation later under the able tsarina, Catharine II (1762–1796), the Great. First she attacked the crumbling power of the Turks, and, after many victories, forced them, in the Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji, in 1774, to give up territory on the northern shore of the Black Sea and allow Russians free navigation there and in other waters under Turkish control. All the country to the north of the Black Sea was soon after acquired by Russia.

Catherine the Great

Next Poland was destroyed. The Poles were a brave, warlike people, but they had made little political or economic progress for ages. At the top were the numerous nobles; beneath them the bulk of the population in abject serfdom. In Poland the worst evils and abuses of the old feudal system continued. The nobles had practically independent power, and the *liberum veto*, by which

The Partitions of Poland

no law could be put into effect if any noble disapproved it, paralyzed the weak central government. At the end of the eighteenth century, surrounded by the powerful states of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, she could go on in the old way no longer. Under the leadership of Russia the three powers conspired to divide Poland among them. In 1772 they cut off its outlying provinces. This First Partition was followed by a Second (1793) and a Third (1795), so that at the time when the French Revolution was bringing a new era to the peoples of western Europe, the unhappy Poles lost their country and their government, and passed under the yoke of strangers. Most of what had been Poland now became part of Russia, so that Russia extended as far as the boundaries of the German people.

Alexander I

Russia, now one of the principal European powers, took an important part against France, under the Directory, and then against the Empire of Napoleon. For a while after the defeat of the Russians at Austerlitz Tsar Alexander I (1801–1825) entered into a friendly understanding with Napoleon, and for a few years the Continent was practically divided between Russia and France. With Napoleon's consent, in 1809 the Russians took Finland from Sweden. But the two rulers soon drifted apart. The Russians wished to continue their expansion to the southwest, at the expense of the Turks, and although in 1812, by the Treaty of Bucharest, they obtained Bessarabia, they were hampered by Napoleon, who did not want them near Constantinople, the most important position, so he thought, in the world. And nowhere were the effects of his Continental System more onerous than they were in Russia, almost entirely an agricultural country, and compelled to buy manufactures abroad. Accordingly, Alexander partially abandoned the Continental System, and war followed with France. It was in this war that Napoleon, compelled to retreat, lost nearly all

The downfall of Napoleon

15. MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE HISTORY OF POLAND

of his army. His power, now seriously shaken, was destroyed by the peoples of central Europe, helped by the Russians. In 1814–15 Russia, farthest removed from the theater of the war, took minor part in the fighting, and at the end of the struggle was less exhausted than any of the other contestants. It was because she thus had such a powerful army available, and because of her reputation for invincibility after Napoleon's retreat, that Alexander had so commanding a position at the Congress of Vienna. There he was able to launch his Holy Alliance, and he got not only Finland and Bessarabia, taken in Napoleon's time, but the greater part of Poland, including Warsaw, formerly in the portion held by Prussia.

Character of Alexander I

Alexander I desired to be generous and enlightened: in his thoughts and his theories he was liberal and, for a while at least, in his foreign policy progressive. It was owing to his desire to make the world better that he proposed the Holy Alliance, to bring improved relations between the sovereigns and avoid future wars. At the Congress of Vienna he seemed the most liberal statesman in Europe. He it was who insisted that moderate terms should be granted after Waterloo, when some Prussians wanted the French killed off like mad dogs and their country partitioned. For a while he seemed to wish to continue the liberal work of the French Revolution. In this spirit he insisted that Louis XVIII, the restored Bourbon king of France, should give to his subjects some measure of constitutional government; and he himself allowed constitutions and a measure of independence to his Finnish and his Polish subjects.

Serfdom in Russia

In his vast and backward realm there were mighty problems to be dealt with. First and greatest was the question of serfdom. In 1815 the population of the empire was about forty-five millions. Of these less than a million were nobles; substantially there was no *bourgeoisie* or middle class; nearly all the rest were peasants, engaged

in agriculture. Most of the peasants, as in Austria, and the Hungarian and the Polish lands, were serfs. Among Slavic people servitude was of great antiquity, but in Russia during the seventeenth century, and especially during the eighteenth, most of the peasants—formerly free—had been rendered partly unfree, compelled to remain on the estates where they were born, there to till the land or render other services, making payments to the noble of the district or the tsar, and working for him some of the days of the week. Such serfdom, still older in the western countries, had prevailed almost universally over Europe, and had lasted in central Europe as well as in Russia down into the nineteenth century. In parts of western Europe it had long since passed away, and as the conditions that had brought it to an end there—the rise of the cities, new industrial and economic methods, and a different spirit—gradually extended to Austria and Russia, serfdom was more and more felt to be no longer in accordance with the things which were right and best.

The Russian peasants

The Russian peasants were organized in their little agricultural communities much as the English villeins had lived on the manors of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries. In primitive times almost everywhere the large mass of the people had been grouped together in village communities. In Russia such a village, or *mir* (*miru*—union, peace), was the unit of peasant life. In it the peasants chose a village council through which they regulated their local concerns. The land of the district was divided into two parts, one for the tsar or noble, who was lord of the district, one for the peasants. The land of the peasants was held by them in common, and was administered by the *mir;* for it they made payments to the lord. The other part they cultivated for the lord, working for him a certain number of days in the week. This was the old system of the manor, once the basis of economic organization throughout Europe, but now gone in the

Condition of the peasants

western portion. The serfs on the tsar's domain, like the villeins long before on the king's estates in England, were not badly treated, and, considering the low civilization of the country, their life was not hard. But the nobles, frequently spendthrift or bankrupt, often took from their serfs the uttermost penny, or sold them off like cattle, or put upon them exhausting and inhuman labor, caring nothing about them. Nor had these servants and peasants any redress. In 1767 Catharine II had taken from them all legal rights, and proclaimed the harshest punishment for those who complained against their masters. After that time, if the master chose so to treat them, they were no more than chattels or things.

The tsar and reform

One of the foremost principles of the French Revolution had been the equality of men, and one of the great Revolutionary reforms had been the abolition of such serfdom as remained. But Alexander, who had just attempted to abolish all war, and who had striven to effect the immediate abolition of the slave trade, found, as is often the case, that an actual reform in his own country, was more difficult than enouncing general principles for mankind. Furthermore, after a short time he ceased to champion liberalism and entered on a course of reaction.

Alexander conservative

Before the time of the Congress of Vienna he had undertaken some small reforms, planned a system of general education, and considered the best means of abolishing serfdom; but as he confronted the enormous mass of prejudice and ignorance with which he had necessarily to deal, he gradually became less ardent; and when a series of assassinations and uprisings by radicals alarmed him, he fell under Metternich's influence. A few of the serfs in the Baltic provinces were set free, but this was all, and liberal progress in Russia came to an end about 1818.

Discontent in Russia

The later years of Alexander's reign were clouded with gloom and disappointment. Some of the Russians were

hoping for better things. Soldiers, especially officers, who had served against France, had come in actual contact with French civilization and the liberal ideas of western Europe, and when they returned at the end of the wars they were disheartened because of the conditions in their country. At first there were high hopes of reforms to be made by the tsar, but when presently it was seen that he would do little and that he had joined forces with the leading reactionaries of Europe, the Russian reformers, like radicals in other parts of Europe then, formed secret revolutionary societies and plotted to overturn the government.

The Decembrist rebellion, 1825

In 1825 Alexander died, and for a short time it was uncertain who would succeed him. After three weeks his brother, Nicholas, ascended the throne, but meanwhile the discontented had planned a revolt, which now broke out. It was almost immediately suppressed, for it was only the work of a handful of liberal reformers influenced by the life of western Europe, and had no support from the great body of the Russian people. This outbreak took place in December, and it was as *Decembrists* that the leaders were afterward remembered.

Nicholas I

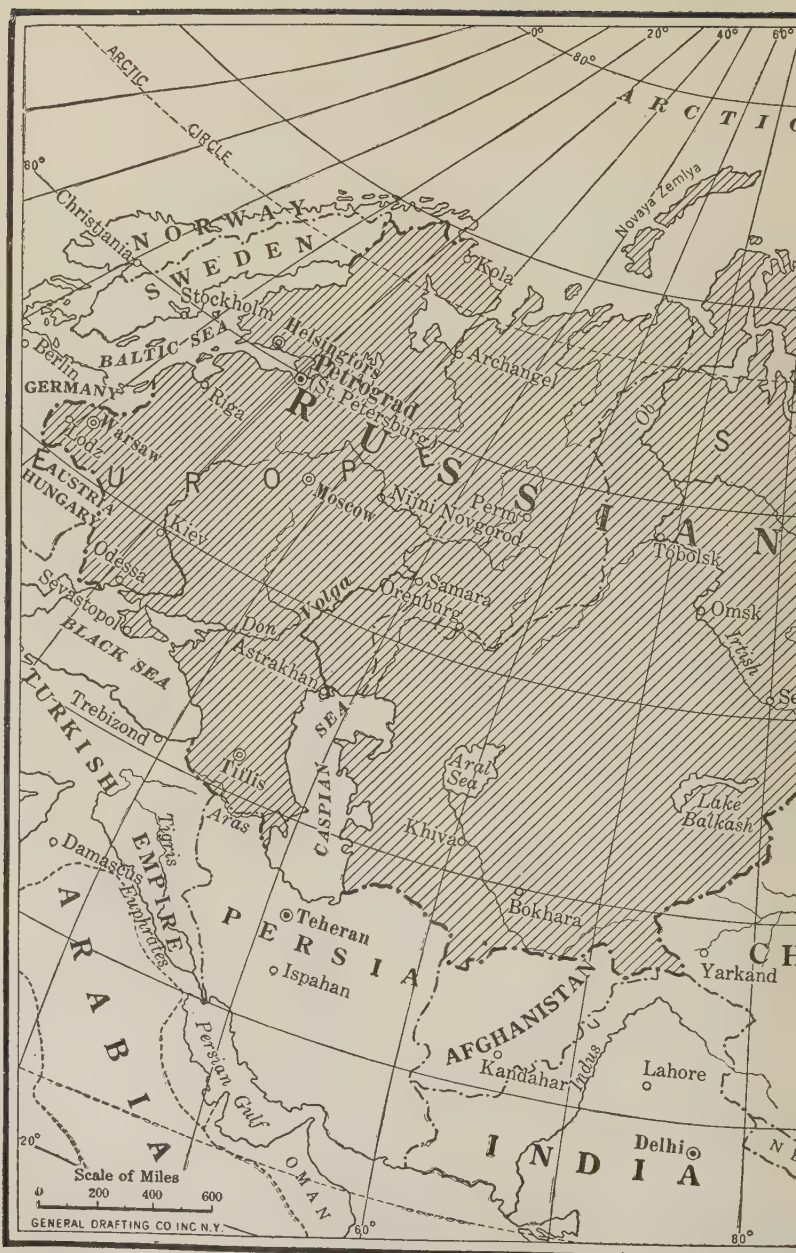
Nicholas I (1825–1855), who ruled Russia now for a generation, was not only prejudiced against liberalism and reform by the events at the beginning of his reign, but he was by temperament obstinately and narrowly conservative, and throughout the time of his power was resolutely opposed to all change. In his opinion, things in Russia were better than anywhere else in Europe. He believed that autocracy was better than the constitutional movements which had led to change and dissolution in other countries, and he determined that he would unflinchingly uphold the old system. So far as possible he would keep out of his dominions every trace of western influence and thought. Therefore, he became in Russia the steadfast supporter of autocracy and the age-old

system, which the French Revolution had scarcely affected, but which its influence now threatened to disturb. Outside of Russia he was the great champion of conservatism, of reaction, of the old order, of resistance to any reform, revolution or change. This period was afterward known as Metternich's Age, and the Austrian statesman was the foremost leader in preventing change and upholding things as they were; but his position of leadership resulted less from what he was able to do than from the influence of his character upon the sovereigns of his time. Actually the principal instrument in preventing progress and causing revolutions to fail was Nicholas I of Russia, not only during Metternich's greatness, but for some years after 1848 when the Austrian leader had been driven from power. When Charles X fled from France in 1830, Nicholas would have intervened to restore him had a revolution not broken out in Poland about the same time; and in 1848 when the old system was finally overthrown in western Europe and seemed about to disappear in central Europe also, Nicholas hastened to give assistance to Austria. It was his intervention which crushed the Hungarian rebels.

Supports the old order in Europe

Repression in Russia

The government of Nicholas was the most reactionary in Europe. Continuously and without remorse did he suppress every attempt of his subjects to have any freedom of action or thought. To effect this purpose an organization of terrible efficacy was set up. In 1826 he organized a secret police service under the direction of the *Third Section of the Tsar's Private Chancellery*, which after a while got, in and outside of Russia, as ominous and evil a renown as the Spanish inquisition so long had. At the head of the *Third Section*, and responsible only to the tsar, was a chief of police, with unlimited power to arrest, imprison, send out of the country, or even get rid of, any one, without any hindrance except for his own discretion. This device was accompanied by severe regula-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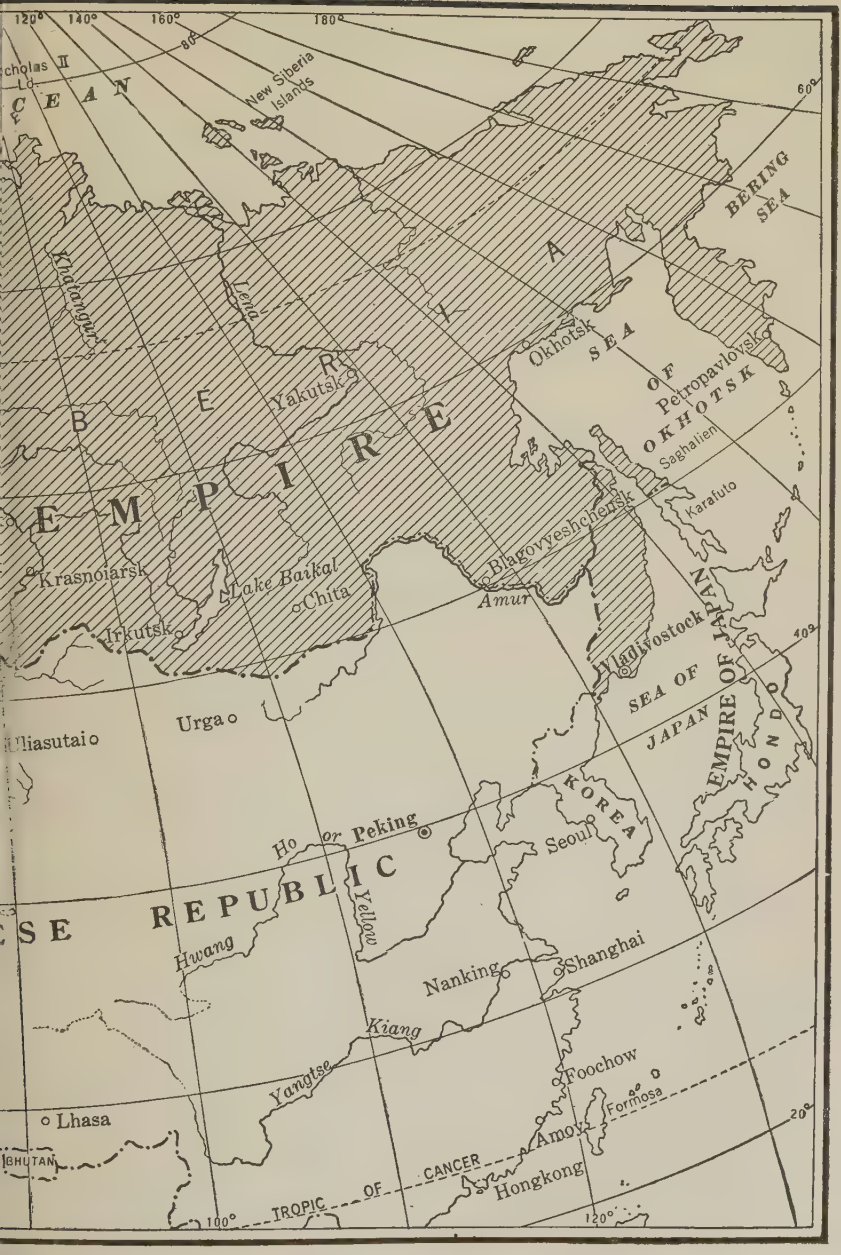

EMPIRE IN 1914

tions. Few Russians were allowed to travel abroad, so the people were kept from the contaminating influence of other countries; a strict censorship excluded nearly all foreign publications and made it impossible to publish in the Russian press foreign ideas for the few Russians who could read; attendance at universities was discouraged, and part of the teaching was put altogether under control of the church. All this was enforced by the activities of the secret police, who hunted down those who would take and spread about liberal and foreign doctrines, putting them out of the way or sending them to Siberia without trial.

The Old Régime continues in Russia

For a while what was sought was attained. Western ideas did not come in. There was the vast, immobile calm of China; things went on as before. There was almost no effort to get reform or even to preach it; the people were without leaders, and remained in lethargy and dullness. When the Revolution of 1848 overturned European governments from Paris to Vienna, Russia went through the year unaffected

The Kingdom of Poland

In one part, indeed, there was a despairing effort at revolution. In 1815, at the Congress of Vienna, Alexander I had succeeded in getting most of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, which Napoleon had constructed out of the Polish territory which he took from Austria and Prussia. This territory Alexander had made into the Kingdom of Poland, not to be a part of Russia, but united with Russia in that the tsar was to be its king. It embraced only a sixth of the former Polish kingdom and contained but three million inhabitants; but it was the most visible relic of the former state and did contain the old capital, Warsaw. In this country Alexander had begun with some of the reforms which he seemed desirous of introducing into Russia later on. In 1815 he granted the Poles a constitution, by which they were to have a legislature, or diet, with considerable powers, the members being chosen

by an electorate wider than either England or France then had. Polish was to be the official language, and there was to be liberty of press and religion. The result of all this was that the Poles had freer institutions than the surrounding peoples of Russia, Prussia, or Austria had at this time.

Privileges withdrawn

But this did not last long. When the Poles attempted to make use of the powers which Alexander had so freely granted, he was alarmed. Events elsewhere in Europe were steadily bringing him under Metternich's influence. Moreover, the freedom given to the Poles was regarded with disfavor by Russians, some of whom disapproved it, while the rest repined because more had been given to the Poles than to themselves. Accordingly, in 1820, when the Polish diet rejected a measure proposed by the government, Alexander changed the constitution and took away much of the freedom given five years before.

The Polish Rebellion of 1830

The Poles now yearned to throw off the Russian yoke. Under Nicholas I the weight of oppression increased. Then came the Revolution of 1830 in France, with its influence on peoples more remote. Particularly did this influence react upon the Poles, between whom and the French there were traditional and long-standing sympathy and attachment. Therefore, in November 1830 a mutiny broke out in Warsaw, and the Poles rising in rebellion, appealed to other peoples for aid. But the rebellion was hopeless from the start. No aid came from outside, and the country, which is part of the far-extending plain, had no strong natural frontiers and made no obstacle to the invader's advance. The revolutionists fought bravely, but were soon crushed, and the Russian government, in taking its revenge, resolved to make another revolution impossible. The constitution was abolished, and Poland was made part of Russia. Many of the leaders were put to death or sent into exile, and the country was occupied with a Russian army.

After that year throughout the tsar's dominions there

was the quietness which he so greatly cherished. Those who were troublesome or restless were suppressed silently and at once. The censorship was constantly made more severe. Punishments became harder. The activity of the secret police never waned. In the course of twenty years, it is thought, about a hundred and fifty thousand persons were dispatched to Siberia. It was difficult to get passports for foreign travel; it was difficult for foreigners to travel in Russia. So there were in all parts of the vast domain what Nicholas thought were the goodness and the order that Heaven had ordained. It was presently seen that they brought stagnation and decay.

Nicholas long successful in Russia

Actually the administration and the government became constantly more corrupt and inefficient, successful only in holding down the people. All initiative was crushed, all progress made impossible. While the rest of Europe was being slowly transformed, Russia remained unaffected. The people had no control over any part of their government, except the smallest local concerns, and the officials who governed them, and who were appointed from above, usually got their positions by purchase, and, being paid no salaries, lived upon bribes and exactions. Sometimes they made fortunes by wringing money from the wretched people, much like the proconsuls of the later Roman Republic. The public funds were constantly stolen. It was impossible to get justice in any court without bribing the judges. There was no one to whom the people could complain. The Russian people themselves understood something of the miserable condition of affairs, but they were sunk in apathy and ignorance, and knew no means of redress. Furthermore, the prestige for military greatness, which had come from the long career of success against Sweden, Poland and Turkey, and especially from the destruction of Napoleon's power, remained undiminished. Abroad the Russian army was believed to be far stronger than it actually

Inefficiency and corruption

was; at home the people thought with much pride of the power and majesty of their ruler. Actually, however, the military organization was as poor and corrupt as the civil government. All this became evident in the disasters of the Crimean War, and the results brought disillusionment and discontent which could not any longer be ignored.

Russia and Turkey

Hitherto Russia's progress westward had been attended with great success. The Swedes had been driven across the Baltic back to the Scandinavian peninsula; Poland had disappeared. In these directions, however, not much further advance could be expected, since Russia's frontiers now touched the powerful states of Austria and Prussia. To the southwest it was different. Already much gain had been made from the Turk, and the decaying power of the Ottoman Empire seemed to invite further aggression. Russian rulers had long hoped that some day they might annex the Balkan provinces, largely inhabited by kindred Slavs, and then, pressing on, take Constantinople. Even in the minds of the simple and ignorant Russian peasants there was some idea of getting this city from which their religion once had come, and some yearning for the greatness which they believed would follow. Alexander I had hoped to obtain it when he made the secret treaty with Napoleon at Tilsit; but Napoleon had answered, "Never! That would be the mastery of the world." Nicholas I cherished the same purpose, and tried to come to an understanding with the British government. "We have on our hands a sick man," he told the British ambassador in 1853, "a very sick man. It will be a great misfortune if, one of these days, he should slip away from us before the necessary arrangements have been made." And he suggested that the powers agree about the division of Turkish possessions. Nothing came of the proposal, for Britain, always fearful of the appearance on the Mediterranean of a strong state which might threaten her own power there, stood by Turkey, as she did later on,

"The Sick Man of the East"

in 1878. Nicholas, however, went on with his designs, and presently raised up against him both England and France.

Causes of the Crimean War

The fundamental cause of the Crimean War was fear that Russia might seize the territory and possessions of the Turk. In June 1853, Russia demanded that the sultan recognize her right to protect all the Greek Christians in the Ottoman Empire. When this was refused, she sent troops into the Danubian principalities, afterward Rumania, and war began between Russia and Turkey. A far greater conflict followed with Great Britain and France.

The Crimean War, 1854-6

The war was very disastrous to the reputation of all the contestants, but especially to that of Russia. The principal effort of the allies was against Russia's great naval base at Sevastopol, in the Crimea, her most important position on the Black Sea. They effected a landing, and won some battles, and began the investment of the fortress, but there had been too much delay and the defences had been wonderfully strengthened by the great Russian military engineer, Todleben. The English and the French battered the fortifications with powerful artillery, but their forces were insufficient to surround the city, and scarcely enough even for the work of the siege, so that during the winter of 1854–5 they suffered horribly and accomplished little. But meanwhile the Russians suffered no less. Their great armies, assembled to drive the invader into the sea, fell to pieces on the march, and most of those who struggled on were without supplies and equipment. The people were patriotic, and militia regiments were everywhere raised, but the funds to support the soldiers were shamelessly stolen. In September 1855, after a memorable siege, Sevastopol was taken. Soon after, Russia, approaching, as it seemed then, near to her ruin, made peace. For the present her military reputation was gone; and the wrath of the people at the

maladministration and repression in their country, now burst forth the more wildly because it had slumbered so long. In the midst of the struggle Nicholas I had died, broken in spirit at the collapse of his greatness. His successor was a man of very different character and intentions, and evidently a new era was at hand.

Alexander II

Alexander II (1855–1881) was a man of humane and liberal disposition. At once he reversed the policy of his father. He allowed such of the exiled Decembrists as were still alive to return to Russia, and pardoned other political offenders. The universities were given freedom again, and Russians allowed to travel abroad. Ardent and enthusiastic people now believed that all the ills of Russia would be cured.

Abolition of serfdom, 1859-66

At once Alexander turned to the great problem waiting to be solved. Serfdom had already been abolished in Poland, and there were many free peasants in the north and the Cossacks in the south, but over most of the Russian Empire serfdom prevailed. He began by freeing the twenty-three million serfs on the royal domain or crown lands. They had a much better position than any of the others, being practically free and merely owing to the tsar payments which were the equivalent of rent. Whenever he wished, he could declare them free, proclaim that they were the owners of the lands they had formerly cultivated under the crown, and abolish the dues they had previously paid. In 1859 this was begun and the process was complete seven years later. Meanwhile he was busy persuading the nobles not to resist the freeing of their serfs also. The change was bound to come to pass, he told them, and it was much better that it be granted from above than forced by revolution from below. The noblemen made no determined resistance, and in March 1861 an Edict of Emancipation was proclaimed which abolished all serfdom in the empire, thus emancipating the twenty-six million serfs of private owners. This edict was of

immense importance in the history of the freedom of the human race. By no legislation had so many people ever before been made free. It brought serfdom in Europe to an end. Thereafter of the status of servitude there was very little left anywhere in the world, except for the four million negroes held as slaves in the southern commonwealths of the United States.

Method of the emancipation

In England serfdom had disappeared gradually, as the result of the working of economic causes. This was mostly the case also in France, for when serfdom was formally abolished there in 1789, most of the peasants were already free. In Russia now, as was the case in the United States two years later, the unfree population was being freed almost at a stroke. In Russia this would be very apt to bring about considerable dislocation and confusion, as indeed it did in the United States, for society was being altered not by gradual development, but artificially, by law. In the Southern States of America the enfranchised negroes, made completely free, sank back after a while, many of them, into a condition of economic servitude, from which the utmost efforts of their Northern friends could not save them, and from which they have only gradually and in part escaped after many years when they have been able to get the ownership of some of the land. In England the decline of serfdom had made many villeins free, then driven them away from the land which they had cultivated, and often reduced them to a worse economic position than before. This the Russian government now strove to avert. Not only were the old services abolished, but to the free peasants was given that portion of the land which formerly they had cultivated, that is to say, a part of what had belonged to the nobles or the crown. For the most part the ownership of this property was vested not in the individual peasants, but, in accordance with communal ideas which had long prevailed in Russia, in the village communities or *mirs*. The former owners were

to be paid by the communes, to whom the government would advance the money necessary for this, the communes for forty-nine years to pay back to the government six per cent of the amount thus advanced.

Results of emancipation

Emancipation involved less alteration than might have been expected. It conferred on the peasants the status of free men and women; but it did not make much change in the condition of most of the peasants, and doubtless nothing could have produced much difference in any short time. They had formerly cultivated land, for which they made payments and rendered service; now they cultivated the same land, of which they collectively were owners, but for which they had to make yearly payments nevertheless. The peasants were bitterly disappointed. They had long hoped that some day the lands on which they lived would be given to them free of any encumbrance. Furthermore, with the rapidly increasing population of Russia it became more and more evident in the years which followed that not enough land had been given. Most of them continued to live in very abject poverty, and in ignorance and filth. The peasants now began to hope for a day when more of the lands that remained to the nobles and the crown might be given to them. Only so would such benefits result as gradually came to the peasantry of France from the French Revolution.

Judicial system reformed

Other great reforms followed. In 1864 the Russian judicial system was radically changed, in accordance with principles long before gradually developed in western Europe. Judges were made independent; jury trial was introduced; judicial and administrative powers were separated, and a system of courts established, with appeal from the lower to the higher. The vast mass of petty cases, which in all countries always make up the bulk of judicial business, were now to be handled in Russia by justices, elected by the people of the locality.

Local government reformed

In the same year also a decree of the tsar established a greater measure of local self-government. In their pettiest concerns the peasants had some self-government in the village communities or *mirs*, but this was all. Russia was already divided into thirty-four "governments" which were composed of provinces and districts. Self-government was now given in these larger administrative divisions, the provinces and districts. Each of these sub-divisions was to have an assembly, *zemstvo*, made up of the large landed proprietors of the district, and of delegates indirectly elected by the peasants and people of the towns. Substantially, the nobles, the peasants, and the *bourgeoisie* were represented in the *zemstvos*. The district council or *zemstvo*, was to be elected by the people of the locality; the district councils themselves were to choose the members of the provincial *zemstvos*. These councils were to impose the local taxes and make the local regulations, which were to be carried out by standing committees. In 1870 *dumas*, or councils, were established in the Russian cities, the members being elected according to the Prussian three class system, by the citizens in proportion to their wealth.

Disappointment in Russia

Other changes were made, and it seemed that much improvement must result, but disappointment and reaction soon clouded the prospect. The Russian liberals were at first filled with all sorts of pent-up hopes. Some of them were idealists and enthusiasts who had no real conception of the difficulties besetting any program of reform in the country, weighed down as it must be by the dead hand of centuries of ignorance and oppression gone before. Only very gradually could the lot of the Russian people be changed by any reforms. Hence the first boundless hopes were soon disappointed. The peasants saw little difference between their former position and that in which emancipation now placed them. The liberals and the radicals were grieved that conditions

in Russia were not speedily made like what they knew of in England and France. Furthermore, the reforms which had been made could not be well administered at first. Local government could not be very efficient until there had been a time of training and experience, and the new courts could not give fair and cheap justice until upright and capable judges could be procured.

Alexander becomes conservative

Alexander himself changed also. It is said that he was not really a liberal, but one who believed that changes were inevitable, and preferred to make them while there was time. Furthermore, he was surrounded by reactionary officials, who had grown up in the reign preceding. In course of time their influence was felt. And finally, in 1863, came another rebellion of the Poles, after which the tsar soon ceased making changes.

Rebellion of the Poles, 1863

It was another, despairing effort of the Poles to win freedom. The spirit of nationality, which was rising again strongly in Europe, had reached certain classes of this people. The Italians had just achieved their unity, and the Germans were about to make a united nation. Now Polish patriots began to dream of a free Polish nation once more. Moreover, the tsar had made some concessions, enough to raise expectations, but less than what they desired. Suddenly an insurrection broke out. The Poles appealed to the free nations of Europe for assistance, and much sympathy was aroused in England and France, and elsewhere. But actually the movement was never formidable. The Prussian government offered help to the tsar, but this was not needed. The Polish population generally remained passive. Through long previous centuries this peasantry had been bowed under the most degrading serfdom, in hopeless poverty, without attachment to the masters who oppressed them, and without any feeling of patriotism for a state which did nothing for them. Therefore now they looked on with indifference, having not yet learned to care enough for Poland, and

caring little who were their masters. When rebellion was crushed the Russian government took measures to crush permanently the power of those who had made it. The monasteries of the religious orders were suppressed and their lands taken away from them. About half of the lands of the nobility was taken and given to the peasants, so as to make them friendly to the Russian government. These lands were to be paid for, but by a tax not only on the possessions of the peasants but on those of the nobles as well. The results of this were important. The influence of the upper classes, among whom the spirit of Polish nationality had been strongest, was crippled. Furthermore the condition of the Polish lower classes was improved, and, contrary to what was sometimes believed in other parts of the world, the economic condition of most of the Polish people under Russia was better than in Galicia, where the Austrian government had done little to interfere with the privileges of the Polish nobles but where the peasants continued in low degradation. On the other hand, the Russian government, resolving to make a Russian province out of Poland, now forbade the use of the Polish language in any government business, in university lectures, in newspapers, in theaters, in schools, and in churches. Against this the Polish people made vigorous resistance, and in the struggle that ensued the spirit of nationality was strongly awakened at last in the hearts of the people.

Discontent increases

Some of Alexander's reforms were put into effect after this time, but he now became conservative and suspicious, for he had begun to feel that autocracy might be weakened by further concessions. Discontent increased. Not enough had been done, and expectation was aroused by what had been granted. Moreover, the mere passage of time and the changes going on elsewhere created greater demands. So, in the despair that now came to the liberals, violence and extreme radicalism took the place of a pro-

gressive liberal movement. Nihilists, extreme socialists, and terrorists supplanted the liberal reformers.

The nihilists

The term *nihilist* (*nihil*, nothing) is said to have been first used by Turgeniev in his novel, *Fathers and Sons*, published in 1862, to signify one who accepted nothing without critical examination, nothing on authority merely. It was soon applied in Russia to intellectuals who accepted nothing in Russia as good, contrasting what they saw there with conditions in other countries. They accepted neither the autocratic government, nor the Greek Catholic faith of their fathers. Turgeniev described his character as one who believed that there was no institution which ought not to be destroyed completely and at once. What was, ought to be overthrown, in order to construct society anew. At first all this was merely held by intellectuals, who talked about it, but were not prepared to go further. After a few years, however, it was translated into action. About 1871 there was a great stirring in the minds of economic radicals in Europe. The *Commune* of Paris had just attempted to institute a new social and political order, and even its failure had attracted much attention. The socialism of western Europe was beginning to have its effect upon Russian thinkers, and, more important still, the doctrines of violence which the anarchists taught.

The anarchists

Active anarchism had been largely developed by the Russian Bakunin. He believed that capitalism and autocratic government ought to be destroyed through violence, and, where this was not possible, through secret assassination and terror. Now in Russia, when the efforts of the peaceful radicals were checked by the government, and many were punished or sent into exile, the movement of reform and opposition—after changing into nihilism, a doctrine held by philosophers and students, and then into socialist propaganda—got into the hands of the anarchists, who attempted to create a reign of terror, and

paralyze the government, or at least take vengeance on their oppressors.

Assassination of Alexander II

An attempt had been made to assassinate the tsar in 1866. Thereafter he hearkened more than ever to the reactionaries, and in the ten years after the Polish revolt a great number of people were sent to Siberia. In 1878 a secret committee was established at St. Petersburg to carry on war against the government. Literature was printed for secret distribution, and bombs were manufactured for the assassination of officials. In a short time prominent officials were done to death by members of the society, and renewed attempts had been made to kill the tsar. Martial law was proclaimed, and a minister was appointed with the fullest powers of a dictator. In 1881 the tsar, yielding somewhat, gave his consent that a general commission, partly representative, should be summoned to consult about reforms. But on the day that this decree was signed, a fourth attempt was made to assassinate him, and he was blown to pieces by a bomb hurled as he was passing through the streets. Thus perished the Tsar Liberator, author of the most important reform made in Russia for generations, victim very largely of the conditions which older times had bequeathed to him. The terrorists at once published a manifesto in which they promised to cease their activities, if freedom of speech, of the press, and of meeting, was allowed in Russia, and if a national assembly was elected by manhood suffrage. But their deed was about to usher in a period of sterner and more terrible reaction, and when at last changes were made in Russia, they were to come, as in France, not through constitutional amendment but through destruction of the old system, by revolution.

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CHAPTER XII

THE LESSER PEOPLES

> If this is the day of great Empires it is also preëminently the day of little nations. . . . Their destiny is interwoven with that of humanity.
>
> Speech of Mr. Lloyd George at Birkenhead, September 6, 1917

The lesser states

In any brief account of Europe since 1789 attention can be given only to the most important things which affected the European peoples, or else to the history of the greater powers. But the student should remember that during all the time that mightier events were transpiring, there were lesser nations living their lives, taking part in the great things around them or beholding them from aside, as spectators. All through the nineteenth century Portugal and Spain, Switzerland, Belgium, and Holland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, and the peoples of the Balkans, were making a history of their own, important to themselves and interesting enough. The history of the Balkans can be told better in a later chapter of this book, since in the latter part of the period, the destiny of the Balkan peoples was intertwined with greater affairs, and with the causes leading to the gigantic struggle which brought the period to an end. What is to be told about the other small countries, whether in the earlier or the later part of the period, can be told and concluded in this place.

Portugal in the past

It was rather through accident than otherwise that Portugal was ever important. She was the only one of the small states in her peninsula not incorporated into the

Spanish monarchy, but while she retained her independence, she was too small to become powerful and great in Europe. Yet, the daring of her sailors and the advantages of geographical position raised her for a short while to a splendid position. In the fifteenth century her seamen slowly explored the west coast of Africa, and at last got to the Cape of Good Hope. In 1498 Vasco Da Gama reached India, and afterward the Portuguese built up a colonial trade and a colonial empire which made them important and wealthy. But the grand age soon passed. It was beyond the resources of the nation to hold such possessions. In 1580 Portugal was conquered by Spain. During the period of subjection the Dutch, who were at war with the Spaniards, took away the Portuguese possessions in India and especially in the wealthy Spice Islands, thus laying the foundations of their own prosperous colonial empire. Encouraged by France Portugal became independent again in 1640, but her greatness and her power were gone. In 1703 by the Methuen Treaty, she entered into intimate commercial relations with England, and after that time she became more and more a satellite of Britain. In 1807 Napoleon sent an army to occupy the country. British troops sent to the rescue, however, under Sir Arthur Wellesley, soon drove the invader out. The British continued to occupy the country for a while after 1814, but presently they withdrew, and Portugal like the other countries of western Europe was the scene of a struggle between progress and reaction.

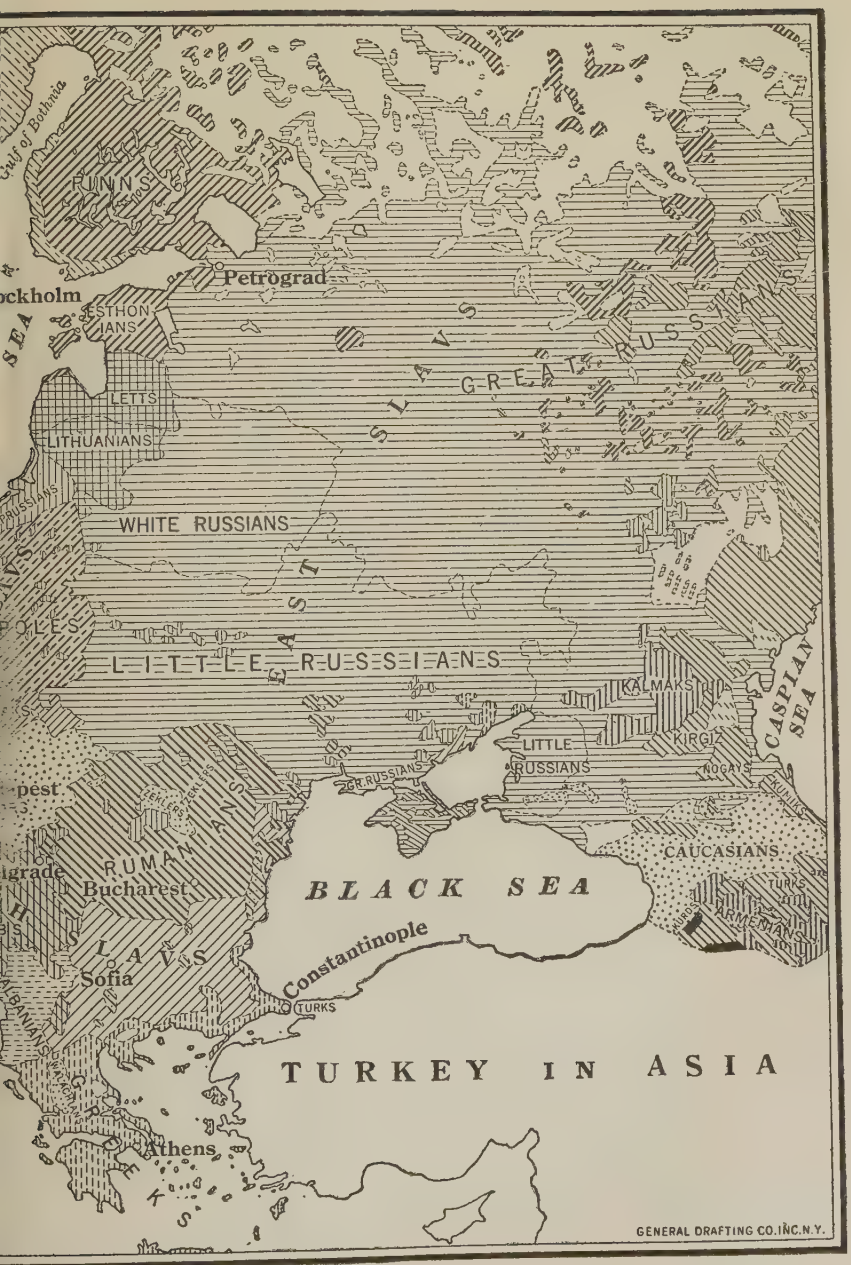
Maritime greatness

In the nineteenth century

No great advance was made and not much was possible, for the country had no large national wealth and no great industries or trade. Its finances were hopelessly tangled, taxes were very high, and the debt of the nation was large. Brazil had proclaimed independence in 1822, but Portugal still possessed a colonial empire, mostly in Africa, much beyond her resources to maintain. Her debt increased and her affairs became more embarrassed.

ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
ENGLISH CHANNEL
Bay of Biscay
MEDITERRANEAN
AFRICA
London
Paris
Lisbon
Madrid
Corsica
Sardinia
Balearic Is.
Rome
Sicily
Christ
Copenha
Berl
Vienn
P
ENGLISH
WELSH
GAELIC
BRETON
IRISH
ENGLISH
NORWEGIANS
DANES
FRISIANS
DUTCH
LOW FRANKS
GERMANS
SAXO
FLEMINGS
WALLOONS
MIDDLE GERMAN
GERMAN
FRANKS
HIGH GERMANS
CZEC
ALEMANI
BAVARIANS
AUSTRIA
NORTH FRENCH
FRENCH
GASCONS
PROVENCALS
ITALIANS
NORTH ITALIANS
ADRIATI
PORTUGUESE
SPANIARDS
BASQUES
CATALANS
ITALIANS

17. ETHNOG



MAP OF EUROPE

Therefore it was not possible to improve education or economic conditions, and most of the people remained poor and illiterate, with small understanding of political matters and no experience in self-government. So the Portuguese people, in their out-of-the-way corner of Europe, lived on in the quiet decay of their country, in the midst of monuments of old grandeur, attracting little foreign attention, except when other countries, like Germany or England, hoped some day to inherit their colonial possessions. It is said that in 1898 Great Britain and Germany did make a secret agreement about how these possessions might be divided between them later on, if Portugal were persuaded to sell.

The Portuguese Republic

In 1910, when the reigning dynasty had sunk into complete disrepute, the young king was driven from the throne and a republic proclaimed. A constitution modelled on that of France was adopted, providing for a legislature, *cortes*, with a ministry responsible to it, and a president. But it was evident from the start that it would take generations of education and training in self-government before the Portuguese people could make it work successfully, and the new government was compelled to sustain itself by force. Furthermore, there were violent disputes between the clericals and friends of the republic, for notwithstanding that the entire population was Roman Catholic, the republican government at once proceeded to separate church from state, suppress the wealthy religious orders, and confiscate their possessions.

Greatness of Spain in the past

In the sixteenth century Spain was the leading power in Europe and she had attained such greatness that she was dangerous to all of her neighbors. Then, for a while, she was mistress of the entire Iberian peninsula; she held the southern part of Italy and controlled the rest; she had the rich provinces of the Low Countries, and had got great influence throughout German lands; and she was mistress of mighty colonial possessions. Seldom had

any empire in the past been more powerful or extensive. Her soldiers were the best in Europe; she was a strong naval power; she drew great revenue from the industrial districts of the Netherlands; from Mexico and Peru she received the greatest quantity of gold and silver that had ever come to any people in the world; while her poets, her dramatists, and her generals made this era her golden age.

Decadence of Spain

Much of this was lost in the seventeenth century; it was mostly gone in the eighteenth; and in the nineteenth, Spain, shorn of nearly all her colonies, had sunk far below the rank of the first-rate powers. The causes of this terrible decline have often been explained, but they still continue to be instructive. Spain, like Portugal and Sweden, undertook far more than her strength permitted. She had neither population nor natural resources enough to enable her to hold a great empire; and the parts of her empire in Europe were so scattered that it would have been very hard to hold them in any event. She exhausted her resources trying to win back the revolted Netherlands, and in 1588 she lost a great fleet in the waters about England. From this time her decline is often dated, but actually it resulted from far greater causes. Much of her soil is not rich or well watered, and could only be made to yield by irrigation and intensive agriculture. The best places were in the south, where agriculture and industry had been developed by the Moors and the Jews. The Christians, who had during some hundreds of years slowly reconquered the country from the Moors, had come to love fighting for its own sake, and now they scorned any labor. It was, indeed, their skill and aptitude in fighting that enabled them to make their conquests in Italy, but meanwhile they left the work of the country largely to the Moors and the Jews. Unfortunately the Spaniards had become the most bigoted people in Europe. Their leaders determined to stamp out all heresy, and soon they drove

out the Jews and the Moors, thus giving a death-blow to the basic industries of the country. The inquisition made such war upon freedom of thought that all the bolder and more enterprising intellects were suppressed or compelled to conform. There was indeed no heresy, but there was also no more of activity and progress. Meanwhile Spain constantly lost the best and most vigorous of her people, who went out as emigrants to America. Vast amounts of treasure in silver and gold continued to come from the American mines; but it went out of the country almost as soon as it entered, for there was little industry, and the people of Spain, no longer able to win wars and disdaining to work, sank further and further into economic stagnation, using their money to buy, at high prices, what others, who worked, could provide.

Partition of the Spanish Empire, 1713

All the seventeenth century was a period of slow, fatal decline. At the end of that time the old dynasty came to an end, and the great powers quarrelled about how the Spanish Empire should be partitioned among them. This led to the War of the Spanish Succession, concluded by the Treaty of Utrecht (1713). By this treaty the outlying dominions of Spain in Europe went to Austria and Holland; and Spain, now under a line of French Bourbon kings kept only her colonial dominions. After this time there was some revival and on several occasions no little success, but to a considerable extent the Spanish people continued in torpor and decay.

Revival of national spirit

When the French Revolution came, it affected the Spaniards but little. But the French under Napoleon conquered the country and brought the reforms which they were spreading over Europe. It was in this moment that the Spanish people had their awakening. They remained, even in their poverty and loss of power, a people of high and strong character. Now when their position seemed hopeless they rose fiercely, and fell upon the invader to save their country. They were greatly

assisted by the topography of their country and also by a British army, and gradually their guerilla fighting wore the invaders out. In 1812 the liberals among the revolutionists proclaimed a constitution, patterned after the French constitution of 1791, and for a long time afterwards a model for the liberals of southern Europe.

Reaction and confusion

Two years later the reactionary king, Ferdinand VII, returned. He set aside the constitution and abolished the *cortes*, or national legislature. He was able to do this because the constitution was hated by the conservatives and nobles and not supported by the peasants. There was now a period of reaction as in France and other European countries, but in 1820 a revolution suddenly broke out and Ferdinand had to accept the constitution again. This was contrary to the wishes of the Continental powers in the Quadruple Alliance, and in 1822, at the Congress of Verona, they resolved that France should intervene to restore the absolute rule of the king. The reign of terror which followed was long afterward described in a terrible denunciation by Castelar, the greatest orator of Spain. For the next ten years the king ruled with power unchecked. In 1833 his daughter, Isabel II, came to the throne. Three years before, at the time of her birth, the Salic Law, which forbade the succession of women, had been set aside so that she might succeed; but this brought it about that Don Carlos, the king's brother, previously heir presumptive, was debarred. He refused to give up his claim, and for the next forty years the country was plagued by uprisings and attempts of his partisans, the Carlists.

The Spanish Republic

During the long reign of Isabella the Bourbon reputation sank lower and lower, until in 1868 she was driven away by a liberal uprising, and a provisional government was set up while the revolutionists sought a new monarch. It was during this search for a sovereign that the crown was offered to a relative of the king of Prussia, thus caus-

ing the tension between Prussia and France, the immediate occasion of the Franco-German War. In 1871 Amadeo of Savoy accepted the throne, but after two years he abandoned his attempt to rule the country. Then in 1873 the liberals set up a republic, but Spain now fell into the greatest confusion, from which she was saved only by the stern rule and the military despotism of the president, Emilio Castelar. Most of the Spanish people cared nothing for a republic, and in 1874 the Bourbon line was restored, when the son of Isabella was made king.

Slow progress

A period of improvement and reform now began, which slowly produced good results. In 1876 a constitution was adopted which in form gave the people a government like that of Italy or Belgium, vested in a parliament or *cortes* elected by the people. In 1890 the principle of manhood suffrage was adopted for electing members to the lower house of the *cortes*. As in Great Britain, the ministry is dependent upon a majority in the *cortes;* and as in France, this majority is formed by a combination of political parties willing to act together. Parliamentary majorities were made by the ministry, and a government could always control the elections. The extension of the suffrage to the mass of the people strengthened the conservative and reactionary elements in the state, especially the church, since many of the voters, who were illiterate as well as inexperienced, voted entirely at the dictation of the priests. Nevertheless, after 1880 a period of change began, in which jury trial was introduced, taxation reformed, and obstacles removed from industry and trade, obstacles which had survived in Spain longer than almost anywhere else in Europe. The liberal leader, Sagasta, wished also to improve education and take it out of the hands of the clergy, and effect such a separation of church and state as was afterward brought about in France; but notwithstanding considerable hostility to the religious orders because of their wealth and possessions, the body

of the people supported the clericals and enabled them to prevent all such changes.

Recent conditions

The decline of centuries was not easily to be made up. The country was poor, agriculture languished, there was little industry and not much trade. Most of the people were ignorant and superstitious, and more than half of them could not read or write. Taxation was heavy and the national debt almost too great to be borne. None the less, gradually there has been an improvement in the last generation. What seemed at first like a great disaster, the loss of the remaining Spanish colonies to the United States in 1898, soon proved to be a blessing, since it removed great trouble and expense. Of late the population has been increasing more and more rapidly, and some wealth and prosperity with it. The land has been getting more and more into the hands of peasant proprietors, and manufacturing and commerce have once more begun to flourish. The country remains poor, and in the midst of their splendid cathedrals and lonely palaces the people have memories of the past more than possessions in the present. Nevertheless, there may still be a prosperous future before them.

The Netherlands

In the sixteenth century the Low Countries, which for centuries had been the seat of the most thriving industry and the richest burghers in Europe, were provinces of the king of Spain. During the Reformation many of the people became Protestants. Philip II of Spain, then the leader of Catholicism in Europe, tried to stamp all heresy out; and, partly because of the persecutions, partly because of oppressive exactions, the people rose in revolt. A terrible struggle followed, in the course of which the western provinces, which long after became the Kingdom of Belgium, went back to the Spanish allegiance; but the eastern and northern provinces, the greatest of which was Holland, persisted in rebellion, and, aided by England, at last achieved independence. This was got after the death

of Philip II, though not formally acknowledged until 1648 by the general European settlement in the Treaty of Westphalia.

The United Provinces

From this struggle the Dutch emerged as the greatest sea power in Europe. They had obtained a splendid colonial empire in the Far East; during the earlier part of the seventeenth century they did a great part of the carrying trade of Europe; and they so developed the herring fisheries of the North Sea that the waters yielded them greater wealth than Spain got from her mines in Peru. But England now began to rise as a great commercial power, and her geographical position was more favorable than that of the Dutch, since she lay across the routes of the Dutch to the outside world, and could, if she desired, always close them. Sea wars followed, resulting largely from commercial and colonial competition, in which the Dutch failed to hold their own. Worse still they were exposed to attacks from France—then, under Louis XIV, the greatest military power in Europe—and they were not, like England, protected by the sea. The Dutch did save themselves, and afterward together with England they checked the aggressions of France; but by 1713 when this was achieved, they were exhausted by a task which had been far beyond their strength, and from being one of the principal European powers, in the eighteenth century they sank to the second class and no longer played a great part. The Dutch still possessed a large colonial dominion, mostly in the Far East; and they continued to be industrious and successful workers. They played a lesser part now because neighboring powers had grown far greater and more rapidly than themselves, so that relatively they were much less than before.

The Kingdom of the Netherlands

During the French Revolution Holland was overrun, and in 1795 it was made into the Batavian Republic. In 1806 this was superseded by the Kingdom of Holland under Louis Bonaparte, Napoleon's brother, which four

years later was annexed directly to France. But when Napoleon's power was falling, and when the Dutch saw departing the French soldiers who had so long ruled and plundered their country, they rose and proclaimed a kingdom under William I, son of the last *stadholder* who had ruled before the Frenchmen came. The Congress of Vienna determined to strengthen Holland against possible aggression from France in the future, and in 1815 what had, before the French Revolution, been the Austrian Netherlands was joined to the new Dutch kingdom, now called the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

Separation of Belgium from Holland

This union was not destined to last. The Dutch were mostly Protestant and Germanic, while the population of the Belgic provinces was Catholic and influenced by France. The Belgian population was more numerous than the Dutch, but while Belgium was compelled to contribute the larger part of the taxation, the places and power in the government were reserved for Dutch officials. William I outraged the feelings of his Belgian subjects by trying to impose on them the Dutch language and laws. In 1830, after the revolution in Paris, the Belgians rose against their masters, and demanded a separate legislature. William refused any concessions, so they proclaimed their complete independence. The Dutch people, inflamed by strong national feeling, supported their monarch, and he would have easily reconquered the rebels, had it not been that England and France intervened. Thus Belgium won independence.

Liberal progress

Western Europe slowly became more liberal and progressive. William himself did not change, but becoming more and more unpopular he abdicated in 1840. His son shared his feelings, but was wise enough to yield to the tendencies around him. In 1848, when the revolutionary movements were overturning so much in Europe, he quietly granted a more liberal constitution, which with slight changes satisfied his people thereafter. The minis-

try now became responsible to the states general, the Dutch parliament, though the representatives in the lower chamber were still elected by a small number of voters. In 1887 and in 1896, the franchise was extended to larger number of voters, but as late as 1914 more than a third of the men were not yet permitted to vote.

Political history

The political history of the country was now uneventful. The Dutch were intensely conscious of their nationality, and passionately resolved to keep their independence. They had no great love for England, who had once beaten them in great trade wars, and taken some of their possessions; but France had been the great enemy, and they had only been saved by assistance from Britain. During the nineteenth century these conditions no longer existed, but at the beginning of the twentieth, a new danger appeared. Some German writers asserted that the Dutch were closely related to the Germans, and could properly be citizens of a Germanic federal union, and that Holland, lying across the mouths of Germany's great river, the Rhine, ought to be brought into such union. More and more did the Dutch come to dread incorporation with their powerful neighbor. In 1890 Queen Wilhelmina, a girl of ten, came to the throne, and for a while her subjects feared that the dynasty might die out, and their country lose its independence. After the birth of an heir, however, this fear abated; though the Dutch continued to guard with great jealousy against any infringement on their freedom, and, after the beginning of the Great War, they guarded their neutrality likewise.

The Dutch colonies

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Netherlands lost some of their colonies to England, and as a result of the Napoleonic Wars, Ceylon and South Africa also, but they still continued to retain one of the wealthiest of colonial empires, especially in the Spice Islands off southeast Asia. This empire was until recently administered with less consideration for the welfare of the

natives than for the development and advancement of commerce.

The Belgian people

The history of the Belgian people is a long record of prosperity and misfortune. In the Middle Ages they had the most thriving industry in Europe, and the splendid guildhalls and bell-towers still attest the magnificence of that era. But the country was also the battleground in many wars now long forgotten. The sovereigns of France strove to add these provinces to their dominions, as they built up the Kingdom of France; but they got only part of what they tried for, since England in the fourteenth century—as in the sixteenth and the seventeenth, the nineteenth and the twentieth—dreaded to see the country right across the narrow waters from her, and almost at the mouth of the Thames, in the hands of some powerful rival. The Belgian provinces joined the other Netherlands in the revolt against Philip II, but the population, being almost entirely Roman Catholic, accepted the overtures of Spain, and in 1579 abandoned the contest. Under the languishing rule of Spain, and afterward under the ineffective administration of Austria, these provinces suffered decline. By the Treaty of Münster (1648) the Scheldt was closed, and the commerce of Antwerp ruined, to promote the interests of Holland. During the Revolutionary period the Austrian Netherlands were easily occupied by the French and presently annexed to France. In 1815 Austria preferred resigning her Belgian possessions, since they were too distant to be easily defended, and in exchange for them she took territory in the northern part of Italy. Belgium was then added to the Dutch Netherlands, partly to make a strong state on the French frontier, partly to compensate Holland for the colonies she had lost to England. In 1830 the Belgian people rebelled, and, by the assistance of Great Britain and France, got their independence. In 1831 Belgium was established as a state

independent and perpetually neutral; and when in 1839 Holland at last accepted Belgian independence, the provision of neutralization was again confirmed by the five great powers, Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia. Thus Belgium was made a neutralized state as Switzerland had been in 1815. The country now went forward with its development in safety. Shortly before the Franco-German War, it is true, Napoleon III entered into secret negotiations with Prussia, apparently in hope that he might be able to add Belgium to France; but this came to nothing; and when later, in 1870, Bismarck revealed the proposal, the British government made treaties with France and with Prussia, engaging to join forces with either one if the other violated Belgian neutrality.

Progress and prosperity

After 1831 the little country went forward in great industrial development, its population and prosperity increasing. Unlike Holland, which remained an agricultural and a commercial country, Belgium possessed great resources of coal and iron, and became one of the greatest industrial regions of Europe. The constitution, adopted in 1831, was the most liberal at the time in continental Europe. As in Great Britain the ministry was responsible to a parliament. As elsewhere then the franchise was narrow, being allowed only to those who paid a considerable tax. In 1848 it was extended a little, but thereafter for nearly half a century no change was made. Meanwhile great industrial populations had been assembled in the cities, and after the franchise had been widely extended in all the neighboring countries, still in Belgium only one man in ten could vote. At last, in 1893, the labor leaders called a general strike, and the legislature, soon yielding, provided for manhood suffrage, though with double votes or even triple votes to men of property and at the head of a family or with unusual educational attainments or experience in public office.

Switzerland

The Swiss in the midst of their mountains got their freedom from Austria in the Middle Ages, and after first defending themselves successfully, presently became renowned as the best mercenaries in Europe, fighting in most of the great wars for pay. The government was a federation of smaller units, or cantons. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Switzerland and the United Provinces (Holland) were the only two important republics in the world. They were also two of the principal places of refuge for the oppressed and those who sought religious freedom. During the French Revolution Switzerland was first penetrated by the new ideas and then overrun by French soldiers, and in 1798 the Helvetic Republic was established. During the Napoleonic period other cantons were added, and still more were joined to the Confederation in 1815 when the Congress of Vienna re-established it and guaranteed its neutrality. The cantons remained, as before the French Revolution, united in a loose confederacy, each with complete local autonomy, much as were the American commonwealths before the constitution of the United States.

***Sonderbund* and union**

In the first half of the nineteenth century the cantons which had so long remained in partnership began to develop a division which after a while threatened to disrupt the confederation. Some of the cantons were agricultural and Catholic and under clerical influence; others were Protestant, and contained large cities, and in 1830 they liberalized their governments and tended toward radical ideas. Thus Switzerland, like the United States of America about the same time, was split into two parts, in which the people had different ideals and purposes, and seemed unwilling to continue in the old association. In 1843 the Roman Catholic cantons formed a *Sonderbund,* or separate league, to protect clerical interests wherever they should be attacked. In 1847 the federal diet of the confederation ordered the *Sonderbund* to dissolve.

Metternich and the governments which he influenced would have intervened, but the separatist movement was soon crushed, and, shortly after the Revolution of 1848, made it impossible for them to interfere. The triumphant party now remodelled the constitution, and what had before been a loose confederation became a federal republic. By this constitution of 1848 a federal assembly of two houses was established, an upper house, the council of states, consisting of two delegates from each canton, chosen by the legislature of the canton; the lower house, the national council, consisting of representatives elected by voters in electoral districts, all adult males having the franchise. The executive was vested in a federal council of seven members and a president, chosen by the federal assembly. The cantons, like the states of the American union, had their own constitutions and governments.

Progress in self-government

The Swiss people continued, as for a long time before, to show that it was possible for men of different races and religions to live under the same government, each having large measure of freedom, unmolested by the others. Most of the population was German, but considerable portions were French and Italian. Some were Protestants and some were Catholics. There was no attempt to enforce uniformity of language or customs, as in Russia and Austria-Hungary, but so much freedom was left to all that the Swiss Confederation was reckoned to be the most successful democracy in the world. And while its people perfected their educational system until their schools were as good as any in Europe, and while they were developing great industrial prosperity, they continued to teach other nations the art of self-government. In attempting to work out devices by which the people might more directly control their government they perfected the *referendum* and originated the *initiative*. The referendum, or referring back for popular vote measures already

passed by the legislature, had been employed by some of the American states in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and afterward was put into one of the provisions of the French Revolutionary Constitution of the Year I; but its use was extended by the Swiss Constitution of 1848 and it has since been frequently employed. The initiative, by which legislation or an amendment is brought forward by petition of a certain number of voters, was invented in Switzerland, then established in their constitution of 1848, and since widely extended.

Scandinavia

The Scandinavian countries were usually outside the great currents of European history, though twice they greatly affected neighboring countries. In the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, sailors and pirates from Norway and Denmark spread terror of the Northmen's name all over Western Europe, and some of them established themselves on the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. The Danes ravaged Ireland, and conquered England for a while; the Northmen sailed to Iceland, Greenland, and even Vineland or America, and established themselves in northern France and afterward in southern Italy. Meanwhile bands of Swedes entered Russia. After these great Scandinavian wanderings came to an end, the northern peoples for a long time affected the rest of Europe but little, for neither their population nor their resources made it possible for them to take a great part among wealthy and powerful peoples. In 1397 the three countries were loosely united under the headship of Denmark, but from this union Sweden broke away in 1523, and presently rose to a position of considerable greatness. The highest point of her eminence came during the seventeenth century. When central Europe was torn to pieces by the Thirty Years' War, Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, saved Protestantism from the Counter-Reformation. He also established the greatness of his country, for the settlement made in 1648 left the shores of the Baltic under

Swedish control. But during the eighteenth century greater neighbors, like Russia and Prussia, rose up against her, and Sweden's resources were wasted in vain struggles to keep her possessions. In 1814 Denmark, to which Norway was still joined, was an unimportant country, and Sweden had lost her possessions outside the Scandinavian peninsula.

Sweden and Norway

The Congress of Vienna took Norway from Denmark and joined it to Sweden. The Norwegian people declared their country a sovereign state, but they yielded to the great powers, and the two countries were loosely joined each having its own constitution, but united under one king. This arrangement lasted throughout the nineteenth century, because of the moderation and prudence of the rulers, but the two peoples were incompatible and divergent in their interests. Sweden was larger and more populous; she was also richer, but wealth and power were concentrated in the hands of nobles and aristocracy, leaving the mass of the people without property or political power. The government was vested entirely in the hands of the king, checked, when at all, only by an assembly of estates, something like those which had disappeared in England and Spain long before, and like those resurrected in France in 1789. In Norway, while the resources of the country were small and the soil was poor, the land had become divided among a large number of small farmers; there was much democratic feeling; and the constitution adopted in 1814 put the government in the hands of a *storthing* or legislature, in which the representatives were elected by voters whose franchise depended upon a low property qualification. In the nineteenth century the Industrial Revolution gradually became important in Sweden, and then manufacturing was added to her agriculture; in Norway commerce was developed until the Norwegian merchant marine was the fourth largest in the world. In foreign relations Norway was drawn more and

more toward England and France, while Sweden, resenting the Russian seizure of Finland, and always fearing further Russian expansion toward the sea, more and more imitated Germany's methods and sympathized with her purpose and desires.

Separation of Norway from Sweden

So the two peoples drew increasingly apart. In 1863 a Swedish constitution was granted, with a parliament like those of western Europe, but great power was left to the king and also to the wealthy upper classes. Meanwhile Norway became increasingly liberal and democratic. In 1884 manhood suffrage was established. In 1901 she gave the municipal franchise to women tax-payers, and six years later followed this by granting the parliamentary franchise to women and allowing them to sit in the *storthing*. Moreover, in Norway a great literary national revival was carried on, so that the people became more conscious of their nationality and more eager for complete independence. For a long time tension increased, though there was never a resort to arms, and finally, in 1905, the *storthing* declared the independence of Norway. The Swedes, more powerful though they were, wisely decided not to try to force their neighbors back into a distasteful allegiance of no use to themselves, and so they acceded to the separation. A Danish prince was invited to be king, but the monarchy was as limited and as democratic as in England. In 1907 Great Britain, France, Germany, and Russia signed a treaty with Norwegian representatives guaranteeing the integrity and the neutrality of Norway. Good relations with Sweden were soon resumed, and the two countries proceeded on their separate ways.

Denmark

Denmark had gradually become the least important of the northern nations. Norway had been taken from her in 1814; Schleswig-Holstein, containing some Danish population, had been lost in 1864. Across the base of the Jutland peninsula, which had previously been hers, the great German Kiel Canal was cut, and through it went

40°
30°
20°
10°
0°
ARCTIC CIRCLE
ICELAND
Faroe Is.
Shetland Is.
Orkney Is.
Bergen
Christiania
SCOTLAND
Edinburgh
UNITED KINGDOM of GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND
IRELAND
Dublin
WALES
ENGLAND
London
NORTH SEA
DENMARK
Hamburg
Elbe
NORTH GERMAN CONFEDERATION
Brussels
BELGIUM
English Channel
Brest
Paris
Seine
Metz
Rhine
SOUTH GERMAN STATES
Munich
Bay of Biscay
FRANCE
SWITZERLAND
Lyons
Bordeaux
Santander
Oporto
Milan
Venice
Genoa
Marseilles
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
Madrid
SPAIN
Barcelona
Corsica
Rome
Balearic Isles
Sardinia
Naples
TYRRHENIAN SEA
ITALY
Gibraltar (Br.)
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Algiers
Tunis
Sicily
Malta
AFRICA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
50°
40°
30°
GENERAL DRAFTING CO. INC., N.Y.

30°
40°
50°
60°
70°
80°
OCEAN
Kola
Kola Peninsula
Pechora
White Sea
Archangel
Torneå
Kemi
Duina
Lake Onega
Perm
Lake Ladoga
Helsingfors
Gulf of Finland
St. Petersburg
Vologda
Kama
Volga
Oka
Pskov
Riga
Moscow
Samara
Orenburg
Duna
Vilna
Pripet
Warsaw
Kiev
Kharkov
Volga
Astrakhan
Dnieper
Don
Rostov
Theiss
Odessa
Sea of Azov
Crimea
Sevastopol
Bucharest
Danube
Sofia
Adrianople
Constantinople
Sea of Marmora
Salonica
Smyrna
Athens
Cyprus
Crete
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300
50°
40°
30°
20°

E IN 1870

ships which would formerly have gone around through the Danish channels. She still had Iceland and Greenland, far away and unimportant, and a few islands in the West Indies, which she finally sold to the United States. Furthermore, her territory seemed to some of the ambitious German leaders to be properly a German outpost like Holland or Belgium; and increasingly the people of the country lived under the shadow of their mighty neighbor to the south. Meanwhile democracy and constitutional government made progress, though much less rapidly than among the Norwegians. In 1849 a constitution was granted, establishing a *rigsdag* or parliament, but actually government remained in the hands of the king and the upper class, and the ministry was not responsible to representatives of the people any more than it was in Russia. In the latter part of the nineteenth century money was frequently collected as a result of royal decree, and not because appropriation was made by the *folkething* or lower chamber. But the people developed their intensive agriculture and their dairy farming, and established a remarkably successful system of coöperative enterprise, by which middlemen were largely eliminated, and so far improved their economic position that they really became more and more important. Accordingly in 1901 the king granted what he knew they desired, that the ministry should be dependent upon the majority elected to the *folkething* by the people.

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CHAPTER XIII

THE MILITARY TRIUMPHS OF GERMANY, 1864-1871

> The old political science was mistaken when it regarded the Army as nothing but the servant of diplomacy. . . . Such a conception . . . has vanished from our age of universal military service; for we all feel nowadays. . . that the very constitution of the State reposes upon the nation's share in bearing arms.
>
> TREITSCHKE, *Politics* (trans. 1916), ii 389

> The military becomes . . . the true type of human society; some pitiless strategist is a hero; some unscrupulous conspirator is a statesman; and the nation which is the best drilled and the best armed in Europe is to go to the van of modern civilization . . . this we owe to Prussia.
>
> FREDERIC HARRISON in *The Fortnightly Review*, December, 1870.

> Und Trommeln und Pfeifen, das war mein Klang,
> Und Trommeln und Pfeifen, Soldatengesang,
> Ihr Trommeln und Pfeifen, mein Leben lang,
> Hoch Kaiser und Heer!
>
> LILIENCRON (who served as an officer in 1866 and 1870–1)

The German triumphs

SHORTLY after the middle of the nineteenth century there was a succession of wars which seemed important in connection with the unification of Germany and the founding of the German Empire; but seen now, in longer perspective, they have a greater importance, because they shifted the center of power in European affairs, and because the conditions which decided their outcome soon affected the life of every great people in the world. They were the Danish War (1864), the Austro-Prussian War (1866), and the Franco-German War (1870–1). The

first is relatively unimportant now, but the second marked a new era in the history of modern Europe, and the third made the definite ending of an old one. Prussia was seen invincible in battle and of matchless military might.

German military reputation

Afterward the reputation of German military power was held almost as the legend of something strange, uncanny, superhuman. But actually, after it had risen to the height of its power and then been broken to pieces, it was seen to have been the carefully wrought work of men who introduced a new principle into military usage and then perfected their work with wondrous organization and care.

The armies of an earlier age

In the Middle Ages, when the "feudal system" flourished, armies were composed largely of tenants who held land partly on terms of service in war. As the feudal system decayed, armies came to be composed much more of mercenaries or paid soldiers, hired by the ruler of a country, or assembled by some captain who made war a business. Such mercenaries served in the Hundred Years' War between England and France; they did most of the fighting in the wars between the Italian states; and they played a great part in ruining Germany in the Thirty Years' War. As great national governments arose these mercenary soldiers were gathered together under direct authority of the central government. In the seventeenth century Louis XIV of France had a numerous army of paid soldiers; the German princes had smaller ones; and a very small force was maintained in England. It was by building up the largest and best army of this kind in central Europe that Prussia laid the foundations of her greatness. In this system, which continued in effect until the period of the French Revolution, the armies were small in numbers, compared with the total number of people in the country; the soldiers made war their profession, and they were paid for their military service.

The National army in the French Revolution

An innovation came during the Revolution, when the republic was saved by great new armies drawn from all of the nation. "All France and whatsoever it contains of men and resources is put under requisition," said the decree. In so far as this was carried out it substituted the idea of the men of the nation in arms for the older idea of a small force of hired soldiers.

Developed by Prussia

It was the Prussians who really effected this revolution in the organization of war. By the terms of the treaty which followed Jena, Napoleon, desiring permanently to cripple Prussia's military power, limited her army to 42,000 men. But in the years from 1807 to 1813, while Stein and Hardenberg were freeing the serfs and abolishing class distinctions, the army was reorganized by Scharnhorst and Gneisenau, who in order to evade Napoleon's restriction, kept under arms the 42,000 men only long enough to give them the proper military training, and then summoned in succession other forces of equal size. The result of this was that when, in 1813, Prussia rose against the French Empire in the War of Liberation, she was able to put into the field 270,000 well-trained soldiers.

Boyen's Law, 1814

In 1814 the principle that military service was the obligation of the citizen and that the army should be a national force, was embodied in the Military Law of Boyen, which, proclaiming that "Every citizen is bound to defend his Fatherland," provided for universal military service. Every man in Prussia was liable, on becoming twenty years old. He was to serve for three years in the standing army and two years in the reserve; then for fourteen years afterward he might be called to serve in the *landwehr*, and for eleven years thereafter in the *landsturm*. That is to say, there was now organized in Prussia an army of the men of the nation, part of whom were in active service and ready for sudden emergency, while the rest might be mobilized or called out from the various reserves, if the country should need them.

The Prussian army increased

For a long time the importance of this system was not realized outside of Prussia. Even there it was not fully applied, for not all the young men were called to the colors when they came to be twenty years old, and as numbers increased, the proportion of those not called grew steadily larger. In 1860, when the population of Prussia was 18,000,000, with 150,000 young men reaching military age each year, she called into service only 40,000, as had been arranged in 1814 when the population was about 11,000,000. The bitter struggle in 1862, between the king and the Prussian parliament, had to do with enlarging the army by calling each year 65,000 youths. Bismarck was brought into the ministry, and under his guidance the desired reforms were made: the standing army was now increased to 400,000, with double that number of trained reserves in the *landwehr*.

Von Moltke and Von Roon

In 1857 Von Moltke was appointed chief of staff of the Prussian army and two years later Von Roon became minister of war. They were the greatest masters of military organization and preparation since Napoleon. During the nineteenth century European railway systems had grown up and communications had been much altered and improved. Von Moltke realized clearly the importance and the military meaning of these changes and began training the commanders of the Prussian armies in great schemes of maneuver, mobilization, and attack worked out in advance. Not only were plans elaborated in minutest detail for the carrying on of possible wars with other great powers near by, but under Von Roon the most careful arrangements for rapid mobilization were prepared, so that when the hour came each man might quickly know what to do. Military stores and equipment were got together, a splendid artillery was provided, and the "needle-gun," a breech-loading rifle, was adopted for infantry use. By 1864 Prussia had the largest and best-equipped army in the world. Much of this was little

noticed or understood at the time. France was still regarded as the greatest power on the Continent, and most people considered Austria more important than Prussia. But a series of wars now changed all opinion and altered the history of Europe.

Schleswig-Holstein

The first contest, the Danish War, needs little attention. South of Denmark were the two duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, peopled largely by Germans, but joined with Denmark by a personal union, since the Danish king was also duke of Schleswig and of Holstein. Holstein was a member of the Germanic Confederation. Many people in the provinces preferred some connection with their kinsmen in the German Confederation, but the Danish kings desired to attach the provinces more closely to their kingdom. In 1852, the so-called *London Protocol* provided that while the king of Denmark might be duke of Schleswig, the duchy should not be made part of Denmark. In 1863, however, the Danish government attempted to do this very thing. The Germanic diet protested, and, indeed, the Germans desired that Schleswig be admitted to the confederation. Bismarck began now to plan, as he afterward declared, to annex the duchies to Prussia. He contrived to bring it about that Austria, whose measures he had just been opposing, acted with Prussia, and in January 1864, the governments sent an ultimatum demanding that within forty-eight hours the Danish government repeal the constitution which decreed that the provinces be annexed. This demand was purposely so contrived that it could not be accepted, and war was begun. The armies brought against Denmark were more than sufficient to overwhelm her. The Danes attempted to defend themselves behind the *Dannevirke*, a fortified line of defence across the narrowest part of Jutland, but this was soon forced, and the entire peninsula overrun. The Danes soon lost command of the sea, and the invaders carried the war into the islands, which are such

War with Denmark, 1864

an important a part of the kingdom. In August the contest was abandoned; in October the Treaty of Vienna sealed the surrender of Denmark; and Schleswig and Holstein were yielded to the joint possession of Austria and Prussia.

The contest with Austria

Bismarck was about to bring to a crisis the long contest between Austria and his country for leadership among the German peoples. He now plotted to get the duchies for Prussia, and rapidly the relations between Austria and Prussia were strained to the breaking-point. Austria was not well prepared to maintain her contentions, so she agreed to the Convention of Gastein, by which Prussia was to administer Schleswig and she would administer Holstein. Bismarck regarded this merely as a temporary measure, and busied himself so that when the conflict began Austria would be obliged to fight single-handed. He knew that Russia was friendly, and that Great Britain was not disposed to interfere in Continental matters. With France he carried on secret negotiations, which have never been fully revealed but which may have seemed to promise Napoleon territorial gains on the Rhine, and so he made it probable that France would be neutral. With Italy he concluded an alliance early in 1866. This was a dangerous period in Bismarck's career, for his war policy was not popular in Germany; and Austria might make terms with Italy, or else France might intervene. But the hazard passed, as the crisis moved swiftly forward. Austria mobilizing her forces, demanded that the disposition of Schleswig and Holstein be referred to the diet of the confederation. Bismarck declared this a breach of the convention and seized Holstein. Almost all the German states supported Austria, the members voting in the diet that the federal forces should be used against Prussia, and the Austro-Prussian War began in June, 1866.

Austro-Prussian War, 1866

The available Prussian army numbered 660,000 men, well trained. The infantry was armed with the needle-gun, which could be fired three times as rapidly as any

other gun then in use. The artillery numbered 1,000 guns. Opposed to this the Austrians could bring into the field 600,000 men. Their army was based not on universal service like the Prussian, but on the conscript system, in which men could hire substitutes if they wished. Their infantry was armed with muzzle-loading rifles, inferior to the Prussian, though with longer range. Their artillery, 800 guns, also had longer range. Actually, in the contest that followed, the Austrian artillery was effectively handled, but the campaign was decided by infantry fighting. The Prussians had to use part of their forces against the smaller German states, but the Austrians were compelled to detach part of their army to act against the Italians in the south.

Königgrätz

The great contest was fought between Austria and Prussia. The Austrians might have taken the offensive, but they resolved to await the attack. What followed astonished the world. With great skill the Prussian armies were moved through the mountain passes into Bohemia, and despite all the efforts which the enemy could make they were united at Königgrätz. There, after stubborn resistance, the Austrians were totally defeated. A few days more and Vienna was at the mercy of the invaders. In less than six weeks Prussia had overcome all the smaller states and destroyed Austria's military power completely. Not since Napoleon's time had such rapidity of movement and such appalling strength been shown. In reality Prussia was now the first military power in the world. As a result of the Treaty of Prague which followed, the old confederation was dissolved. Prussia became the head of a new confederation of the north German states, she annexed Schleswig and Holstein, and various other territories from those who had opposed her, and Venetia was acquired by Italy.

Prussia and France

Out of this war presently emerged the causes of a third great struggle, this time between Germany and France.

Such a war ought never to have come between civilized peoples; but such were conditions that it is hard to see how it could have been avoided. Among the French there was growing uneasiness that their leadership in Europe was being taken by a new, upstart state. The government of Napoleon III had passed the days of its popularity, and Bonapartist leaders believed that only some great success in foreign policy or in war could restore it in the people's estimation. Napoleon and French statesmen had expected Austria to win in 1866, and had probably never intended to allow her to be so badly defeated that the political balance in Europe would be altered; but the struggle ended before they could intervene or protest. They were bitterly disappointed that France was not allowed to get territorial compensations, when Prussia had just made such gains; for not only did France get no German territory along the Rhine, but when Napoleon strove to acquire Luxemburg, Bismarck opposed it and assisted in bringing about the neutralization of that country in 1867. The position of France in Europe had diminished through mere change of circumstances elsewhere, and the French people felt instinctively that something was wrong. Among them, therefore, arose the idea that there must be "Revenge for Sadowa" (Königgrätz). It is probably true that the great majority of the French people had no desire for war with Prussia, but the demand for action was skilfully cried about by the press which was controlled and cleverly manipulated by those who preferred to have war. Actually the French leaders tried to form an alliance with Austria and Italy, and some arrangements were made for coöperation between Austrian and French armies against Prussia, to take place in 1871.

Policy of Napoleon III

The machinations of Bismarck were more culpable and far more cold-blooded. Desiring the completer union of the German states, he believed that a successful war, particularly against France the traditional enemy, would serve

The plotting of Bismarck

to bring them together in a burst of patriotic ardor. He afterward said he had not believed the unification of Germany would be accomplished so long as France could prevent it, and that it would be necessary first to overthrow her in battle. He felt certain, moreover, that Prussia would win, and so be raised higher in Europe than ever before. So, he desired war with France, and plotted with all his craft and skill to bring it about. These feelings were not yet shared by most of the German people; but in Germany also the press was so controlled and manipulated as to hasten on the contest as much as could be.

The Ems Dispatch

The direct cause was not an important matter. The throne of Spain becoming vacant was offered to a member of the Hohenzollern family. France fearing Prussian influence in Spain, when it was elsewhere growing so rapidly, dispatched an arrogant note demanding Prince Leopold's withdrawal. Bismarck believed that this was the opportunity which he had been seeking to get war with France, but the king of Prussia caused his relative's name to be withdrawn. The leaders of the French war party now gave Bismarck the opportunity he sought. The French government demanded that under no circumstances should Leopold be a candidate in the future. The king of Prussia, then at the village of Ems, rejected this demand, firmly but courteously enough, and then telegraphed to Bismarck an account of what he had done, authorizing him to publish the news. Bismarck deliberately, as he afterward boasted, condensed the king's words so cunningly that the result was certain to seem insulting to the French, while at the same time the Prussian people would believe that their sovereign had been insulted by the insolence of the ambassador of France. The French people easily fell into the trap, for immediately on publication of what seemed to them such an affront, war was declared. And so well had the thing been contrived that the war was very popular in Germany. All the

North German Confederation immediately gave support to Prussia, and the south German states followed after them also. It was war between France and a Germany united.

The Franco-German War, 1870-1

Seldom has any country ever been so quickly triumphant as Prussia, and seldom has any people been humbled and overthrown as were the French. In after days nothing so convinced men that German armies were unconquerable as memory of their victories in the Franco-German War. Not until the Battle of the Marne, forty-five years later, was the legend of German invincibility disturbed, and not till the very end of the Great War could it be completely destroyed. Actually, however, it is evident that the German military organization, with its system of universal training, had been developed with the most careful arrangement for the contest, while France went into the struggle almost unprepared.

France not prepared

Although a new law had just been passed to some extent adopting the Prussian system, yet the French army, like the Austrian, was still based on the old principle of conscription and hiring of soldiers, which produced a standing army without the great mass of reserves behind it which came from the Prussian method. The total force was supposed to be about 600,000 men. The French did, indeed, have a better rifle than the Germans; and they were beginning to use the *mitrailleuse*, an early type of the machine or rapid-fire gun, but this weapon was not yet generally effective nor a decisive factor in war. The entire French military organization at this time was suffering from decay and poor administration. Plans of mobilization had not been effectively worked out, and supplies and munitions were lacking. Actually when the war began France was able to move down to the frontier 270,000 men with 925 cannon; and during the first phase of the war not many more were ever put into the field. These forces were moved quickly, in the hope of taking the

offensive, but there was considerable confusion, in which troops were moved without supplies and officers could not find their detachments. A slight offensive into Germany was begun, but in face of the ominous movements of German troops, it was at once abandoned, and the French troops prepared to try to repel the German invaders.

Prussia ready

The French leaders had mistakenly boasted that their army was ready "to the last button," but the Prussians were completely ready. Everything apparently had been thought out beforehand, and every emergency provided for. The entire plan was ready, and all details of the mobilization worked out. It was well known that a French advance must take place along the railroad through Alsace and the railroad through Lorraine. With extraordinary accuracy the German staff predicted in its calculations just how far the French could be by a certain time. Calculations about their own movements were made no less truly. While the French were beginning to discover how little ready they were for the war into which they had gone so rashly, the German troops were brought down to the frontier with speed and precision almost never seen before. The Germans had, all told, a million well-trained troops. Of this number they moved forward nearly 500,000 with 1,584 guns, and had them across into France in little more than two weeks. The way had been prepared by an army of spies, who did all they could to confuse the French movements and collected information for the Germans.

First phase of the war

Outnumbered two to one in men and in cannons, and fighting against an enemy as brave and resourceful as themselves, the French were overwhelmed from the start. They were in two armies, one under the emperor in Lorraine, the other, under MacMahon in Alsace. The advancing Germans fell upon them both, to keep them from uniting, and on the same day won two victories, at Wörth in Alsace and at Spicheren in Lorraine. The French fought bravely, though they were not led with aggressive-

ness and skill, but they were smothered by the superior artillery, and crushed by the masses of German infantry. Their northern army now retreated toward the fortress of Metz, while the southern one abandoned Alsace, the Germans following with little delay. August 18, the northern army, now commanded by Bazaine, was defeated in the battle of Gravelotte-St. Privat, and took refuge within the fortifications of Metz. A smaller army was left to surround it, while all the rest of the German forces hastened after the other French command. By a series of magnificent strategic moves Moltke presently drove MacMahon into the town of Sedan on the Meuse, where he was pushed back until his huddled troops were commanded by the German artillery, placed on the surrounding hills. Vainly the French strove to break through the ring so swiftly put about them. September 1st, their entire army surrendered, and the emperor was among the captives.

The second phase

France was now completely defeated, and, had the conditions of modern warfare been more clearly understood then, the French people might have abandoned the struggle. One of their armies had just surrendered. The other was surrounded; and the event was to prove that Bazaine's army could not escape. The German armament and equipment were so powerful that, as in the Great War, it was found almost impossible to break their lines when they occupied entrenched positions. Accordingly, the regular army of France was now lost, and she had no trained reserves like the Germans, because she had had nothing like the Prussian system of universal military training. None the less she had not lost her courage. In 1918, when the German armies were tottering, but not yet completely beaten, Germany did not prolong the struggle, but drew back her soldiers and surrendered her ships without any further attempt. In 1870 it was not so with the French. The government of Napoleon was overturned,

a republic established, and the new government sought peace; but it refused to cede a stone of the fortresses or an inch of the soil of France. Bismarck was resolved to have conquests in France, and so the struggle continued. The German armies closed in upon Paris, while detachments spread conquest wide over the country.

The rising of the French people

The effort made by the French people was amazing. They called out the manhood of the nation, and raised armies of 1,800,000 men. But they were armies only in name. The men had had no military training. It was impossible to get enough capable officers and commanders, and most of the military stores and equipment had been lost. In vain did they try to purchase supplies and munitions abroad; they got inferior goods at outrageous prices, and there was not sufficient time to get enough of anything, even so. Such was their energy that they did put large forces in the field; but during the awful winter of 1870–1, while France suffered fearfully and her soldiers endured terrible losses, the new armies never gained against the inferior numbers of the German troops a single substantial victory. It was not even necessary for the Germans to draw to any extent on their reserves across the Rhine. They held the fortresses, Belfort, Strassburg, Metz, and the fortified camp of Paris in grip of iron; and directed their principal effort to the taking of Paris. For four months that great city held out through a dreadful siege, and finally a heavy bombardment. Provisions gave out and there was appalling suffering from the cold of winter and increasing famine. The old people and the young children died, as is ever the case. One by one, save for Belfort, the other fortresses surrendered. In Paris a great citizen army was raised, but it was ill-trained and insubordinate, and not able to break the lines of the besiegers. Gradually all hope of deliverance from outside was abandoned. The Germans everywhere defeated and scattered the raw levies raised against them, and occupied

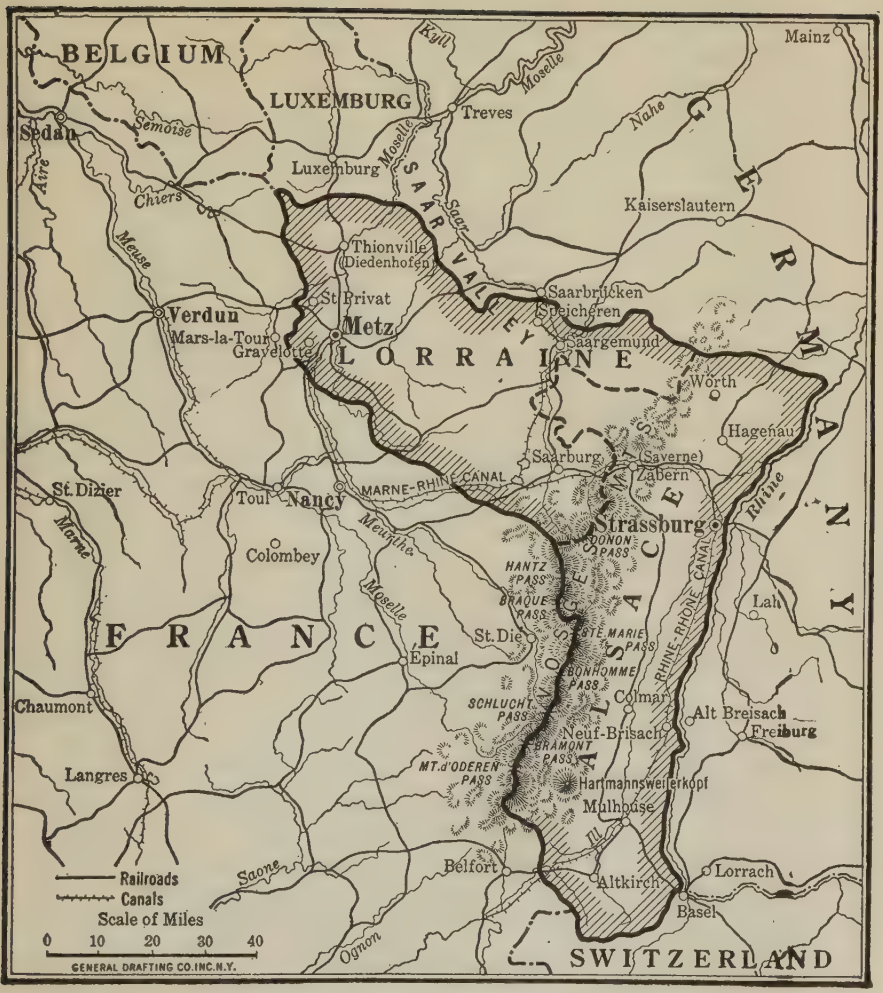
more and more of the country. They acted with much harshness and severity, attempting to discourage the formation of the new armies, shooting down as *franc-tireurs* those who tried to defend their country without uniform or part in regular military organization, taking hostages, imposing fines and ransoms, and burning some places in reprisal; not so hardly and so terribly as when they reentered France in 1914, but in a manner that was ominous of the future.

The Treaty of Frankfort

January 28, 1871, Paris surrendered, and the war was brought to an end. The triumph of the Germans was complete. By the Treaty of Frankfort (1871), France ceded Alsace and most of Lorraine, agreed to pay an indemnity of $1,000,000,000, and granted favorable commercial terms to her foe. The result was that France lost for the next two generations the primacy in Europe she had so long enjoyed; that her frontier was now weaker and Paris the capital left much more exposed than before; that she was to crouch in fear before an all-powerful and arrogant Germany for the next forty years; that German manufactures, because of the favorable terms which were granted, were to make it impossible for France to enter upon great commercial development; that Germany would thereafter feel invincible and superior and so behave; and that since the entire cost of the war, at the utmost, had been to her not so much as $500,000,000, she, receiving double that sum, would believe in the future that all her wars would bring conquests, and that the defeated enemy would always pay and reward her with booty.

Founding of the German Empire

January 18, 1871, just before the surrender of Paris and the culmination of their triumph, William I, king of Prussia, was proclaimed German emperor in the Hall of Mirrors of the Palace of Versailles. The South German states were now willing to join the North German Confederation, and so, form an empire, the *Deutsches Reich*. Thus was accomplished the task for which German patriots



19. ALSACE-LORRAINE

Culmination of Bismarck's work

and statesmen had so long been striving. Fulfilment was possible now because of the unbounded enthusiasm of the German people in the midst of their common triumph, and because of the ardent spirit of nationalism which their efforts and victories called forth. Expectation of this was one of the principal reasons why Bismarck had hoped for the war.

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CHAPTER XIV

THE GROWTH OF THE NEW GERMAN EMPIRE

Die deutsche Nation ist trotz ihrer alten Geschichte das jüngste unter den grossen Völkern Westeuropas.

HEINRICH VON TREITSCHKE, *Deutsche Geschichte im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (1879), i. 1.

Seldom, if ever, has a country experienced such a tremendous economic development in such a short time as the German Empire. . . .

PRINCE BERNHARD VON BÜLOW, *Imperial Germany* (translated by M. A. Lewenz, 1914), pp. 248, 249.

Greatness of the German Empire

To THE people of the new German Empire the period following their military triumphs brought unparalleled prosperity and power. The years from 1871 to 1914 were like a mighty epic, or a paean of triumph, grander and more splendid in time's progress. Such increase had probably never been seen anywhere else before. In modern times it was rivalled only by the rise of Japan, and the growth of the United States. Sometimes there comes in a people's life vast quickening of spirit and hope, when it seems that youth will never depart, and boundless confidence and boundless ambition accompany limitless strength. Such a time had come to Italians in the days of the Renaissance; Englishmen had it under Elizabeth and Pitt; Frenchmen in the French Revolution. It came to Germans after 1870. In industry, in commerce, in population, in wealth, and in power they went forward with amazing strides, until they believed that before them lay the destiny of men who would rule all of the world.

Causes of success

This success came from many causes: from the union at last achieved; from the splendid qualities of the people themselves; from the excellence of their educational system; from altered conditions respecting industry and trade which were working now in their favor; and from the German genius for organization, applied now to winning triumphs in peace as it had been used to get victory in war. The system of government established was very interesting. Apparently control was vested in representatives of the people, but in reality the constitution was carefully devised to retain actual power for the upper class supporting an autocratic ruler at the top.

The government of the empire

Ministerial government

Like most nineteenth-century constitutions in Europe, it followed the form of the English system of ministry and elected legislature. Generally speaking, wherever the cabinet system prevails in any form, the test of the government being controlled by the people is that the executive shall depend upon the support of the majority of representatives elected by the voters, and that these representatives shall really make the laws, grant the taxes, and control the spending of public money.

In respect of these things it is instructive to study the government of the German Empire established in 1871, which was substantially the government of the preceding North German Confederation made in 1867. The *Deutsches Reich* was a federation consisting of twenty-five states and the *reichsland*, Alsace-Lorraine. It was ruled by the *kaiser* (emperor), who was the king of Prussia, the *bundesrat* (council of the federation), and the *reichstag* (representative assembly of the empire). The only part of this system which was directly or indirectly controlled by the people was the *reichstag;* and the effect of the constitution was to concentrate a great part of all the power in the hands of the *kaiser*.

The German system

The *reichstag*

The *reichstag* was elected by the voters, men of twenty-five years or older. Its functions were to assist in making

the laws and to pass appropriations of money. But it was defective in its representation and it had not very much real power. There was no reapportionment of representation as population shifted from one district to another, notably from country to the cities, so that after a while there were as striking inequalities in representation as had prevailed in England before electoral reform. Moreover, appropriations of money were often made by the *reichstag* for periods of years, so that it lost much of the power which comes from steady control of the purse; and no important piece of legislation could be passed without the consent of the *bundesrat*.

Parliamentary representation

The *bundesrat* was not, properly speaking, an upper house of the legislature. It was composed of members sent by the various states of the federation, representing not the people but the rulers and governments of these states, bound to vote in accordance with instructions given by these governments, and acting really as ambassadors of the princes who sent them. No law could be passed without the assent of the *bundesrat*, and as laws usually originated there, legislative power was in the *bundesrat*, not in the *reichstag*. But as Prussia could always control enough votes in the *bundesrat* to prevent the passage of a measure, government was really in the keeping of Prussia, which had, indeed, three fifths of the population and two thirds of the territory of the empire.

The *bundesrat*

Prussia had the most backward government in the empire. The legislative power was vested in the *landtag* (assembly) of two chambers or houses. The upper consisted of princes and others appointed by the king as hereditary members or for life. The lower contained members elected by the voters under the famous system of three-class voting. "The primary voters," said the Prussian Constitution of 1850, "shall be divided into three classes in proportion to the amount of direct taxes they pay, and in such a manner as that each class shall represent a third of

The government of Prussia

the sum total of the taxes paid by the primary voters." The result of this was that two thirds of the representation and the control of the lower house were given to one sixth of the voters, who composed the upper and wealthiest class. In Berlin it came to be that a rich man's vote was worth the votes of fifty poor ones. Moreover, the king of Prussia had an absolute veto upon legislation, and, in practice, initiated such laws as were passed. That is to say, the government of Prussia, which in effect controlled the government of the empire, was in the hands of the king of Prussia and the upper class. This class was made up of the industrial magnates and especially of the nobles and great landowners, the *junkers*.

Junkers and *kaiser*

The *junkers* were among the most aristocratic and conservative people in Europe. They constituted an upper class apart from the people, having the social superiority of the aristocracy in England, but much more influence and power. If they could retain their privileges, they would support the king without flinching. Accordingly, in last resort the real power in the government of Prussia was in the hands of the king, and the real government of the empire was also in his hands as emperor. The Prussian constitution implied the doctrine of divine right, which the emperor often asserted. "Looking upon myself as the instrument of the Lord," he said in 1910, "without regard to contemporary opinions and intentions, I go my way." He possessed the executive power, he appointed the important officials, he controlled in effect the *bundesrat*, and his ministers were not responsible to the *reichstag*. In 1913 the chancellor told the members of the *reichstag* explicitly that he was responsible to the emperor, not to them.

William I 1871-1888

In 1871, William I, already for ten years king of Prussia, became first emperor of the new state. He was an elderly man when he came to Prussia's throne, already conservative with age, but always he had been slow, steady, and

strong, honorable and just as he saw the right. He had served against Napoleon in the War of Liberation, and all through his life he was fond of his army and delighted in military things. He was filled with the old Prussian idea of the high position of kings, and believed thoroughly in divine right of monarchs. "The kings of Prussia receive their crowns from God," he said. The gigantic success of Germany during his years threw a halo about his person and added to the prestige of the crown. Actually during his reign the destinies of the empire were guided by his trusted servant, Bismarck, whose ideas about government were always much like his own.

Frederick III, 1838

During the long, splendid reign of William I, then, there could be little tendency toward a parliamentary system of government or greater control by the people. It seemed that this might come about in the time of his son, Frederick III, who disliked Bismarck, and was disposed to alter the Prussian conception of kingship, and favor parliamentary control. But he had long been suffering from cancer in the throat, and when at last, in 1888, he came to the throne he reigned only three months, and his ideas left no permanent trace.

William II, 1888-1918

The third and last of the sovereigns of the German Empire was William II. He had been a great admirer of Bismarck and his system and he cherished the olden ideas. "The king's will is the supreme law," he declared on one occasion. Strong in mind, vigorous and aggressive, he tried to take part in all things. It is difficult to estimate his ability, and his character remains an enigma. So brilliant was his success for a time that some considered him a genius, while there were not a few who whispered that he was headstrong, irresponsible, and rash. There can be no doubt, however, that like his grandfather, he tolerated the *reichstag*, looked upon the ministers as his ministers, and was resolved to abate his prerogative not a bit. He loved to conceive of himself as medieval lord or

strong knight. Accordingly, during his time there was little change in the German constitution, or in the spirit of administering it, which tended to bring greater participation or control by the German people.

Origin of the German system

The German system had developed from circumstances very different from those which prevailed in England and the United States. The English-speaking peoples, protected by the sea, were generally safe from the attacks of their foes; and in this favorable condition slowly they developed government controlled by the people. It was very different in Germany and in Prussia. Prussia had no natural frontiers to protect her. For ages Germany was despised by her enemies because she was weak and divided, and in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries her people endured almost everything that invading armies and lawless soldiery could inflict upon them. Small wonder that at last they desired above all things the strength of union, and prized much more the security which a strong ruler could give than a system of parliamentary self-government. It had been so in France before the Hundred Years' War was over, and in England after the fifteenth century. In both countries strong, centralized, and despotic government arose and flourished for a long time, and divine right was cherished by many of the people. Evil conditions had continued longer in Germany, and the consequences had persisted longer. At the end of the nineteenth century there were many who desired the greater liberalization of their government, and hoped that soon there might be a system more like that of England, with ministers responsible to the will of the people; but there were a great many who declared that the German system was not only better for the German people but really superior to the other. They said that the personal liberty of the Anglo-Saxon peoples was only license, that parliamentary control could never make Germany so strong or well fitted for the greatness before her; that while their government might be

"autocratic," it was far more efficient than the "democratic" systems of America and Britain; and that it was able to give to its subjects far greater happiness and good. They were governed from the top, but they were governed well and were better off, so they said, than any other people in the world. Many things were forbidden (*verboten*) but this was only restricting the behavior of individuals for the greater good of them all.

Excellent municipal government

It should be said that in one respect the Germans undoubtedly had more success than Americans, though not more than the British. The government of their cities was clean, efficient, and well-administered, as British municipal government came to be. It is well known that the people of the United States have been far less successful, and that especially since the Civil War the government of their cities has frequently been characterized by poor management, corruption, graft, and wasting of public money.

Economic advance

The unification of Germany brought wonderful prosperity, and this strengthened and justified the government which had been set up. After the *Zollverein* was formed, and especially after the North German Confederation and Empire, in almost every form of endeavor the German people went forward so far, that it seemed at last only a matter of time when they would be first in whatever they attempted.

Agriculture

In the middle of the nineteenth century Germany was mainly an agricultural country. For most people living was hard, since the soil was poor; and accordingly in spite of the industry of the people the wealth of the country was low. All through the following period, however, the most careful fertilizing and the best methods which science devised were applied, so that as time went on yields were increased. Moreover, Germany imposed protective duties to aid the agricultural classes. This was done not only because of the political influence of the *junkers*, but because the government desired that the country continue

to raise as much of its food as could be. The result was well seen when the Great War came. Germany, blockaded though she was, held out for more than four years.

Industrial growth

Far more important was industrial growth. In the second half of the nineteenth century the German people left their hamlets and towns, and went to the cities, which increased so wondrously that whereas in 1871 half of the population had been engaged in agriculture, in 1914 it was less than a third. Berlin grew as fast as Chicago in the New World, and cities which had been quiet places since the Thirty Years' War awaked and expanded and became vast emporiums in a lifetime. Up and down the valley of the Rhine, in Saxony, and in Prussia, there were huge factories and forests of chimneys as in central England, or in Pittsburgh, or Detroit.

Coal and iron

The Germans were fortunate in having the basis of great industrial development in great stores of coal and iron. After 1871 coal production was prodigiously increased; and in course of time Germany came to be the greatest producer, except for the United States, of pig-iron and steel. Before the Franco-German War the German state had no great supply of iron ore, but in Lorraine the new empire acquired a part of the Briey Basin, the greatest deposit of ore in Europe. The deposit, which is "low-grade" was not deemed very valuable until the later discovery of a new process of extraction of iron from the ore. In 1910 the German Empire drew from the Lorraine fields some 4,870,000 metric tons out of 7,000,000. It was afterward said, with some reason, perhaps, that had the Germans realized the value of this possession, they would have taken all of it when they made the Treaty of Frankfort.

Causes of industrial success

The Germans entered upon their industrial revolution later than the English or the French, but they could thus profit by the experience of those who had gone before; and it was soon found that the genius of the German for organization and study of details was admirably adapted

for the large-scale production of the later stages of the Industrial Revolution. German workmen were accustomed to work for low wages industriously for long hours. The rapidly increasing population furnished an abundant supply of labor, while the excellent system of education, particularly of technical instruction, made these workmen able to sustain any competition. In no other country was there such immense scientific activity and especially such successful adaptation of science to practical uses. The Germans made few brilliant discoveries, but by enormous industry and patient research they greatly extended scientific knowledge and then used it in furthering their industry and arts. Soon German goods were being sold all over the world. At first they were sold because of their cheapness rather than their worth, but presently they were so much improved that their reputation was everywhere known. The result of this was that in industrial output Germany finally exceeded every one of her rivals save only the United States.

Protection

The rising industry was protected by high customs duties. This device had been common in the Middle Ages and later, and was well-known in the United States. England somewhat earlier had adopted the policy of free trade, but Bismarck was convinced that *laissez-faire* was wrong and that industry and commerce should be regulated and fostered by the state. In 1879 he abandoned free trade and caused the adoption of a protective tariff. The result was tremendous stimulation of the industries of the empire.

Commercial development

Along with this industrial expansion went enormous increases in commerce. Some Germans in the Middle Ages had been great mariners and merchants, and masters of the Hanseatic League were long renowned. But with the discovery of America, the change of trade routes, and the decline of German power, all of this completely disappeared, and in the early part of the nineteenth century

German ships were seldom seen in foreign ports. After the middle of the century came a change. Gradually a vast fleet of ships was created, the government assisting by subsidies and state supervision. After 1900 the *Hamburg-American* and the *North German Lloyd* steamship companies had few rivals anywhere in the world. Hamburg was the greatest sea-port on the continent, and from a lowly position Germany had in shipping and commerce passed all her competitors except England.

Trade expansion

As a consequence of this development great quantities of German goods were sold all over the world. Gradually the Russian market came largely under German control, immense progress was made in South America, and there was no part of the world where German merchants and traders were not seen. They displayed great ingenuity and skill in opening new markets. They not only tried to make cheaper goods, and sometimes better goods, but they took great pains to study their customers' desires and then suit their wishes. The attitude of the English and others was that the customer, if he bought, must buy the goods as the manufacturer made them. The Germans sent out commercial representatives to study the markets, find what customers wanted, and offer them easy terms. As the most enterprising young men of Britain went out to govern or work in the colonial possessions, so from Germany they went out to reside in other countries, learn the language of the inhabitants, their customs, and wishes, and establish business connections with them. Not all the success that followed came merely from the care of German merchants and their representatives abroad. Not a little of it was because the government constantly lent powerful assistance to forwarding and increasing German trade; and some of the methods by which this was accomplished afterward seemed insidious and unfair, not unlike those by which "trusts" and monopolies were built up in the United States.

National wealth

This making and selling of goods was accompanied by tremendous growth in population and wealth. Before the empire the Germans were a poor people. The wealthy states were Great Britain and France, with the United States of America rising up like a giant and presently surpassing them both. But in the two generations after 1871 Germany accumulated vast stores of wealth until she overtook and passed older rivals. Just before the Great War it was estimated that the wealth of France was perhaps more than 50 billion dollars, that of Great Britain between 80 and 90, that of the German Empire between 80 and 90, that of the United States about 200 billions. By that time indeed, it was believed that Germany had passed every rival except the United States, though she always remained at immeasurable distance behind that wealthy and fortunate country.

Growth of population

Marvellous achievement and increasing wealth were partly the cause and partly the result of increase in number of people. In 1816 there were within the limits of what afterward became the empire 24,000,000 people. In 1837 the number had risen to 31,000,000; the German Empire began in 1871 with 41,000,000; by 1890 there were 49,000,000; in 1900, 56,000,000; in 1910, 65,000,000; and in 1914 the number was believed to be little short of 70,000,000. By that time the increase was nearly a million a year. During the nineteenth century the population of Great Britain had risen from 10,500,000 to 36,000,000; that of France from 27,000,000 to barely 40,000,000. At the beginning of that century France had been the most populous of the highly civilized states of Europe; but just before the war she had been so far displaced that Germany had nearly twice as many people. This increase made Germany more powerful, and also richer, since it constantly gave her a larger number of workingmen who labored and produced goods and wealth. The country seemed well able to support them. Once

Belief in need for more territory

there had been a large emigration of Germans to America and other places, but this had come altogether to an end, and all her people now found employment. None the less, it was increasingly apparent that so large a number, as was the case with England, could not be fed from the country's own resources, and that they could be maintained only so long as Germany made goods which she was able to sell in other countries. As time went on this was more difficult, and, as will be seen, there was increasing belief that she must have more territory to accommodate her enlarging population, that she required colonies, and ought to have her own sources of supply of raw materials.

Contest with the church

The first of the great domestic problems which confronted the new empire was a struggle with its Catholic subjects. The Reformation made Germany Protestant, but the Counter-Reformation won many of the people back to the older faith, and a little later the result of the Thirty Years' War left the German people partly in Protestant and partly in Catholic states. After 1648 there was little trouble, since with respect to religion the different states went their own way, unhampered by the weak government of the Holy Roman Empire which bound them together so loosely. But the empire founded in 1871 bound firmly together Protestant north Germany and the Catholics of the Rhine and the south, and brought them all under a strong central power. It is said that Bismarck wished to assert the supremacy of the state power over the church. The occasion was ready at hand. In 1870 the Vatican Council affirmed the doctrine that the pope, speaking *ex cathedra*, or in the capacity of pontiff, was infallible, not able to err. This doctrine, so counter to many of the tendencies of the time, was not assented to by some of the German Catholics. Accordingly, they were excommunicated, attacked by the orthodox Catholic clergy, deprived of positions, and denied participation in the rites of the church. They appealed to the government

for protection, and at this point Bismarck intervened. It seemed to him and to others that the doctrine of papal infallibility implied superiority of the church over the state. Accordingly a religious conflict began, famous then and since as the *Kulturkampf* (struggle for civilization). Strong measures were taken: religious orders were forbidden to teach and Jesuits were expelled from Germany. Then in the Falk Laws, passed in Prussia, 1873–5, the state was given control over the education and appointment of clergy, and some control over the dismissal of priests; a law was passed making civil marriage compulsory; and all religious orders were suppressed.

The *Kulturkampf*

A bitter conflict ensued. Catholics protested; the pope declared the laws of no effect; the clergy refused to obey them and were supported by the strict Catholics in their congregations. Those who disobeyed were punished by fine and imprisonment, and the most recalcitrant were expelled from the country. Soon many bishoprics were vacant; everywhere churches were closed and religious services suspended; and presently there was the trouble and disturbance of life that had used to follow conflict between church and state in the Middle Ages. The contest was hard and prolonged. "We shall not go to Canossa," said Bismarck, recalling the old-time victory of Pope Gregory VII. But Bismarck could not win complete triumph. Under persecution the Catholics rallied and strengthened their resistance. In 1871 a Catholic Party had been organized, and, as the party of the Center, had become important in the *reichstag*. Now it became the largest one in that body. The policy of sternness accomplished but little. Bismarck antagonized one of the most conservative elements in the empire, and presently he needed the assistance of conservatives against what seemed to him the rising tide of socialist and radical agitation. Accordingly most of the anti-clerical laws were repealed, though civil marriage and state regulation of schools were retained. By

Bismarck retreats

1887 the conflict was at an end, the Catholic Party abandoned opposition and gave Bismarck the support which he needed for a policy which it approved. After that time the Center Party, the strongest and most solid in the empire, remained on guard, ever watchful of its own peculiar interests.

The socialists

The conflict to which Bismarck and German conservatives now turned was with socialism, which had lately been making rapid progress. The socialists were considered dangerous and unpatriotic. These were the first glorious years of the new empire, when Germans were aglow with patriotic pride; but Liebknecht and Bebel and others had opposed the North German Confederation, the empire, the war with France, and the taking of Alsace-Lorraine. They cared not for military glory and greatness of dominion but the rise and betterment of men and women. They had no admiration for Bismarck or Moltke and not much for the emperor and his court. As these radicals got to be better known they became more hated and feared. The governing and conservative classes dreaded the undoing of the great work just accomplished; the emperor looked upon socialists as enemies of himself, and Bismarck longed for a chance to repress them completely. It was largely for this reason, because he regarded socialists as more dangerous than clericals, that he ended the *Kulturkampf*. In 1878, in swift succession, two attempts to assassinate William were made by socialist adherents. Socialists denounced these deeds and disclaimed all responsibility for them; but there was a great wave of anger, and it seemed that the time was at hand for crushing socialism in Germany completely.

Repression of the socialists

Bismarck now entered upon another campaign of persecution and repression, like that against the Catholics, from which he was just drawing back. In 1878 a drastic law forbade all publications, all gatherings, all associations having "socialistic tendencies." Martial law might be

UNITED KINGDOM
OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND IRELAND
SCOTLAND
IRELAND
NORTH
SEA
WALES
ENGLAND
London
HOLLAND
BELGIUM
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
Brest
Paris
FRANCE
Lyons
Toulouse
Marseilles
CORSICA
SWITZ
LUXEM
BURG
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
Madrid
SPAIN
SARDINIA
Gibraltar
MEDITERRANEAN
GENERAL DRAFTING CO. INC., N.Y.

St.Petersburg
Stockholm
SWEDEN
BALTIC SEA
RUSSIAN
EMPIRE
EMPIRE
Warsaw
Berlin
Prague
Cracow
Vienna
Budapest
MOLDAVIA
WALLACHIA
BLACK SEA
Belgrade
TURKISH
EMPIRE
Constantinople
GREECE
SICILY

IN 1871

used so that the government could easily get rid of socialists by removing them from the protection of the civil courts. This legislation reënacted remained in force until 1890. During that time it was sternly applied, a great number of socialist publications were stopped, and many socialists imprisoned or expelled from the country. But again this whole policy of repression was a failure. Under persecution, leaders and their disciples became bolder and more active; and their doctrines, now brought to the attention of more people, won many new converts. The Socialist Party grew steadily in this time of degradation, and by 1890 was thrice as large as in the year when the persecution began. By that time it was so clear that Bismarck's policy was a failure that the repressive measures were dropped.

State socialism

Yet he was largely successful because he employed another method against them. He himself became one of the foremost leaders in social reform in Europe, and undertook to have the state do the best of what he thought the socialists were striving to bring about. In effect he went further than any statesman before him in establishing state socialism and so leaving the socialists with nothing to fight for. He and the emperor strongly believed that the best interests of the state lay in advancing the welfare of the working class, that the state should interest itself more than previously in assisting those who needed help, and that then the workingmen would cease to go after socialist leaders. The measures which Bismarck proposed encountered almost as much opposition as, thirty years later, the reforms of Mr. Lloyd George in England; conservatives were alarmed at such innovation, and socialists denounced them as not touching the root of the evils which they promised to cure. Gradually, however, the program was carried through. In 1883 a Sickness Insurance Law was passed, the employer to pay a part and the employee a larger part of the necessary premiums. In 1884 and 1885 Accident

Insurance Laws were passed, the employer to insure all his employees entirely at his own expense. In 1889 came an Old Age Insurance Law, the premiums to be paid by the employers, the employees, and the state.

Government and people

This legislation was revolutionary in the nineteenth century. It was afterward widely studied, and was being more and more followed before the Great War temporarily ended social amendment. In Germany it had great success. The Socialist Party, it is true, constantly increased the number of its adherents. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that by 1914 a great many Germans considered themselves better taken care of by their government than any other people in the world; and it is probably true that nowhere else had the state been so successful in getting rid of the worst forms of misery and distress. There were many poor people in Germany, toiling for scanty wages and working for very long hours, but nowhere the fearful poverty and physical deterioration to be seen in the slums of the English cities or the worst places in the United States. The German government was guaranteeing a certain minimum to its people, to make them content, and to provide that the state might not be weakened by losing their service. All this contributed, moreover, to the centralization of the powers of the government and the greater supremacy of the state.

Slow progress of democracy in the empire

Usually the progress of industrialism, which caused large numbers of people to come together in manufacturing centers, and the spread of education, which made the masses of the people more capable of self-government and also more interested in governing themselves, had brought about larger participation by the people in their government and increasing desire for more share. So it had been for a long time in England and in France, in the Scandinavian countries, in Belgium and Holland, and there had long been persistent efforts made by a few people in Russia. In Germany, where one of the widest and most

effective systems of education had prevailed throughout the nineteenth century, and where for the past fifty years there had been unceasing drift of people from the farms to the cities, the progress of democracy always seemed very slow before the disasters of the Great War.

Causes

This was partly because of old associations and traditions. In England self-government and democracy grew up slowly and painfully through a long course of time; they were inherited by the English colonists of America and there developed under still more favorable conditions; in France they were violently begun during the time of the French Revolution, and then after repeated failures they were gradually established. Germans, too, had sought these things and tried to bring them about, but they were always confronted with the more pressing problem of unification, which England and France had long before achieved. When finally German unity was effected, it was brought about under the leadership of Prussia, always less influenced by democratic tendencies than the south and the west. It was the ideas of Bismarck and the conservatives which predominated in making the constitution of the empire. It was a pity that the unification could not have been accomplished by liberal and peaceful Germans instead of through conquest and force. In 1870 Émile Ollivier, French premier, who strove so hard to avert war with Prussia, urged his countrymen not to oppose "the natural movement of German unity." "If," he said, "we allow it to complete itself quietly by successive stages, it will not give supremacy to the barbarous and sophistical Germany, it will assure it to the Germany of intellect and culture. War, on the other hand, would establish, during a time impossible to calculate, the domination . . . of the *junkers* and the pedants." So it was. Great success in the wars strengthened the conservatives who had brought them about and disarmed their opponents. Afterward it seemed to many Germans that their country,

surrounded by older powers and, perhaps, by enemies, could only keep her position by being strong and ever on guard. All through Bismarck's period, therefore, the central government retained its power and its hold on the affection of most of the people. As conditions altered and a larger number desired some change, it was always possible for the ruling class to divert their attention or thwart their wishes. So long as the immense prosperity and expansion of the German Empire continued, there were not a great many who would resolutely oppose the rulers; and generally the prosperity continued.

The government resists reform

Moreover, Germany of the twentieth century had mighty ambitions, constantly taught to her people, which alarmed other European powers, and in the years 1904–7 a combination of France, Russia, and England was effected. To the inhabitants of these countries this agreement seemed necessary because of probable danger from the German Empire; but German leaders easily persuaded the people that neighboring powers had combined to encircle and crush the Fatherland, which could be saved only if the army remained powerful and the government strong. These arguments were ridiculed by socialists and they became less effective in time. It was partly because of the increasing demand for more democratic control that the Social-Democratic party increased so greatly. In 1912 it received more than four million votes, getting its support not only from socialists but from liberals who did not greatly favor socialist doctrines. Nevertheless, little was really accomplished. The movement to make ministers responsible to the *reichstag* came to nothing; the demand that representation be reapportioned in accordance with changes of population went unheeded year after year; and the antiquated Prussian constitution continued to keep power and privilege for the few. In the midst of the Great War, when the government, failing in its design of winning a grand victory quickly, was compelled to seek the

utmost assistance from its people in a long and exhausting contest, the beginning of reform was made at last, and promise was given that after the war something more would be done. But all this came too late; for presently Germany went down in defeat, and the old system crumbled to pieces. Whether the Germans really desire to establish a democracy, can only be known in the future.

Militarism

It was so with the army. By war, it seemed, Prussia had risen; the army had been the foundation of the empire. Furthermore, Prussian universal military service had created a national army, in which most of the young men had some part. For these reasons the army was cherished and generally high in esteem. And it was so entrenched in the organization of the state that it seemed to have impregnable position. Its officers and leaders, drawn mostly from the aristocratic class, constituted a military caste, who on occasion assumed such privileges that they seemed to be above the law. Officers sometimes treated civilians with violence or with the utmost contempt, and it was always difficult in such affairs to get any redress from the courts. In 1913 a certain Lieutenant von Forstner at Zabern in Alsace declared that instead of punishing a soldier who had stabbed an Alsatian he would have given him a reward for his trouble; and he himself struck a lame cobbler on the forehead with his sword. The matter went to the *reichstag*, where it was bitterly condemned. Von Forstner was tried by court martial but no punishment followed. There were mass meetings in Germany to protest and much feeling was aroused; but that year the government was teaching the people that great danger threatened the country, especially from the Russians, and the German army was increased to greater size than ever before.

Treatment of subject races

Essentially autocratic rule associated with militarism caused the treatment accorded to the alien subjects in the empire. The British Empire had grown great largely

through generous toleration. French Canadians were never troubled about their religion or their language, and the Boers within the British Empire kept all the rights which they had fought to defend. Even in Ireland, where England's greatest failure had been, Irishmen were never coerced into abandoning the Gaelic language, though in the course of time most of them of their own accord adopted English. But in countries like Russia and Germany, of the régime before the Great War, it seemed to the rulers all-important that all their subjects should be Russian or German. Accordingly, in Russia the Poles and the Finns were subjected to grievous persecution. In the German Empire Frenchmen in Alsace-Lorraine, Danes in Schleswig, and the Poles of Posen, were treated as inferiors and subjected to great discrimination.

Alsace-Lorraine

When in 1871 Alsace-Lorraine was annexed to the empire the inhabitants protested at the forcible separation from France. Bismarck believed that, with the passing away of the generation that had known French rule, attachment to France would disappear. The strongest French sympathizers left the country, and their places were taken by emigrants from the German states of the empire. But Alsace-Lorraine was given a dependent and inferior status, as the *reichsland*, or imperial territory. It had neither influence in the empire nor sufficient self-government for itself. Therefore, as time passed the feeling of discontent did not wane, love for the old memories of France did not die, and German immigrants themselves denounced the position of the *reichsland*. The German authorities strove to compel obedience and contentment; but they only increased the irritation. Then they added to the garrisons and subjected the provinces to very strict military rule. This was resented still further. As far as possible French things were proscribed, and one boy of twelve was imprisoned for whistling the tune of the *Marseillaise*. German rulers did not realize as clearly as

some foreigners that what the inhabitants of the *reichsland* wanted most of all was not return to France, but self-government. In 1911 a new constitution was granted, but it was not satisfactory to the people. After forty years nothing, aside from force, really held the population to the empire except their increasingly prosperous industrial life, which was closely connected with German industry and mostly dependent upon it.

The Poles

The German authorities so dealt with these provinces largely from strategic considerations, and they would have felt safer if the *reichsland* had been inhabited entirely by Germans. The same reason had much to do with their treatment of the Poles in West Prussia and Posen. The Polish districts of Prussia lay right where Russian invaders might strike deep into the empire. Their country, which had once been taken from Poland, had contained many people who spoke German, and with good treatment in time all of them might have been made loyal subjects. It was considered necessary, however, to make them thoroughly German. Bismarck wished to prevent the use of Polish in their public schools, and he desired to populate the country with German peasants; but presently more lenient treatment was accorded. Repressive measures were undertaken in earnest, however, after a while, when it was seen clearly that the Poles were not giving up their own national feeling. As in Alsace-Lorraine, newspapers were suppressed and many people fined and imprisoned. In 1901 it was ordered that religious instruction in the schools should be given in German. Polish teachers were taken from their positions, school children were forbidden to pray in Polish, and Poles were forbidden to use their language in public assemblies. In 1907 the Prussian government passed a law by which Polish owners might be compelled to sell their land, so that their estates might get into German possession; and in 1913 a great sum of money was appropriated for the purpose of colonizing Prussian

Poland with Germans. Polish peasants were even forbidden to build houses upon their own land. Little more was accomplished, however, than making the Poles burn with hatred and desire to be free from the masters who oppressed them.

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CHAPTER XV

THE LEADERSHIP OF GERMANY—THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE

> Wir liegen mitten in Europa. Wir haben mindestens drei Angriffsfronten . . . Gott hat uns in eine Situation gesetzt, in welcher wir durch unsere Nachbarn daran verhindert werden, irgendwie in Trägheit oder Versumpfung zu gerathen. Er hat uns die kriegerischste und unruhigste Nation, die Franzosen, an die Seite gesetzt, und er hat in Russland kriegerische Neigungen gross werden lassen . . . Wir Deutschen fürchten Gott, aber sonst nichts in der Welt.
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> BISMARCK in the *Reichstag*, February 6, 1888: *Stenographische Berichte, 1887–1888*, pp. 727, 728, 733.

Position of the new empire

AFTER 1871 Bismarck's greater tasks were still with foreign affairs. The new German Empire was a powerful state of 41,000,000 people; it was larger than France, in strong military position, flushed with victory and the prestige of enormous success. But it was, indeed, a new state, a newcomer among old neighbors, apt to be regarded as intruder and upstart. It had completely upset the old balance of power, and there was bound to be difficulty in adjusting equilibrium again. The German Empire had risen on the downfall of Austria and of France. The Austrians might try to regain the position they had lost, and the French proclaimed, what some Germans now declare, that in the future they would have their revenge. The position of Germany was very strong, for in between other great powers she could strike out at one or the other; but the converse of this was that a hostile alliance of surrounding powers might be able to crush her completely.

Bismarck's work

It was the task of Bismarck now to keep what had been gained, to prevent the formation of an unfriendly alliance, to isolate Germany's foes, to make new friends and keep the old ones. He succeeded magnificently in all this. Great as had been his success in the unifying of Germany, his success in keeping the unity, prosperity, and commanding position of the German Empire was still more striking. When he retired in 1890, the foundations of the empire seemed impregnable; Germany was the center of a powerful alliance, and on friendly terms with the other great powers; while France continued in the lonely isolation in which her disaster had left her.

The *Dreikaiserbund*

The friendship of Italy and Russia had already been obtained. At once Bismarck proceeded to grander designs. He desired to draw together in close friendship and alliance the German Empire, Austria-Hungary, and Russia. He had had something of this in mind in 1866, when terms were made with Austria defeated. By the Peace of Prague Austria lost no territory, except Venetia to Italy, and paid almost no indemnity, while everything possible was done to soothe the feelings of the vanquished. Accordingly, it was not difficult to bring about good understanding again. In 1872, after skilful arranging, the emperors of Russia, Austria, and the German Empire met in Berlin, where they arrived at a cordial agreement. No alliance was concluded, but this League of Three Emperors (*Dreikaiserbund*) effected Bismarck's plan of a new group of powers which would include the new German Empire.

Austria-Hungary and Russia

For six years this continued, and Bismarck had little to fear, with Italy friendly, and England holding aloof. But it was soon evident that intimate connection with Austria-Hungary and Russia at the same time was impossible. They were rivals for the same thing, and by 1878 could no longer be good friends, since they could not each have what both of them wanted.

The Russian people had long been extending westward

Rivalry in the Balkans

and southward. From the Turk they had already taken much land north of the Black Sea, and now it seemed to them that ambition and destiny both called them forward down the western shore, to free the Christian Slavic peoples in the Balkan peninsula, and drive the Turk out of Constantinople. But meanwhile Austria was reviving her ambitions to take Balkan territory. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when Ottoman power in Europe was at its zenith, Austria had been the bulwark of Christian Europe against the Turk; it was to her that the submerged Christian peoples to the south looked for their future deliverance; and she did enlarge her dominions by southward expansion when the power of the Turk began to wane. After a while her ambitions were turned in this direction more than ever before. Once she had had great influence in northern Europe. But the wars of the French Revolution took away her Austrian Netherlands, and in 1866 she was thrust out of the community of the German peoples. At the same time she had just lost her hold on the Italian peninsula. Her ambitions, however, quickly rose again. As soon as the Austrians and the Hungarians reached agreement, and good relations began with the new German Empire, her hopes turned to new expansion, and it seemed now that the best chance for this was down the Adriatic, perhaps, through the Balkan peninsula to the Ægean. So it happened that in this period the ambitions of Russia and Austria-Hungary thwarted each other. In 1877 a great crisis came, when Russia began the Russo-Turkish War, and after a hard and fierce struggle shattered the enemy and forced the signing of a treaty which destroyed the power of Turkey in Europe. Turkey's subject peoples were set free; and most of the Ottoman territory in Europe was given to a new large Bulgarian state.

The Congress of Berlin, 1878

But this treaty was not allowed to stand. Great Britain and also Austria-Hungary let it be known that such a settlement was not satisfactory. Therefore Russia consented

to submit the treaty to a congress of the powers. June 13, 1878, a congress met in Berlin. Bismarck, who declared that Germany had no territorial claims in the Balkans, and that he would be glad to act as an "honest broker" between the others, was elected president the first day. By the Treaty of Berlin which followed, Russia suffered a great diplomatic defeat. What she had done in the Balkans was largely undone; for the Bulgaria she proposed to establish was greatly reduced, while Austria-Hungary, who had taken no part in defeating the Turks, got the right to administer the two Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which lay contiguous to her and now extended her dominion far southward.

Consequences: Russia and Prussia drift apart

The Congress and the Treaty of Berlin marked a new epoch in the diplomacy of Europe. Many great consequences were to follow from the work of the diplomats who went there, but one of the first important results was the ending of the close friendship which had existed between Russia and Prussia since Prussia's friendly attitude to Russia during the Polish rebellion of 1863. Gortchakov, the Russian chancellor, who already disliked Bismarck, believed such humiliation would not have come to his country if he had received German support. In 1866 Russia had been friendly to Prussia, and in 1870 she had even done something to keep Austria from assisting France. Now in her time of need the German Empire had done nothing for her. Russia had desired an offensive and defensive alliance with Germany, but Bismarck had refused; and forced at last to make his choice, he now chose Austria rather than Russia. Perhaps he feared that since Russia was opposing most of the principal European powers Germany in alliance with Russia would have to oppose them also, and would thence be made too dependent on Russia's good will in the future. At all events, cordial friendship between them now came to an end for the time.

Indignation in Russia

For the moment Germany was isolated, and there was

Alliance between the German Empire and Austria-Hungary, 1879

danger that Russia might seek alliance with either Austria or France. But the danger soon passed. In October, 1879, after brief negotiations, an alliance was concluded between the German Empire and Austria-Hungary. By the terms of this agreement, kept secret then but afterward published, "the two High Contracting Parties" were bound to stand by each other with all their armed forces if either one were attacked by Russia; in case either were attacked by some other power than Russia "the other High Contracting Party" would observe "at least an attitude of benevolent neutrality" toward the partner in the treaty; but if the power attacking were supported by Russia, then the two parties to the treaty in question would wage war jointly until peace was concluded by them together.

Italy joins the Central Powers

Scarcely had this Dual Alliance given the security Bismarck desired when he extended it to make the well-known Triple Alliance, which endured until the time of the Great War. This was done by drawing Italy to the two Central Powers. The general interests of Italy did not seem to lie in such company, since she must have as one of her partners Austria-Hungary, long Italy's master and oppressor, who only a few years before had been expelled from the peninsula, who still held many Italians as unwilling subjects, and against whom Italians cherished bitter hatred from recollection of a thousand acts of tyranny and evil. Moreover, the spirit of the Italian people and the ties of language, law, and custom, bound them rather to France than the German Empire. But there were then, as there were later on, reasons why the Italians should feel hostile to France.

Italy and Austria-Hungary

Italy and France

In 1915 Italy joined the Allies against Austria-Hungary and Germany, and after valiant and exhausting endeavors contributed to the victory which followed. During the course of the struggle it seemed to observers that Italy and France were drawn together by common sufferings

and efforts as never before. But scarcely was the struggle at an end when bitter causes of difference arose almost at once. Italy wished to have the opposite coast of the Adriatic and be the controlling influence in what had been the southern Slavic dominions of the former Austro-Hungarian state. France hoped that upon the ruins of the fallen Dual Monarchy would rise new Slavic commonwealths partly dependent on herself. Accordingly, there was such immediate conflict of ambition and desires between Italy and France that already in 1919 predictions were being made that Italy would renew her connection with Germany as soon as she could.

Rivalry and ambition

So it was when Bismarck sought to draw Italy into his schemes. Only a few years before the Austrian armies had been overthrown and Italy's unity forwarded through the powerful assistance of France. But since 1859 several things had occurred to alienate the Italian people. Napoleon III had supported the pope in maintaining his temporal power, and this was overthrown and unification of Italy completed only in 1870, when France could no longer interfere. Even after the Franco-German War there was some fear that French intervention might restore to the pope what he had lost. Furthermore, Italy was a young and ambitious state, and wished ardently to appear as one of the greater powers. Actually this was beyond her resources, but it seemed then more possible if she were closely associated with great companions. Finally the direct motive was craftily supplied by Bismarck himself. In Algeria France had long before begun the foundations of her north African empire. It was evident that she would be glad to expand into the neighboring country of Tunisia, but it was also apparent that Italy had high hopes of getting Tunisia for herself. At the Congress of Berlin Bismarck had secretly encouraged France to take Tunisia, hoping that if she were engrossed in distant enterprises she would think less of a war of revenge, and

Rivalry about Tunisia

probably foreseeing that such seizure would enrage the Italians and drive them into Germany's arms.

Italy added to the Germanic alliance

So it came about. In 1881 France established a protectorate over Tunisia. There was an outburst of indignation in Italy, and next year the statesmen of Rome, readily hearkening to Bismarck, joined Germany and Austria-Hungary in alliance. Thus did Italy ally herself with an old enemy and a recent friend. No little gain came to her. When in 1866 she had obtained Venetia from Austria, the strong places on the border all remained in Austria's hands, and Italy with weak and exposed frontier was always at the mercy of an Austrian attack. From this danger she was now freed by being associated with Austria-Hungary, and by being in some sort under German protection. More and more did she come under German influence; and in the following years German merchants and financiers almost won economic control of the country. In course of time, however, as Italy grew stronger and less afraid of Austria-Hungary, she grew more ambitious and hoped to secure larger control of the Adriatic for herself. Thus she came into conflict with Austria, and in the end it was almost as difficult for Germany to reconcile her partners in the Triple Alliance as once it had been for Bismarck to hold Austria and Russia together. The alliance was renewed again and again, and it lasted long beyond Bismarck's time. But before the Great War began Italy was an unwilling member; during that struggle she withdrew; and the war broke the alliance to pieces.

German influence in Italy

The Austro-German Treaty of 1879 the principal link between the Central Powers

The history, the development, the character of the engagements binding Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy were long enveloped in secrecy, to be guessed at by outsiders and ill understood. It was assumed that, roughly, their general character was known, but when, after the downfall of Austria-Hungary in 1918, the archives of Vienna were examined and the secret treaties of the alliance made known, it was evident that much had

remained concealed. It was then apparent that always the basis and strongest part of the arrangement was the Austro-German Treaty, the treaty of alliance concluded between the German Empire and Austria-Hungary in 1879. The duration of this treaty had been fixed at five years, but in accordance with its third article, which had remained undivulged, provision had been made for the automatic continuance of the arrangement for periods of three years, in case neither partner desired otherwise. In 1902, after a conference concerning the continuance of the treaty, it was specifically agreed that the treaty should be automatically renewed each three years. Meanwhile, in 1883, it had been renewed for a five-year period, to end in 1889. It was this treaty, and this one only, which obligated the German Empire to assist the Dual Monarchy if it were attacked by Russia.

Provisions for renewal

Supplementary to this agreement and less important, but parallel to it, was the Triple Alliance proper. The treaty of this alliance was made in 1882. It was renewed in 1887, at which time were added a separate treaty between Austria-Hungary and Italy concerning the Balkans and another treaty between the German Empire and Italy directed against France. In 1891 these three treaties were consolidated in the Third Treaty of the Triple Alliance. Von Bülow, the German statesman, afterward declared that the Triple Alliance was "an insurance company" and not a "company for profit." It had, indeed, been purely defensive at first, but after 1891 it contained provisions which contemplated the possibility of aggression against France. The treaty was to continue for six years, and for an additional six thereafter if not denounced. In 1902 it was specifically renewed unchanged, as it was again in 1912. It is now known that the Triple Alliance did not provide any definite military stipulations, though a convention between Germany and Italy in 1888 provided for the employment of Italian troops against France. Naval

The treaties of the Triple Alliance

Character of the Triple Alliance

agreements, on the other hand, were made: in 1900 for independent naval operations by the partners; in 1913 for joint naval action, the scheme being drawn up in detail.

Great Britain, Italy, and the Triple Alliance

From the first the friendship or benevolent attitude of Great Britain was desired. In the First Treaty of the Triple Alliance in 1882 protocols attached declared that the contracting parties had no hostile intentions toward England. Five years later Great Britain, Austria-Hungary, and Italy came to an agreement concerning the Mediterranean. In the same year such an agreement was made between Italy and Spain, to which Austria-Hungary acceded; and this was prolonged in 1891. Knowledge of these arrangements makes clear now what was only feared or suspected then, how complete was the isolation of France, and how dangerous, indeed, was her position. In the Third Treaty of the Triple Alliance in 1891 a protocol asserted the adherence in principle of England to certain stipulations of the arrangement, and declared that the contracting parties should exert themselves to obtain her adherence respecting other matters also. In 1898 Great Britain began to seek alliance with the German Empire. This period marked the culmination of the power of the Triple Alliance. After 1901 Germany and Great Britain drifted apart, and as this took place Italy partly fell away. From the start it had been evident that Italy, entirely at the mercy of the principal sea power, would not be willing to oppose England. In 1896 she formally notified the Central Powers that she could not fight against France together with England. A few years later Italy came to a separate understanding with France concerning Tripoli, thus making a "re-insurance treaty," since her former engagements in the Triple Alliance were renewed, with their stipulations directed against France.

Great Britain draws away

Rumania attached to the Alliance

But while Italy was getting from the Triple Alliance all she could, and yet gradually coming to be less dependable in it, the two principal partners, Austria-Hungary

and the German Empire, came more closely together and tried to strengthen their position by additional arrangements. Not only Italy but Rumania was added. In 1883 a treaty of alliance was concluded between Austria-Hungary and Rumania. On the same day Germany was added, and Italy five years later. This adding of Rumania as an appendage to the Triple Alliance was renewed in 1892, 1902, and 1913. With respect to the Balkans, Austria strove to strengthen her position by making an arrangement with Russia in 1897 and with Italy in 1901 and 1909.

Hegemony of the German Empire

The Triple Alliance was to a considerable extent defensive, but by means of it Bismarck had none the less raised the German Empire to be the controlling power in Europe, and to a marvellous pitch of greatness. It was clearly realized by contemporary statesmen that the alliance controlled all the central part of the Continent, extending from the northern waters to the Mediterranean, separating eastern Europe completely from the west, and thus occupying an impregnable position. Within this territory were more than 100,000,000 people and armies of 2,000,000 well-trained soldiers. It would have been the sheerest madness for any other single state to come into conflict with it. In this combination the German Empire was the most powerful member and the controlling force. Accordingly, after 1882, Germany had a manifest superiority, indeed an overlordship or hegemony in Europe, and Bismarck was the most powerful man in the world.

Further ambitions of Bismarck

But high as was now the position of Germany, Bismarck enhanced it still further. During all the remaining years of his power he succeeded in keeping the other great European states from forming a counter alliance, and thus kept France in the lonely isolation in which he had placed her; at the same time he tried to avoid misunderstanding with Great Britain, and renewed the connection with Russia.

Renewed understanding with Russia, 1881–7

Scarcely had the Alliance of 1879 been made between Austria-Hungary and Germany when Bismarck tried to draw Russia into another understanding. It was with great reluctance that he had seen himself driven by the course of events which he could not control to take steps that had alienated the friendship of Russia. He and others of his school were filled with tradition of the greatness of Muscovite power, of the importance of Russian good will toward Prussia, and of the dangers that might come if that friendship were gone. Germans remembered how when Frederick the Great was struggling against his enemies in the Seven Years' War Russian armies occupied Poland and presently captured Berlin, and how only the unexpected withdrawal of Russia from the war saved Prussia from total destruction. They remembered how Napoleon's power had finally been shattered by the Slavs, and how then the tsar had advanced to liberate peoples to the west. The Crimean War had lowered the prestige of Russia, but when the Triple Alliance was begun Russian greatness was still regarded with awe and dread. The ambitions and purposes of the governments of Russia and of Prussia were alike in many respects. Together Bismarck thought they could defy any attack from other enemies. He always declared that the German Empire did not fear attack from France, but he dreaded an attack made by Russia and France together. Moreover, as he afterward recorded in his *Reminiscences* (*Gedanken und Erinnerungen*), he had little confidence at first in the stability of the alliance with Austria: "No one can reckon upon the future of Austria with the certainty that important and lasting treaties require."

Prestige of Russia

Russia, Austria, the German Empire

In 1881, despite recent difficulties, Bismarck succeeded in bringing about an agreement between the three emperors of Russia, Austria, and the German Empire, that if one of these three powers was at war with a fourth, the two other parties would preserve a "benevolent neu-

trality." This stipulation was also to apply in case of a war between one of the three parties and Turkey, in case an understanding about such a war had already been reached between the parties. The agreement made special allowance for the alliance between Austria-Hungary and Germany, and was thus more advantageous to Germany than to Russia. None the less in 1884 it was renewed with slight modification. Three years later, however, this was not done, for Austria had been steadily acquiring a more dominating influence in the Balkans. Therefore, Russia was not willing to renew the agreement of 1881, but sought instead an alliance or agreement with Germany alone. Bismarck let it be understood that the alliance with Austria must stand. But the two signed an agreement nevertheless. It provided that if one of the two contracting parties was at war with a third power, the other contracting party should maintain benevolent neutrality, though this provision was not to apply in case of an attack made by one of the contracting powers on Austria or France, thus preserving the alliance with Austria, and safeguarding Russia's relations with France. Other articles provided that Germany should recognize Russia's rights in the Balkan peninsula and assist her in maintaining them there. This agreement has been known as the "Reinsurance Treaty." In 1879 Bismarck had insured Germany against attack by Russia. Now he got, as it were, insurance from the other side, for by this very secret "agreement" he provided that France would not be supported by Russia if she attacked the German Empire.

The "Reinsurance Treaty," 1887

Seldom has there been diplomacy more astute. Bismarck succeeded in keeping all he had won. Since 1871 not once had France been able to make alliance with some other European power so as to dare to begin war on her foe; while Germany was seldom without close friends, and usually the center of a powerful alliance. But in spite

Bismarck's great success

of his vast success the time of the chancellor was nearing its end. His era was passing; other men and other measures were appearing. By 1887 he was still a mighty figure, but a new generation was coming forward with ideals which he had never cherished, which, indeed, he could scarce understand.

The new generation

It had been his purpose to unite the German states, then make Germany the greatest European power. These tasks filled his mind and the world of diplomacy which he knew. But meanwhile Great Britain had been acquiring an ever larger colonial empire, and France had gone beyond the seas and won for herself new possessions. None of this had appealed to Bismarck. But all around him were growing up young Germans who saw a new world which could not be clear to his eyes. They would try to make Germany a great naval power, which would bring her into conflict with Britain, have Germany get colonies and markets all over the world, and join Austria in pushing forward in the Balkans.

The passing of Bismarck

During the lifetime of his master, the emperor whom he had made, his power continued unshaken, but after 1888 came marked change. The new ruler embodied new ideas and the new ambitions which were to carry Germany on so much further and at last bring her down to destruction. He regarded Bismarck with respect, but gave him none of the affectionate confidence so long bestowed by William I. Bismarck soon found the management of affairs no longer entirely in his hands, while the young emperor, himself full of vigor and spirit, grew more and more impatient at the domination of one who had so long been first in Europe that he was unable to take second place. For more than a year relations between the two grew more strained. The actual government of the empire was in the hands of Bismarck, who had under him, in important places, members of his own family or friends he had raised up to obey him. But the new emperor pres-

ently insisted that his ideas be followed. In 1890, Bismarck resigned after being told he was in the way. It seemed strange to the older generation that this could take place; as a famous cartoon in *Punch* declared, to them it was "Dropping the Pilot."

Greatness of Bismarck's work

Of Bismarck's work it was long difficult to give proper estimate. So gigantic had been his success that for some time it seemed he was the greatest statesman for generations. His accomplishment had been vast, and his success seemed so complete as to justify almost all he had done. He found Prussia second among the German states, and the German people divided. In a brief span of years he had made Prussia the greatest state on the continent, defeated every one of her rivals, achieved the unification of Germany, and made his country the center and foundation thereof. Then he had kept the new empire safe in its exalted position, surrounded by friends, head and leader of the strongest alliance in the world. Justly he was regarded as the father and founder of his country.

Evil consequences thereof

And yet, there was another side of it all, which would be more apparent in the future. The unification of Germany had not been brought about through liberal development and respect for the rights of others, but partly by force, chicane, and fraud, by contempt for the rights of people, and cynical disregard of obligations and honor. All of this seemed good to Germans who saw it through the glamor of success, and a generation of Germans was about to grow up which would admire above all things the force and the lack of scruple which Bismarck had employed and so brilliantly taught. The leaders of Germany in the early part of the twentieth century, who had learned in the school of Bismarck as he had learned from that of Frederick the Great, would worship force and strength, just as he had once discarded all policy but the rule of "blood and iron;" and as he had altered the Ems Dispatch, so would they tear up the treaty about Belgian

neutrality as a mere worthless "scrap of paper." This would array the world against them, and the empire, overwhelmed in defeat, would at last lie prostrate and dismembered.

Militarism and French resentment

Since his work was effected and maintained by military power, in another generation all the great states of Europe had striven to make themselves strong military powers on the Prussian model; by the end of the century Europe was groaning under intolerable military burdens; and a few years after was divided into two great military camps. His treatment of France the French never forgave, and thereafter the empire was encumbered with the mortgage of the hatred of the French, who might despair of being able to take vengeance, but whose hatred nevertheless lived on. Bismarck does not seem to have looked into the future, beyond his own age. He scarcely realized the importance of a colonial empire, nor did he conceive how soon a great deal of German ambition would go beyond Europe, to the oceans and to lands far away. It would have been better in all respects, some have thought, had he not taken from France territory in Europe, but taken of her colonies instead. So it was that some years before the Great War an author wrote, without being much heeded, that it was still too soon to know whether the chancellor's policy was successful.

The new era

With the passing of Bismarck began the second stage in the development of the new German nation. Between 1864 and 1888 the empire had been created and made the greatest of the European powers. From about 1890 on to 1914 it went forward to greater things; and at last its leaders strove to make it beyond doubt the greatest power in the world. The outlook of German leaders became wider, their ambition vaster and grander, they played for great stakes higher and more boldly, until in the end, as one of them said, they sought "World Dominion or Downfall."

Policy of William II

It was feared at first that the young emperor was rash and might easily plunge into a war, for he spoke with stern pride of his army. But for more than a quarter of a century in his reign there was no great conflict in Europe, and often he boasted that he had striven to keep peace. Doubtless he had. This desire for peace, however, seems always to have been on condition that Germany keep her superiority in Europe, and that her policy should not be thwarted. When there rose up against the alliance headed by Germany another great group of powers and it was no longer so easy for Germany's word to be law, one great crisis followed another in Europe for the space of ten years, after which time the nations were plunged into the greatest of all their wars.

Diplomatic revolution

When in 1890 William II took control of the government and its foreign policy, there followed at once a great altering of political relations. Bismarck had kept France isolated; she now became partner in a great alliance. He had tried by all means to retain Russia's friendship, and he had succeeded almost all of the time. But Russia was allowed to draw away now, and she became the ally of France. Bismarck had desired not to antagonize Great Britain, and during his time no dangerous misunderstanding had arisen, but in less than ten years Germany entered upon a policy which profoundly alarmed England, and shortly caused her to stand beside Russia and France.

End of the "Reinsurance"

The secret agreement between Russia and Germany in 1887 had been made for three years. In 1890, the tsar tried to have it renewed, but Germany would not consent. A great deal relating to all this is not known yet, but it has been conjectured that one of the important causes of disagreement between Bismarck and William II concerned the relations with Russia: that Bismarck would have had the understanding renewed; that the young emperor now had other plans which ran counter to continuing this friendship; that this was the time when the German gov-

ernment began to cherish ambitions in the Balkans and Turkey. "My foreign policy remains and will remain the same as it was in the time of my grandfather," was the message William sent to the tsar. But the Russian ambassador believed that Germany in the future would have still greater regard for the alliance with Austria-Hungary. Austria's ambitions in the Balkans were increasing.

Germany and England

It also seemed to the Russian ambassador, who wrote of these changes, that Germany now counted on getting the friendship of Great Britain to replace that of Russia, and even that Great Britain might be added to the Triple Alliance. Friendly relations with England were a tradition; the mother of the German Emperor was a daughter of Queen Victoria, whose husband, Albert, had been a German; there were many people in England at this time who learned from the school of Freeman and Carlyle how excellent were German things, and how much that was good in England had been inherited from Germany of old. Lord Salisbury, prime minister, believed strongly in best possible relations with the German Empire. It is now known that between 1898 and 1901 the British government repeatedly sought an alliance. Good relations with Britain were, accordingly, easy to maintain for the present.

Germany and Turkey

The attention of men was still fastened mostly on older issues, the feeling between France and Germany, the rivalry between England and France, and between England and Russia. But a very significant event occurred the year before Bismarck retired. In 1889 William II went to Constantinople and visited Abdul Hamid, the sultan of Turkey. As men afterward saw this event it seemed the beginning of an epoch in the politics of Europe.

Extension to the east and the south

In the Middle Ages the German people had fought against the Slavs to the east, subduing or pressing them back, extending their German dominion. In the course of this movement to the east and the south some Germans had pushed beyond the mass of their fellows and made

isolated settlements, which in the nineteenth century were still flourishing in Hungary, and in Poland, in the western and southern parts of Russia, and even as far off as the Balkans. For a long while some Germans had dreamed of a day when these detached groups, and the aliens surrounding, might be incorporated in a greater German Empire. Heinrich Heine prophesied that Germans would some day possess lands as far off as the Ukraine; and in the earlier half of the nineteenth century other Germans advised colonization in the valley of the Danube and beyond, saying that here was the best of fields for German expansion. After the Franco-German War colonization of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia was suggested, in the dominions of the Sultan of Turkey. About 1880 a certain one urged his fellows not to emigrate to America: "We must create a Central Europe by conquering for German colonization large spaces to the east of our frontiers."

Drang nach Osten

Now in the generation which followed that of Bismarck such thoughts constantly gained greater importance, until gradually the idea of *Drang nach Osten* or pressure by Germans to the east, came to be the underlying motive in German foreign affairs, and at last principal among the causes leading to the Great European War. William II was now seeking the friendship of Turkey. England had previously been friend and protector of the Turks, but events like the British occupation of Egypt had caused her influence to wane. In 1898 William went to Constantinople again, and, going on to Jerusalem and Damascus, proclaimed himself the protector of Turkey and announced that he was the friend of Mohammedans all over the world. Year after year German representatives established the influence of their country more strongly. Most people had no conception how far they were succeeding, but in 1914 it was suddenly found that Turkey was more closely bound to Germany and Austria than was

Italy, and that she was actually a vassal of the German Empire.

The Bagdad Railway

As early as 1875 German engineers had built for the Turkish government a railway across Anatolia, connecting Konia with Skutari, opposite Constantinople. Thirteen years later this railway was transferred to a German company. In 1899, the year after the emperor's second visit, the sultan granted him a concession to extend this railroad across Asiatic Turkey down to the Persian Gulf. At the head of the Gulf, and controlling the outlet to its waters, was the district of Koweit, ruled by a sheik who gave little obedience to the sultan. With this sheik the British made a treaty, so as to block the future completion of the railroad, which they conceived might be dangerous to them. None the less, work was taken up and continued at intervals until, just before 1914, the road had been taken almost completely through to Bagdad and the control and development of Asiatic Turkey had been put into German hands.

Importance of the Bagdad Railway

If the road were ever completed and Germany got control of the intervening territory in Europe, she would be mistress of the most important line of communication in the world. It was in Europe and in Asia that most of the world's inhabitants lived. Communication between them had hitherto been mostly by water. Of the water routes there were two. The long one ran down to the south of Africa then up toward India and China; for some time it had been dominated by the British, who held India and South Africa, and numerous stations on the way. The better and the shorter route was through the Mediterranean Sea; and this also was even more securely in the hands of the British, who held Gibraltar and the Suez Canal. But the end of the nineteenth century was an era of railroad development, which furnished transportation swifter and easier than any by water. If the Germans controlled railroad lines leading down from their own northern ports

across Austria-Hungary and the Balkans to Constantinople, and connected them with the Bagdad Railway having a terminus on the Persian Gulf, then Germany would control the shortest and the best route between Europe and Asia, and might in time get control of a great part of all the world's trade. Even more important were the strategic advantages involved. Not only would the Germans and their friends, lying between their possible enemies, separate them and have them at a disadvantage, but they would have incomparably the best line of interior communications for moving troops swiftly, a route moreover capable of being rendered invulnerable to attacks by sea-power. Some Germans boasted that a branch of this railway system would lead down near to Egypt and always be a threat to British power there, while on the Persian Gulf they could at any time put masses of troops, to strike over at India, more quickly than the British could ever bring reinforcements. In short they would have an instrument for making Germany the greatest power in the world.

Austria-Hungary and the German Empire

Because of this policy the politics of Continental Europe were altered completely. Russia, first dropped from close friendship by Germany, then antagonized by German policy in Turkey and in the Balkans, had entered into the Dual Alliance with France, opposing not only Austria-Hungary but Germany as well. And gradually the Triple Alliance changed. So far as Italy was concerned it was evident that no strong tie remained. Very different was it with Austria-Hungary. When the alliance with Germany was made in 1879 Bismarck believed that the connection might not endure. Nevertheless, during his time it grew stronger; and now, with the development of the new German policy, connection with Austria became firmer each year, since that connection was indispensable to the success of the German schemes. The empire planned in Middle Europe and nearer Asia had at one of its ends Asiatic Turkey and at the other the great German state;

but the scheme could never be fulfilled unless Austria-Hungary and the Balkans, which lay in between, were kept in close alliance or controlled. Therefore, firm alliance with the Dual Monarchy came to be the very corner-stone of German foreign policy. It was more and more evident that Germany would never fail to give Austria support. And the attachment of Austria-Hungary to the German Empire became equally strong. Not only did she require the support of her powerful neighbor against Russia, but the ambitions of Austria coincided largely with German plans, for she wished to be the greatest power in the western Balkans, rule all the eastern shore of the Adriatic, and, perhaps, extend her control down to the Mediterranean at Salonica.

Rivalry of Germany and England

Meanwhile another change in international affairs brought another vast alteration. So immense was the development of the German Empire, so colossal her strength as she grew, that her ambitions developed in every direction—not only in eastern and central Europe, in sharper rivalry with Russia, but also on the seas and in distant places, with England and the British Empire. As this came about, it was very evident that two of Bismarck's axioms had been discarded. He had always striven to keep Russia as a friend and avoid any estrangement with Britain; but the Germany of William II hesitated not to challenge and contend with them both.

Earlier relations

Between Englishmen and Germans there had long been friendship with little memory of wars or old wrong, and there was often a certain feeling of kinship because of blood and common inheritance and speech. Spain, France, and Russia had been the rivals of England, not the Germans. Englishmen viewed the establishment of German unity with sympathy and admiration. For some time after 1871 the interests of Britain and the German Empire did not conflict. Great Britain was a sea power and her chief interests were outside of Europe; Germany

was not a naval power during Bismarck's time, and her interest was altogether in keeping what she had just achieved: first place in Continental affairs. Presently, the immense maritime and industrial development of Germany brought keen competition and aroused some unpleasant feeling. But all this awakened no hostility in Britain, and as time went on it was seen that England could well hold her own.

Rivalry on the sea

The great change came with the new school of German statesmen, who looked beyond Europe and would make Germany the greatest of the great. The German army was incomparably the strongest in the world, but they began to cherish the plan of making Germany a great naval power and a seeker for colonies also. Hitherto Britain had been on her guard against France and Russia, both of them strong naval powers and active rivals in Africa or Asia. For some years it had been her purpose to maintain the "two-power standard," or keep her fleet stronger than the two next greatest navies combined, and in 1889 she had undertaken a comprehensive scheme of naval increase. Britain had no large army, and so could not defend herself against the great standing armies of European states if ever they could invade her. Her sole reliance was on command of the sea, and it was justly felt that if this were ever lost, then all would be gone beyond hope. The British people accordingly were resolved at all costs to maintain their superiority on the ocean, and would probably come to regard with much dread any nation which challenged their sea power.

German ambition on the sea

Suddenly and in dramatic way the German government did do this. Germans were building up a great commerce, which was not interfered with by Britain, but which they knew could be stopped or destroyed by British sea-power. They desired colonies and markets abroad, and they felt that they had better chance of being considered in distant places if they had a great war fleet of their own. They

considered that the British Empire, as well as the new French colonial empire, had been made possible by naval power, and the leaders felt that Germany was incomplete so long as she had no strong navy.

The Naval Laws of 1898 and 1900

The lead was taken by Admiral von Tirpitz and the emperor himself. There was opposition among the older school of thinkers in Germany, but after much effort a law was passed by the *reichstag* in 1898 providing for a great naval increase. This law provided for expending, during a course of years, 1,000,000,000 marks, and was considered to be the most ambitious naval program undertaken by any state in the memory of man. That same year the *Flottenverein* (Navy League) was established. A vast amount of educational work and propaganda was done by this organization, and it was most successful in arousing the German people. In 1900 a vaster sum was appropriated, and plans made for a navy twice as powerful as that provided two years before.

Effects of German naval increase

Such startling naval increase affected other powers at once and profoundly. But of all Germany's neighbors none saw herself threatened so greatly as England. As this new German navy was built up Great Britain would be threatened, perhaps, by the German Empire more than by France. The very preamble of the law of 1900 seemed directed against England. "Germany must have a battle fleet so strong that even for an adversary with the greatest sea power a war against her would . . . imperil his own position in the world." "The ocean is indispensable to the greatness of Germany," said the emperor about this time. And in 1901: "Our future lies upon the water."

England seeks new friends

There was indeed a great turning point about 1901. In 1898 had occurred the Fashoda crisis between Britain and France, in which the French yielded, but remained filled with anger. On the other hand Germany was still well liked in Great Britain. But during the Boer War, which began in 1899, Germans gave to the Boers such

sympathy and encouragement as they could, and might perhaps have intervened if England had not controlled the sea. Next year when German naval plans were so greatly enlarged, Englishmen pondered upon the situation. It was difficult for most of them to conceive that Britain could be in any danger, for British supremacy on the seas was a tradition, and British control had been unquestioned since the day of Trafalgar. None the less a new generation was coming into public life which believed that recently Germany had increased much more greatly than England; that this greater Germany now bade fair to be so powerful on the sea that Britain was no longer safe, as before, aloof in her "splendid isolation"; that she could no longer wisely stand alone; and that she should enter into closer relations with friends in Europe and everywhere else in the world. Apparently the leader of this group in England was King Edward VII, who came to the throne in 1901. He had sincere admiration for France, and he took the lead in seeking her friendship. In 1904 England and France settled all their differences, and entered into the *Entente Cordiale* (friendly understanding). Three years later, under what seemed increasing menace of German naval expansion, Britain and Russia settled their differences also. Accordingly, by 1907 the new naval policy of Germany had brought England out of her long aloofness from European affairs into close and friendly relations with France, and cordial relations with Russia.

Her supremacy on the sea

The statesmen of Britain settled outstanding differences, not only with France and with Russia, but with Italy and the United States, and they had already made alliance with Japan. British naval forces, once scattered all over the world, were silently drawn in and concentrated in the waters about Britain and Ireland. But the uneasiness was felt rather for the future than for the immediate present, because it was believed that for a long while Germany's utmost efforts could not really challenge the British navy.

The *Dreadnaught*

A great change presently occurred. In 1904–5, during the Russo-Japanese War, modern warships were really tested for the first time; and many lessons were learned then. After the great battle of Tsushima it was seen, as some experts had before pointed out, that high speed, which would enable a warship to take such position as it wished, heavy armor, and great guns of long range, conferred immense superiority. But these principles could only be applied at their best on a ship of very great size. In 1907 the British launched the *Dreadnaught*, a battleship which was the largest, the swiftest, and most heavily armored warship that had ever been put afloat, and it had also the largest number of giant guns of long range. This monster, it was believed, would be invulnerable to the attacks of ordinary warships, able to overtake or outrange an antagonist, always able to choose its own range, and beyond the enemy's range batter the enemy to pieces. For a moment Britain seemed to have got great superiority over all other rivals, but it was she who had the greatest number of the older vessels, and it was possession of them which gave her such lead over the German navy. Germany, with her new naval program, was building the greatest number of new ships, and immediately she altered the plans and began making new vessels of the *Dreadnaught* type. It was evident to the thinking that all unexpectedly she had a chance to overcome England's naval preponderance and threaten her command of the seas.

An Englishman's Home

Most of the English people did not quickly understand the great changes occurring, or the altered position of affairs. But in 1909 appeared the play, *An Englishman's Home*. It portrayed a nation so ignorant as to be without fear, when it was really without means of defence. It told of England suddenly invaded, unable to resist. It stirred the English people to their depths, and aroused them at last more than the warnings of statesmen and writers. There was profound alarm and depression, during what

was known as the Naval Panic of 1909. Some Englishmen felt hopeless, some wanted a great army, but most cried for huge naval increase, and this was swiftly undertaken. Eight great battleships were proposed for that year, and actually construction was so rapidly advanced that Britain after a short time of anxiety found herself, not indeed with a fleet greater than the two next most powerful navies, but with one considerably stronger than the battle fleet of the German Empire.

Increasing suspicion

Many people in both countries declared there was no reason for conflict between the two nations, and sincerely deplored the growing suspicion and ill-will, but uneasiness and anger increased. In both countries newspapers and periodicals did not cease to point out how the foe threatened vital interests, and that preparations must be hastened so as to be ready for inevitable conflict. In England men recalled what had once been done to France. In Germany the *Flottenverein* taught that England had ever been the enemy in Germany's way, and that real greatness could come only after another war of liberation. Some Germans believed that the British might try to destroy their fleet. Some Englishmen feared that Germans might suddenly try to dash across into England, and, once there, annihilate their empire.

Drifting toward danger

Thus the force of events ranged Great Britain ever more closely with Germany's opponents. It may be that most people in both countries abhorred the thought of war between them. Englishmen felt that their preparations were merely defensive. But the great danger in the situation arose from the very fact that conflict seemed inevitable to so many. Englishmen often believed that the ambitions of the German Empire could only be fulfilled by sweeping the British Empire away, and taking the best parts for a greater Germany; many Germans were taught that while England ruled the seas Germany could develop only on sufferance. More and more were Germans told

that England had joined their enemies in an *einkreisung*, an effort to encircle and crush them. Year by year it came to be better understood that Englishmen must not make again the mistake of 1870, not again allow France to be crushed, for then afterward they might have to fight alone against Germany in a hopeless struggle.

Efforts for an understanding

Before the last evil days of July 1914 there was some effort to clear away the hostility and suspicion. Germans often said they desired the friendship of England, and that the two powers working together could ensure the peace of the world. Many Englishmen wished that a friendly understanding could be reached, and would have given much to win the true friendship of the German people. They were not, however, willing to let their naval superiority be impaired. A British statesman speaking in 1912 declared that naval power was a necessity to Englishmen, but not to Germans: to them it meant expansion, to England existence. Already in 1907, at the Second Hague Conference, England had proposed limitation of armaments, but Germany refused. Indeed, Germans boasted that they could keep up the race, while England must presently fall behind. English leaders announced that their naval construction would be regulated by whatever Germany did. They were most anxious to make an arrangement by which both powers would cease the construction of so many warships, but a decisive supremacy over the German Empire they were firmly resolved to maintain. Germans were not willing to grant a "naval holiday," but in 1913, at a time when great changes in the Balkans caused them to desire increase of the army above all things, there appeared to be some slackening in their building of warships, and peaceful men in both countries hoped that better things would result.

Lord Haldane's mission

In 1912 Lord Haldane, lord chancellor, one who loved and respected German things, went to Berlin on the emperor's invitation, to try to bring about an understanding.

Germany proposed a treaty between the two countries by which each would engage not to attack the other; in event of either being involved in war, the other should observe toward the party involved a benevolent neutrality, though this agreement was not to affect existing engagements. England refused, for the result would have been to permit Germany to support her allies in the Triple Alliance, while Britain would have been debarred from supporting against German attack her friends, with whom she was not allied. The negotiation, therefore, failed but it seemed to smooth the way for a settlement later.

The projected agreement of 1914

Indeed, in the earlier part of 1914 an Anglo-German agreement was drawn up, by which all the principal differences between England and Germany, with respect to the Bagdad Railway and Asiatic Turkey were arranged, and it almost seemed that Sir Edward Grey had at last done with Germany what he had accomplished with France in 1904. This treaty, it is said, was to have been signed in the autumn, but before that time the Great War had begun and Germany and the British Empire were locked in a mortal struggle. This is one of the tragedies in the history of Europe. The two great antagonists seem almost to have reached a settlement just before it was too late. But it was too late. It is probable that Great Britain was sincere in wishing for peaceable settlement of the issues between Germany and herself. What were the real German intentions cannot yet be known. Doubtless many Germans sincerely desired to have friendship and good understanding with Britain. But some critics have seen good reason to believe that Germany entered into the negotiations of 1912 and 1914 not so much because she wished lasting peace with Great Britain but because the military leaders hoped to keep her inactive until they had first dealt with Russia and France. Many secrets yet lie hid in state papers, or the breasts of the men who were leaders.

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CHAPTER XVI

THE RECOVERY OF FRANCE—THE DUAL ALLIANCE

Français!

Le peuple a devancé la Chambre, qui hésitait. Pour sauver la patrie en danger, il a demandé la République.

Proclamation du Gouvernment de la Défense Nationale aux Français, Septembre 4, 1870: *Archives Diplomatiques, 1871–1872*, ii. 503.

Si la France est attaquée par l'Allemagne, ou par l'Italie soutenue par l'Allemagne, la Russie emploiera toutes ses forces disponibles pour attaquer l'Allemagne.

Si la Russie est attaquée par l'Allemagne, ou par l'Autriche soutenue par l'Allemagne, la France emploiera toutes ses forces disponibles pour combattre l'Allemagne.

Military Convention, August 1892 (Basis of the Dual Alliance): *Documents Diplomatiques, L'Alliance Franco-Russe* (1918).

The downfall of France

IF THE rise of the German Empire is the most memorable example of swift growth of a European power, France after 1871 affords the best instance of the recovery of a people crushed down by fearful defeat. Before 1870 France was the leading power on the Continent; but the events of the Franco-German War changed all this suddenly and completely. The months between July, 1870, and June, 1871, were afterward remembered by the French as *L'Année Terrible*, the Terrible Year. In the course of that time France had been crushed to the dust by the enemy, then torn by the uprising of the *Commune* in Paris. She had lost two important frontier provinces with 1,600,000 inhabitants; in the war itself she had suffered casualties

of almost half a million; her war materials had been captured; the Germans had carried destruction and suffering over a wide extent of the country; there had been an indemnity of five milliards of francs to pay the victors; while the cost of the war had been ten milliards more. Germans believed that France was so far crushed that she could not recover or be dangerous to them for a long time again, and the friends of France could only look to the future with a hope they could not yet feel.

Quick recovery

Actually, she began to recover almost at once. No nation in the world has had the qualities of greatness more thoroughly than the French. From the ruin of the Hundred Years' War, from the losses of her wars of religion, from the disasters of the last years of Louis XIV, and from the complete overthrow when Napoleon was defeated by Europe, always she recovered easily and well, because of the excellence and strength, the vitality, the brave character, the inexhaustible courage of French men and women. At present, after the long exhaustion of the Great War in which she bore the brunt, the best augury of the recovery of France from her grievous weakness is the memory of what she has done in other times. For Germany in this time of humiliation and ruin the example of France then may be, perhaps, the best encouragement she can have.

Further disaster

Before the recovery began, however, there was one more terrible disaster. A period of great change and disorder ever gives opportunity to the violent and radical among men. Many of the French people had just suffered so terribly that they were ready now for any violence or revolution. Such things have been often before: during the Hundred Years' War when the *Jacquerie* rose in France; on a great scale in Russia, after the awful disasters of 1916 and 1917; and in many parts of Germany, after the empire had fallen.

Radicalism in Paris

The *Commune* of Paris came at the end of the war, while confusion still reigned in France. Paris had long been a

stronghold of republican, radical, and socialist sentiment. Many of the workmen of the city had listened to doctrines opposed to the existing social system, and they had been taught that very sweeping changes would be necessary to bring happiness to the mass of the people. The siege of Paris was just over, and Paris had greatly suffered. Many of the workingmen had no employment in the general prostration of business. They had been members of the National Guard which undertook the defence of the city, but the National Assembly which had been elected to make peace with the Germans dissolved the Guard. The people of Paris had proclaimed a republic in 1870; the Assembly was monarchist and conservative; and the liberals and radicals of the cities distrusted what it might do. Moreover, payment of obligations, which had been suspended by a *moratorium* during the siege, was now ordered, and immense hardship resulted to a large number of people who had no employment or business and so could not pay their debts. Hence a great number of poor, hungry, savage people, who still had the arms with which they had fought against the Germans, stood in idleness distrusting their government, and very ready to follow new leaders.

Suffering in the city

In France the government was strongly centralized. The radicals believed that improvement could come only through decentralization of the state into small parts or *communes*, with the management of affairs in these parts. Thus the different *communes*, which had different interests, would be able to manage affairs to their best advantage; and the cities, more liberal than the rural districts, would be able to develop without interference from a government based largely on the country. This scheme was supported by some republicans who feared that monarchy would be restored by the central government, and by socialists, who believed that in *communes* they could effect the reforms which they sought for. In Paris the idea was taken up by the discontented. After some conflict with

The *Commune* of Paris, 1871

A radical and socialist revolution

the Assembly, a *commune* was established in March, 1871, and the red flag of the socialists adopted. The men of the *Commune* appealed to the people of France to follow them in their revolution, and for a moment it seemed to observers that France, just defeated by the Germans, was now about to split up into pieces. But the people were against such innovation. As the French prisoners returned from Germany, the Assembly made ready to overthrow the *Commune*, and this was done after a second terrible siege during April and May, and a fearful week of fighting in the streets. The city suffered far more terribly from the bombardment of the French armies and the incendiarism of the Communalists than it had from the Germans; and the government showed no mercy in the vengeance which it took on the conquered rebels.

The indemnity paid

France now proceeded to the work of restoration and building for the future. May 10, 1871, the Treaty of Frankfort was ratified by the National Assembly. The first task now was to set free the occupied districts from the Germans by paying the indemnity. The French people responded magnificently to the government's appeals, and far more money was subscribed to loans than was needed. In the autumn of 1873, six months before the terms allowed by the treaty, all the indemnity had been paid, and the last German soldiers were out of the country. Financiers all over the world were surprised at the money which French peasants and workmen brought forth; and there were not wanting Germans who declared that if France were ever conquered by Germany again, the indemnity would be vastly greater.

Local government and the army

For two years the executive power was wielded by Thiers, whom the Assembly had chosen. During his time two important reforms were made. In 1871 the excessive centralization of the government, which had prevailed since Napoleon I, was partly undone. A considerable amount of local government was established: local voters

were to elect the council of the *commune*, and in the smaller *communes* the mayor was to be chosen by the council, the central government appointing the mayors only in the principal towns. In 1872 the army system was reorganized, by a law which in effect introduced the military system of Prussia.

The National Assembly

As the work of reconstruction proceeded the most important problem was to settle the government. The Assembly had been elected for the purpose of making peace with the Germans. When this was done it did not dissolve itself, and in the existing state of things there was no power able to dismiss it. In September, 1870, the revolutionists in Paris, who overthrew the imperial government, had proclaimed a republic. This republic had been promptly acknowledged by the United States, and, after a little delay, by the principal governments of Europe. Such a government had not been constituted by the people. In August, 1871, however, the Assembly accepted for the time being the government existing, and gave to the executive the title of "President of the French Republic." The *Rivet Law* by which this was done asserted also that the Assembly had constituent powers. Accordingly, the Assembly undertook to decide what form of government should be permanently established.

The Republic established

Most of the members of the Assembly wished a restoration of the monarchy, while some hoped for a Bonapartist empire again. Perhaps monarchy might have been restored now, except that its advocates were divided in two parties, the Legitimists and those who supported the House of Orléans. It was hoped that the two branches of the Bourbon family could unite, but it proved impossible to bring this about. Thus time drifted on, with no permanent government established, and the people showing more and more that they desired a republic. After a while those who wished for a monarchy, but believed it unwise to insist on their wishes, combined with those who wanted

a republic, and agreed to establish a conservative arrangement. In 1875 a series of "organic laws" in effect constituted a republican government, and are often referred to as the Constitution of 1875. A republic was not formally set up. It was, indeed, merely recognized in the phrase "President of the Republic," in a provision which could only be carried by one vote in a chamber of 705. The French Republic, therefore, was established unwillingly and with great hesitation, and it was not formally proclaimed.

The French government: the executive

The government of the French Republic was based on models which the English-speaking people had worked out in the experience of a long time. In some respects it resembles the American form, but substantially the British system was followed. The executive power is apparently vested in a president, who is elected for seven years by the two chambers of the legislative body meeting together as a national assembly. An outsider might think that he really is head of the army and navy and that he really carries out the laws and appoints the officials. Actually, however, as in England, the executive and administrative powers are in the hands of the ministry. As in Great Britain, the ministry is entirely dependent upon a majority in the chambers, the legislative body.

The legislative

The legislature is composed of two houses, a senate and a chamber of deputies. The senate consists of 300 members elected indirectly by electoral colleges for a term of nine years, one third renewed every three years. By the Constitution of 1875 some of the members were to be elected for life, but this was done away with in 1884. The more important branch is the chamber of deputies, whose members are elected by manhood suffrage for a term of four years. The ministry is responsible to this parliament, practically to the chamber of deputies, which is all-powerful in the making of laws and passing appropriations. Actually, the ministry is a committee of the chamber, as the cabinet in Britain is of the house of commons.

Political parties

This system of government which makes France a parliamentary republic differs in one very important respect from the British system. In Great Britain, as in the United States, there have usually been two important parties, opposing each other, and contending in elections for control of the government. This system has tended to make political stability in Great Britain, since the ministry often rests on the solid support of the majority party. But in France, as in most Continental countries, there are many parties, often differing from each other only a little. No one of them is large enough to control a majority of the votes in the legislative assembly, and support for a ministry can be obtained only by effecting a combination, or, as it is called in France, a *bloc*, of those parties which are willing to make common cause. Often this brings instability and shortness of tenure, since the fall of a ministry can easily be brought about by some of the parties withdrawing from the *bloc* to enter into new combinations. Therefore ministries in France, as in Italy, may change with bewildering rapidity, causing outsiders uninformed to believe that the French are fickle in politics and not yet trained in governing themselves. Such is, of course, not the case. Foreign critics declare that such insecurity of ministries tends to weaken administration and hamper France in her dealings with other countries; Frenchmen, admitting this, assert that their system represents more delicately than does the British system different shades of political thought.

The *bloc*

Self-government in France

Generally speaking, since the establishment of the republic in 1875, Frenchmen have gone steadily forward on the way of learning real self-government. They tried to establish it suddenly in 1791. In a few years it was evident they had failed. Again in 1848 a republic was established, but this again was easily and quickly overthrown. When a third republic was proclaimed in 1870, it might seem that it also had little chance to survive;

many were opposed to it, and many believed it must soon disappear. The Third Republic, however, acquired stability year after year, and at present it is so thoroughly established that its overthrow seems outside of proper calculation. This was partly because the people of France got more and more acquaintance with self-government in the latter part of the nineteenth century. It is not sufficient that a constitution be written and adopted providing that the people have certain institutions. Such constitutions in Portugal and in Spain and in some of the South American countries result in little more than that the elections are controlled by the army and the government by a few politicians; for most of the people have little education, little interest in political affairs, and almost no training in them. Great Britain has no written constitution in any single document, and yet her government has long continued stable and firm, at the same time flexible and increasingly democratic; for it has rested on the support of a great number of men and women possessing considerable acquaintance with the management of their government, having inherited this knowledge from ancestors who had interest in the government before them.

Increasing stability of the republic

The continued success of self-government among the people of England is in great measure due to the training which English people long had in the affairs of county and parish, to the vigorous local self-government which has existed for generations in England. In France this had once existed also, but it withered away and disappeared when the strongly centralized monarchy of the Old Régime was made by the kings. Matters, which in England would have been attended to by the leading men of the county or the parish, were directed from Paris or managed by officials sent out from the central government. This tended to produce, as it always does for a while, a very efficient government machine; but in course of time the people in the localities, having very little to do in manag-

Local self-government

Necessary in a democratic republic

ing their affairs, to a great extent lost their capacity for self-government. Therefore, the first French republics were made at the top rather than the bottom, and soon fell for lack of strong foundation in the political experience of the people themselves. This was, perhaps, apparent to the republican leaders as time went on. By the Constitution of 1875 a greater measure of local government was provided for; this was extended in 1882, when the elected councils of municipalities were permitted to elect the mayors; and in 1884 when localities were given still larger powers of self-government. Since then the French people have been slowly learning to some extent the art of governing themselves, in the places where they live and carry on their affairs.

Education

It was well understood by the republican leaders in France that if there was to be universal suffrage for men, there must be general education of the children. In 1881 a law was passed to make primary education free of cost to parents, and next year it was made compulsory for children from six to thirteen. Previous to this time a quarter of the men and more than a third of the women of the country were illiterate, and education was to a considerable extent, as it had long been, in the hands of religious orders and teachers. Gradually education was extended until very few men and women were unable to read and write, though the percentage of illiteracy was never reduced so low as in Germany, which had long led the world in the thoroughness and extent of its educational work, if not always in the excellence of its character. Gradually, also, education was made entirely secular, and withdrawn completely from religious teachers. And along with this went splendid development of higher education, in upper schools and universities. Technical and industrial teaching were not neglected, though they never attained the prominence or the reputation abroad that the German system won. Foreigners who went abroad for their edu-

Public, secular instruction

cation went almost always to the German Empire rather than to England or France; and this was especially true of students from the United States, who went to Germany and then developed in America the German system of higher education. This was due not only to the merits of German universities but to the prestige of Germany from her mighty development and successful wars, from advertising and clever propaganda. But critics realized more clearly after a time that the English system, and especially the French, not only produced erudition, but trained the character, cultivated spirit and taste, fineness of soul and good judgment, in a way which the more mechanically regulated, state-supervised system of Germany often was unable to do.

Reputation abroad

Bismarck, it is said, favored a French republic since he believed such a government would be unstable and weak, and because it would keep France isolated and without friends among the monarchies and empires of Europe. For a long time she was without allies, but the republic held its own steadily, and while it was disliked by a considerable and powerful portion of the population who were anxiously awaiting its overthrow, it was able to weather each crisis that developed. Business became settled; the government undertook vast and expensive schemes of material development, improving railroads and canals, and presently the French people found themselves in the midst of the greatest prosperity which had come to them in the nineteenth century. Taxes were high and there was a huge national debt, but this debt was held almost entirely in France, and interest payments on it, derived from taxes taken from the people, went back to them again.

Prosperity and improvement

But however fair the picture may seem now, there was much trouble while the improvement was taking place, and often it seemed that the republic would endure little longer. There was constant though diminishing danger in the relations with Germany, and there were internal

Difficulties

problems of the greatest difficulty resulting from opposition of the monarchists and clericals and the relations between church and state.

The monarchists

The English have altered their monarchy so far that of the kingship little remains but the name of king, and actually their government is far more democratic than most republics. They have clung to king and some monarchical forms, however, because of attachment to the past, and will probably for some time to come be reluctant to part with scepter and crown. The French, who are more logical and direct in processes of thought, did away with monarchy abruptly, though in their case also the process could not be achieved at once, and restorations of king or emperor followed the establishment of two republics. Clericals, the more conservative people, and those who loved to venerate the past, preferred monarchy to republic, distrusted government by the people, and did not believe France could be strong and respected until she had a king once more. After 1871 these men and women looked confidently for the fall of the republic after a while through incapacity and weakness; and when the course of time disappointed them, they plotted and hoped for an opportunity to bring the fall of the republic to pass.

General Boulanger

When the hazards of the first few years after 1871 had been successfully passed, the most dangerous crisis came in 1888. General Boulanger, a handsome, striking figure, whose very appearance excited the admiration and attachment of the unthinking, had made himself popular among the soldiers by his measures while minister of war. He took advantage of some scandals of the time, and of certain grievances which always exist, and presently let it be known that the government needed reforming. It was also told among his friends that if he were at the head of affairs, France might get revenge on the Germans. He soon had supporting him, besides the undiscriminating multitude, monarchists, clericals, and others; and friends of the

republic feared that if he tried a *coup d'état*, as Louis Napoleon once had, he might indeed be able to seize power. But the government was firm, and at the critical moment he hesitated to act, and presently fled to Belgium. Then he was condemned for plotting against the state. His party fell to pieces almost at once, and he died by his own hand in exile. Other disquieting times followed, but never one so serious again.

The Dreyfus Case

In 1896 began the scandal of the Dreyfus Case, which continued to disrupt French society and disturb the government for the next ten years. Dreyfus, an Alsatian Jew, a captain of artillery in the French army, had been arrested very secretly and condemned to be imprisoned for life in French Guiana for selling military information. He protested his innocence. Soon his cause was taken up by friends and others, and a bitter and sensational controversy arose. After many vicissitudes, it was demonstrated that the accused man was innocent and that scandalous conditions existed in military circles. In the end the French government gave Dreyfus and his associates complete and honorable vindication; but during the years of passionate struggle, while this was being attained, the government was attacked and undermined by monarchists and reactionaries, by clericals, and by many who desired France to be a military power more than a democratic state. Finally all this came to naught.

Church and state

As the years went on, with France prospering greatly and the republic growing constantly stronger, the government proceeded to deal with the difficult matter of the relations between church and state. In the Middle Ages the church had claimed superiority over all earthly things, and immunity from interference by the civil power. As stronger secular governments developed, their officials refused to accept the supremacy of the church in the state, and attempted, while not interfering with religious matters, to subject ecclesiastical matters, or the things which

concerned church regulation, to the civil authority of the state. Thus arose some of the greatest and most memorable struggles in medieval times. In the period of the Reformation and of the development of strong nation states, the matter was settled differently in various places. In Lutheran countries the church was made strictly subordinate to the state, and in England the church became part of the government itself. In Catholic countries various arrangements had been worked out.

The *Concordat* of 1801

In France the settlement now was based on the *Concordat* of 1801. This arrangement provided that the churches and buildings, which were in 1801 the property of the people, should be granted to the use of the clergy; the higher ecclesiastics, the archbishops and bishops, were to be appointed by the French government with the consent of the pope; the lower ecclesiastics, the priests, were to be appointed by the bishops, with the consent of the government of France. The church was thus controlled to a considerable extent by the state, and supported by it as part of the state, for the salaries of the ecclesiastics were paid by the government; on the other hand, in the government the church had much influence and power. This condition of affairs continued on through the nineteenth century, with the clericals looking back fondly to the times before the Revolution, detesting the republicans, and supporting and teaching monarchical principles and hoping for a restoration of kings. The bishops and priests did not hesitate to use their influence against the republic.

The church hostile to the republic

Meanwhile the government removed all clerical influence from the national system of education, allowing no religious exercises in the schools and not permitting clergymen to teach in them. Almost all of the population was Roman Catholic, but a great part of the men were held lightly by religious ties, and decided matters affecting the country from the point of view of politics rather than religion. So the government now proceeded to measures

which had never before been brought about in a Roman Catholic country except in violent change or upheaval.

The state takes measures against religious orders

The republican leaders declared that there could not be national unity while the religious orders, which had in recent years increased enormously in influence and wealth, engaged in teaching hostile to the government. Accordingly, in 1901, the government passed the so-called Law of Associations, by which religious orders were not allowed to exist unless authorized by the state. Many of the religious orders were not willing to ask the government for permission to exist, the law was vigorously enforced, and large numbers of monks and nuns were driven out of their establishments. In 1904 the government went further, passing an act which forbade even the authorized orders to do any teaching after 1914. All this was denounced by the faithful, who supported the orders, and who believed that their own liberty was infringed when they were deprived of the right to have their children taught by the instructors they most preferred. The state, however, was now resolved to have a monopoly of the education of its children.

Separation of church and state, 1905

Matters went much further. Many Frenchmen regarded Roman Catholicism, as well as other religions, as something to be cherished by those who wished it, but not imposed by the state or supported by government taxes; reasoning thus with the tolerant or contemptuous feeling which Voltaire and Diderot had long before them. Many others believed that clericalism was hostile to the republic, that the priests as well as the members of the teaching orders aroused opposition to the government and made division and weakness in the nation. They supported the principle, therefore, that church and state should be separate, and that while the church in its religious capacity was not to be interfered with by the government, it was not any longer to be supported by the government, but by voluntary contributions from its members.

In 1905 this was effected by a law which annulled the *Concordat.* Something was to be done for aged clergymen and for those who had just become priests, but the state was no longer to pay the salaries of churchmen, nor was it any longer to control their appointments. The church buildings, still national property, might be used freely by members of the Roman Catholic Church, or of other sects, provided the members of a congregation formed an *association cultuelle* (association of worship).

Troubles ensuing

This arrangement, which seemed proper to Frenchmen who were without strong religious ties, violated a great deal that was deeply rooted in a venerable past and loved and respected by many men and most women in France. There had been a great deal of sympathy for the members of religious orders, who seemed dispossessed of their property and driven forth from their homes; now there were riotous scenes about some of the churches. Not a few Catholics, however, believed that the trend of modern conditions made separation best for the church; and some of the ecclesiastics were willing at last to compromise with the authorities of the state. But the pope condemned the law, and good Catholics had then to oppose it. In 1907 the government passed a further law by which the churches might be used, provided the priest or minister made a contract therefor with the local official. The republic was stirred to its depths during the years that followed, but the authorities, supported by socialists, progressives, radicals, and others, were firm, and in the end seemed to have the support of most of the nation. Nevertheless, it was truly felt that there was now between the Roman Catholic Church, which held the faith at least nominally of almost all of the French people, and the government of the republic a breach which only time could heal. Actually the division continued until the beginning of the Great War, when in the fearful danger and suffering of the time churchmen rallied loyally to the *patrie*, and many of

Division in France

the people came back to the church more than for a great while before.

Economic prosperity

During all the latter part of the nineteenth century wealth increased in France beyond what Frenchmen had ever had before. The total amount of this wealth was much less than in England or the United States, and the standard of living was lower than in the English-speaking countries; but there was a high average prosperity and wide distribution of property. This arose especially from two causes: the land was distributed among a large number of proprietors, and the size of families was small.

Property and birth-rate

In France during the Revolution and even more in the period preceding much land previously owned by nobles or the church had come on the market and had been sold in small holdings. In this way a great deal of landed property formerly in possession of a few wealthy proprietors—as was the case in Russia until the Revolution of 1917, and as was largely the case in Britain until the terrible taxation of the War—changed hands, and in course of time was sold to peasant farmers. The result of this was to create a great body of small owners, having the means of achieving more prosperity and well-being than ever before. Some observers who lived then believed that this amelioration was only for the time, that the lands would later pass out of the possession of the new owners, or else that they, having more children because they could support them, would be no better off, and that when the holdings were divided up among these larger families of the next generation there would again be miserable cultivators living upon scanty patches of ground. Previously birth rate in France had almost always been high. Now Arthur Young, the celebrated traveler, predicted that the country would become a veritable rabbit-warren, so fast would the population breed. But this did not take place. About the middle of the nineteenth century the English economist, John Stuart Mill, noticed that the French birth rate

Smaller families

21. FRANCE IN 1920

had fallen, and that families were smaller. He explained this by saying that the new body of proprietors accustomed to a higher standard of living, refused to lower it by having more children than they could properly support; that they were unwilling to lower the standard of the next generation by dividing their property among so many children that the amount for each would be insufficient.

Stationary population in France

All through the century this tendency continued with ever greater force. By the time of the Franco-German War the population of the country was no longer increasing rapidly, and since that time it has scarcely increased at all. The results have seemed good and bad. On the one hand there has been a generally high standard of living. For many Frenchmen there has been a great amount of leisure and comfort, which has enabled them to be the foremost leaders of civilization and thought, and to enjoy deeply, in their manner, the civilization of their era. On the other hand the population of France has stood still while that of England has overtaken it, and while that of Germany threatened to become twice as large. Hence, there was always the danger that France might be overwhelmed by superior numbers. Vainly the government tried to encourage larger families, offering to exempt the fathers of several children from taxation, and even offering prizes to the mothers of large families. There were a few large families, but generally the birth rate remained so low that in the latter part of the nineteenth century there was much fear that the population might even be declining. Enemies of France declared that this stationary or declining population and small birth-rate showed that the French were a decadent, immoral, and diseased people; as in the dying Roman Empire long before, there was no longer enough vigor to produce the men and women to carry on the destiny of the nation. On the other hand, it was maintained that what was taking place in France had always characterized highly civilized people who had risen to better

Causes alleged

intelligence and standard of living; and that in France well-being and intelligence were so universally diffused, that habits existing only among the upper classes elsewhere prevailed generally in France among the people.

Germany and France

The recovery of France was beset with difficulties that seemed very disheartening at the time. Not only did she have to pay the indemnity, and repair the losses caused by her defeat, but when once the money had been paid to Germany and recovery was going well forward, she was watched with jealous suspicion by the Germans, who, having overthrown and plundered her, wished her to remain weak and friendless, so that she could not possibly take vengeance. At first the French, smarting under their humiliation and the sense of their wrongs, declared openly that they would have revenge as soon as they could. Bismarck and his military colleagues had believed that the terms of the treaty were such that France would remain weak for some time; but when the indemnity was paid off sooner than had been considered possible, the French people went onward in marvelously swift recuperation. The Germans did not doubt that they could defeat France again, but some of the leaders taught that if there must be another war it would be easier and wiser to strike the enemy down before full strength was recovered.

The Affair of 1875

In this manner arose the once-renowned Affair of 1875. France had adopted the Prussian system of universal military training, and in that year passed a law to complete the reorganization of her army. What followed is still enveloped in obscurity, but it would seem that German leaders believed it would be well to strike before the new law produced its effects, and that Bismarck desired to impose a new treaty by which France would not be permitted to maintain a large army. There was a great war scare, and the French feared they were about to be attacked. If such was the German intention, it speedily brought from Russia and from Great Britain intimation

that they would not this time stand aside and see France first attacked and then crushed; and the crisis soon passed. France now passed definitely out of her position of hopeless inferiority, and gained steadily in strength and assurance.

The Schnaebelé affair

But however swift and splendid her recovery was, it came too late to enable her to settle her account with the Germans. As the years passed France grew stronger and greater than before, but meanwhile Germany was growing more rapidly still in population, wealth, and military power. Furthermore, the German Empire was the center and head of the greatest military alliance in the world, and all through Bismarck's time France remained in isolation. But as time went on Russia drew away from Germany and it seemed to Frenchmen that their chance might some day come if Germany were involved in war with Russia or if Russia formed an alliance with France. In 1887 relations between the two countries were strained as a result of Boulanger's activities, and also because of the arrest by the German government of M. Schnaebelé, a French official, near the frontier. During the crisis Russia moved troops toward the German border, showing clearly her attitude toward Germany and France. Bismarck speaking in the *reichstag* had said that if France again attacked Germany "we should endeavor to make France incapable of attacking us for thirty years . . . each would seek to bleed the other white." But Schnaebelé was released, and Boulanger's efforts came to nothing.

The *entente* between Russia and France

With the passing of Bismarck and the beginning of a new policy by William II, a great change came swiftly to pass: Russia and France drew together in the Dual Alliance. There had been obstacles enough in the way without the skilful manipulation of Bismarck. Napoleon I had invaded Russia and brought about the burning of Moscow, and Napoleon III had been the leader of the combination which crushed Russia in the Crimean War. On the other hand Frenchmen remembered the terrible retreat of the

Grand Army in 1812, and they had recently seen Russia the firm friend of Prussia while they were being trampled in the dust. Moreover Frenchmen had been the leaders in political reform in Europe, and now constituted the largest body of self-governing freemen on the Continent; while in Russia, conservative autocrats ruled a people in lowly condition. But the mere fact that they were separated and some distance apart served to remove the causes of friction. Now they were both isolated as a result of German statecraft, France in the west, Russia in the east; they both needed allies; both felt insecure without the support of some powerful friend; and Russia badly needed money for internal development, which could be obtained in France better than anywhere else. These causes operated swiftly, once the influence of Bismarck was removed. Even before his fall the Russian government, which had previously borrowed in Germany, began placing huge loans in France and seeking an agreement. Negotiations and friendly visits began in 1890. Then in 1892 the two powers entered into an *entente* or friendly understanding and a military convention, sanctioned but not signed by the tsar in 1893. It was believed for a long time that a treaty of alliance had been signed, but in 1918 the publication of a French Yellow Book made it plain that no treaty had been signed, and that what had long popularly been designated as the Dual Alliance rested upon the *entente* and the Military Convention of 1892-3. The agreement stipulated that in case one of the parties to the treaty was attacked by Germany, the other would stand by its partner with all of its power.

The Military Convention of 1892-3

Result of the alliance

The result of the Dual Alliance of 1893 was in some sense to restore the balance of power in Europe, to take France out of her position of loneliness and inferiority, and to shake the hegemony of the German Empire. But actually it did little beyond making France feel more secure. The Triple Alliance was believed by competent

observers to be stronger than its rival, and France and Russia were, moreover, in active rivalry with Great Britain. Therefore, after 1893, as before, France found that it was hopeless to think of attacking Germany to get back the lost provinces and restore her position; and in course of time desire and expectation of doing this so far died out that they cannot be reckoned as important causes of the war of 1914.

France and Great Britain

During the generation after the Franco-German War France came into dangerous and increasing rivalry with Great Britain. This resulted from colonial expansion and the naval expansion which went with it. Once her recovery was well begun, France turned her eyes beyond Europe with the purpose of building up a new colonial empire and retrieving abroad her losses. She had great success in north Africa, in southeastern Asia, and in some of the islands, especially Madagascar; and it was no long time before she had built up the second largest colonial empire in the world. Along with this went naval expansion, which awakened the ever-watchful jealousy of Britain, particularly after the formation of the Dual Alliance, for England was apprehensive of Russian expansion in Asia down toward India, just as she was of French naval increase and French expansion in north Africa toward the Nile. Great tension and much hostility developed year by year, and in the latter part of the century the situation seemed fraught with the ominous possibilities of conflict which a decade later made so dangerous the relations between Germany and England. The crisis came in 1898, when British forces, which had moved up from Egypt and just conquered the Sudan, came in contact with French forces which had moved eastward across Africa to Fashoda on the upper Nile. England demanded that France withdraw, and this was at first refused. But it was as hopeless for France to contend with the overwhelming sea power of Britain as it was for her to contest

with Germany on the Rhine, and so she yielded completely. The episode left great bitterness in the hearts of Frenchmen. At this time some of them believed that they had best forget the recent past and join with Germany against England, their traditional foe. Until this time, however, Germany had seemed drawing closer and closer to England. But in reality a turning point had been reached. Germany and England were to begin drawing apart now in bitterest rivalry, which would one day lead to war, while after a few years England and France were to enter on a friendship which would later be the salvation of them both.

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CHAPTER XVII

DEMOCRATIC BRITAIN

Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks; methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam. . . .

MILTON, *Areopagitica* (1644).

There is no country so interested in the maintenance of peace as England. . . . She is not an aggressive Power, for there is nothing that she desires. . . . What she wishes is to maintain and to enjoy the unexampled Empire which she has built up, and which it is her pride to remember exists as much upon sympathy as upon force.

Speech of the EARL OF BEACONSFIELD at the Lord Mayor's Banquet, London *Times*, November 10, 1876.

Britische Herrschsucht und Handelseifersucht sind die Triebfedern gewesen, welche die Welt organisiert und in Bewegung gesetzt haben, um den Vernichtungskrieg gegen ein friedliebendes Volk zu führen;

GRAF ERNST REVENTHLOW, *Deutschlands Auswärtige Politik, 1888–1914* (ed. 1918), p. 477.

Great Britain in the past generation

THE history of Great Britain in the later period has to do largely with the growth of the British Empire, with great and increasing dangers that threatened, and afterward with a mighty triumph. Until recent years it is generally a record of prosperity and power. More interesting, perhaps, it is also a story of increasing control of the government by the people, until at last the British have become one of the most democratic nations in the world. This very progress has brought them serious problems, perplexing and not yet settled.

ARCTIC OCEAN
Crocker Land
Grant Land
Baffin Bay
GREENLAND
ALASKA
Hudson Bay
DOMINION OF CANADA
NORTH AMERICA
Esquimalt
Ottawa
St. Johns
Halifax
UNITED STATES
ATLANTIC
PACIFIC
Azores
Bermudas (Br.)
Canary Is.
Gulf of Mexico
MEXICO
Bahamas
Caicos Is. (Br.)
WEST INDIES
Cuba
Jamaica
Barbuda
Antigua
Dominica
St. Lucia
Barbados
Trinidad
Grenada
CARIBBEAN SEA
Cape Verde Is.
CENTRAL AMERICA
Georgetown
Hawaiian Is.
Washington I. (Br.)
Fanning I. (Br.)
(Br.) Christmas I.
Phoenix Is.
Jarvis I. (Br.)
Starbuck I. (Br.)
Tokelau or Unions Is.
Dudoza I. (Br.)
Penrhyn I. (Br.)
Marquesas Is.
Danger I. (Br.)
Nassau I. (Br.)
Rakahanga I. (Br.)
Caroline I. (Br.)
Manihiki Is. (Br.)
Suwarow I. (Br.)
Samoa or Navigator Is.
Society Is. (Br.)
Tuamotu or Low Archipelago
Savage I. (Br.)
Hervey or Cook Is.
Tonga or Friendly Is. (Br.)
Raratonga (Br.)
Tubuai or Austral Is. (Br.)
Ducie I. (Br.)
Oparo I. (Br.)
Pitcairn I. (Br.)
Sala-y-Gomez
Easter I.
Galapagos Is.
SOUTH AMERICA
OCEAN
Chatham Is. (Br.)
Falkland Is. (Br.)
South Georgia (Br.)
Sandwich Group
Dougherty I.
South Shetlands (Br.)
South Orkneys (Br.)
Graham Land
(Br.) British Empire
GENERAL DRAFTING CO. INC. N.Y.

ARCTIC OCEAN
FRANZ JOSEF LAND
EMPEROR NICHOLAS II LAND
SPITZBERGEN
Barents Sea
NOVAYA ZEMLYA
SIBERIA
FINLAND
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
RUSSIA
SWEDEN
EUROPE
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
ASIA
TURKESTAN
MONGOLIA
TURKEY
PERSIA
AFGHANISTAN
TIBET
CHINA
Wei-hai-wei (Br.)
JAPAN
Cairo
Suez
EGYPT
ARABIA
TRIPOLI
Delhi
INDIA
NEPAL
Ladrone Is.
Hongkong (Br.)
PACIFIC OCEAN
Kuria Muria (Br.)
Socotra (Br.)
Laccadive Is. (Br.)
Maldive Is. (Br.)
Andaman Is. (Br.)
Ceylon
Nicobar Is. (Br.)
SIAM
FRENCH INDO-CHINA
Philippine Is.
Caroline Is.
Gilbert Is. (Br.)
EAST INDIES
Singapore
Borneo
Sumatra
Java
Christmas I. (Br.)
Cocos or Keeling Is. (Br.)
Chagos Archip (Br.)
Diego Garcia (Br.)
Seychelles (Br.)
Mahe (Br.)
Amirantes (Br.)
Providence (Br.)
Zanzibar (Br.)
Aldabra (Br.)
Cargados (Br.)
Rodriguez (Br.)
Mauritius (Br.)
Madagascar
AFRICA
BELGIAN CONGO
ANGOLA
INDIAN OCEAN
Johannesburg
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
New Guinea
Solomon Is. (Br.)
Ellice Is. (Br.)
Santa Cruz
Louisiade Arch. (Br.)
Fiji Is. (Br.)
AUSTRALIA
Norfolk I. (Br.)
Lord Howe I. (Br.)
Sydney
Melbourne
New Zealand
Tasmania
Bounty I. (Br.)
Antipodes
Auckland I. (Br.)
Campbell I. (Br.)
Macquarrie I. (Br.)
Kerguelen (Br.)
Wilkes Land

PIRE IN 1914

The Representation of the People Act, 1884

By the Electoral Reform Law of 1867 only a part of the lower class was allowed to vote, but seventeen years later the franchise was extended also to the agricultural workers and the laborers in the mines. By this Reform Law of 1884, 2,000,000 men were added to the electorate so that 5,000,000 persons had the franchise, or one person out of every seven of the population. Manhood suffrage was not yet established, as it had been in France and in the German Empire, though actually almost every man was now allowed to vote, and the representatives elected by them to the house of commons held the principal powers of the government and directly controlled the executive organ of the state. Meanwhile, the year before, a Corrupt Practices Act limited the amount of money a candidate might spend for election expenses, and provided such severe penalties for bribery and corruption as to bring them virtually to an end in Great Britain. The year after the Electoral Reform Law, the Redistribution Act of 1885 practically divided Great Britain into electoral districts, bringing representation into accord with population. Previously representation had been by counties and by boroughs. Now the small boroughs were merged into their counties, most of the larger ones were made one-member constituencies, the counties were divided into one-member constituencies on the basis of the population within them, and the larger cities were given representation in accordance with the number of inhabitants in them. Thus practically was brought to pass parliamentary representation of people, instead of districts or corporations, something that had been proposed in Cromwell's time but soon discarded.

The Redistribution Act, 1885

The women's movement

This wide extension of the electorate in England was accompanied, as it was in the United States, by persistent demand for the extension of democracy upon a broader basis by admitting not only more men to a share in the government but also the women of the nation. The

women's movement in Great Britain, as in the United States, went on for a considerable time before it won much attention, and when at last it was noticed, it was older than most people suspected. During the period of the Puritan Revolution, and also more than a hundred years later in France during the French Revolution, women demanded their "rights" as equals with men, and asked to share in the governing of the state. Nevertheless, the feminist movement is essentially a thing of the nineteenth century. It was only the effects of the French Revolution, and more particularly of the Industrial Revolution, that made it possible for most women to escape from the inferior position in which they had always previously been held. When in 1792 Mary Wollstonecraft declared that women ought to have part in choosing the representatives who governed them, she was regarded as a foolish radical. It is true that in New Jersey, one of the American states, in the period 1797–1807, women were actually permitted to vote, but this was an isolated case, and in both of the great English-speaking countries during the first half of the nineteenth century the advocates of women's suffrage, principally Quakers, were considered to be urging something impracticable and immoral, something contrary to the laws of God. But in England especially, where the Industrial Revolution first made such great headway, conditions changed profoundly, and, with them, the position of women, so that it was no longer possible to apply the old arguments with such effect as before. Formerly woman's place had been the home, and it was supposed that almost all would marry, but now a great number worked for wages in factories outside the supervision of their men at the same time that more and more men emigrated to the colonies of the empire. By the middle of the nineteenth century there were 365,000 more women than men in England, and over 1,000,000 more in 1900. It was obviously impossible for a large number of Eng-

In earlier times

The work of the Quakers

Women more numerous than men in England

lish women to marry, and it was evident that many were supporting themselves. In many cases they were paying taxes, but they had no voice in the government, no control over those who made laws affecting them; they were subject to taxation without representation. At the same time women were steadily having their minds broadened by more education than women had ever had before, and they were developing a greater sense of responsibility, stronger feeling of individuality, and greater sense of their dignity and power. It seemed to them that the doctrines established by their forefathers, and proclaimed so grandly during the French Revolution—that all men were equal and that government depended on the consent of the governed—ought to be considered to apply to women as well as to men.

Changes affecting women

Both in England and the United States feminist reformers got some ridicule but not much attention. Most of the women, conservative and timid, had no interest in the movement, and most men were opposed to it because it ran counter to a vast mass of old custom and established ideas. But in 1866 John Stuart Mill moved in the house of commons to include women in the provisions of the bill then pending to extend the franchise. He declared that women's interests were closely connected with men's, and that unless men helped them to rise, they would pull men down to a lower condition. His proposal was easily defeated, but thereafter almost every year a bill was proposed to allow women to vote.

The women's suffrage movement

To advocates the progress of the movement often seemed slow, but in reality it was more rapid than any previous movement to extend the suffrage to men. It was not always remembered that until the beginning of the nineteenth century the franchise, if held at all, was confined almost entirely to a few men of the upper classes. Actually after a while women in England were allowed to vote and be voted for in local elections, and it was generally

Progress of the movement

Betterment of women's position

believed that they had a higher position than the women of any other country except, probably, the United States. One by one the old legal inequalities were abolished, until scarcely any remained, and women's economic opportunities became constantly better. Nevertheless, they were still subject to some discriminations, and an ever-increasing number of women, who desired complete equality with men, believed that this could never be attained, and that women would never be able to take their proper share of the duties of the commonwealth until they were admitted to vote for members of parliament upon the same conditions as men.

The suffragettes

The movement went on making slow but certain progress, though the majority of the people, both men and women, continued to be against it. Finally, about 1905, a small number of more radical women, under the leadership of Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, tiring at impediments and delay, lack of public interest and attention, undertook to procure votes for women by force and compulsion, which, they said, had been the method that men had employed. Then for a few years was carried on a campaign ridiculous and alarming. "Wild women," as they were called, screamed and interrupted public meetings, harassed public officials, interfered with the carrying on of the government in which they had no part, and perpetrated all sorts of petty violence and outrage. When arrested and imprisoned they tried the "hunger strike," which had previously been employed by political prisoners in Russia, starving themselves, so that the government, which desired that no woman should be killed in this contest, invariably released them. By 1914 these suffragettes had become so great a menace and nuisance that some foreigners believed Englishmen to be decadent and not capable of dealing with troublesome questions. The suffragettes did attract a great deal of attention for their cause, but they also aroused much hostility and strong

Results of their work

dislike. They had set the dangerous precedent of women employing force, when the whole tendency of civilization had been for force not to be employed against women. Moreover, they afforded one of the first conspicuous examples of a procedure—since not uncommon—of an organized minority boldly making itself intolerable so as to compel the yielding of the things which it wanted. But when the war began in 1914 they immediately ceased their campaign, and rallied to the support of the country. During the contest the women of Great Britain performed indispensable and tremendous service, and it was generally recognized that the suffrage should be given to them if they desired it.

Women and force

The great expansion of democratic feeling during the war led to a further extension of the suffrage to men, and at the same time many women were also admitted. In 1918 all men of twenty-one years or over, with fixed residence or business premises for six months, and all women, thirty years of age or more, already entitled to vote in local elections and women whose husbands were so entitled, were given the parliamentary franchise. The electorate was increased by 2,000,000 men and 6,000,000 women, so that one out of every three of the entire population could vote, thus extending suffrage to a larger portion of the population than had been done in any great country before. The government of the United Kingdom had been put into the hands of its people about as far as was possible under the existing system; and the people had more complete control and were able to make their wishes felt more immediately and directly than any other great nation in the world. It was said now by some that further reform must lie, not so much in the direction of extending the suffrage as in so changing the system that industries and groups, rather than districts, should be represented. Thus, it was believed, the people might, perhaps, obtain more complete

Extension of the franchise, 1918

Changes in representation suggested

economic control as well as control of political matters. But opponents protested that such an arrangement would merely be a reversion to a more primitive and less good system, tried and discarded in the past.

Improvement of education

During the period 1867–1918 all sorts of reforms were carried forward for the purpose of making the body of the people able to share in their government and also for the bettering of their condition. In 1867 Robert Lowe had said: "We must now educate our masters." This was undertaken by the Liberals who came into power under Gladstone almost immediately after Disraeli had carried the second Electoral Reform Law. A great change was made in 1870. Down to this time English education, except for a very few of the wealthy, was far behind what existed in Germany or the United States. There were the two old universities of Oxford and Cambridge, unrivalled in beauty and ancient charm, but giving only the culture which befitted the children of the ruling classes. Beneath them were certain "public schools" like Eton and Rugby, where also sons of the aristocrats might receive splendid teaching of the humanities and fine training in the development of character. But this was by far the best part of a system which had been devised principally for the upper classes.

Education of the children in 1870

In 1870 there were thought to be about 4,000,000 children of school age, of whom only half attended any school. Of these 2,000,000, half attended schools poorly organized and often not well conducted. The rest went to schools under government inspection and partly supported by the government but managed by the Church of England, so that in England, as in France and in Spain, a considerable part of the education remained in the hands of the church. Several small reforms had already been made, but it was evident that a great deal was yet to be done. There was much difference of opinion, as there was in similar instances in most European countries. Some believed that it was well for religious teaching to be

given; others that education ought to be entirely without religious influence, and compulsory and free. The Education Act of 1870 was a compromise, as has usually been the case in England. Existing voluntary schools doing good work were to be retained and get more assistance from the government, and they might continue their religious instruction. Elsewhere "board schools" were to be established, supported by the government, by the local rates, and partly by fees paid by the parents of the children attending. In them no religious denominational instruction was to be allowed. This reform by no means brought the educational system of Great Britain up to the standards of Switzerland and the German Empire; it did not make education entirely free and compulsory, and it left it partly under denominational control. None the less, it greatly bettered conditions and to a considerable extent provided education free of cost to the children. Before the end of the century four fifths of the children went to school. The work was carried forward in 1918 by one of the great reforms of the period of the war, when a law was passed providing that all children between five and fourteen years must go to school, and providing that the expense of education should be divided equally between the central government and the local authorities.

Reform: the Education Act of 1870

The admission of the lower classes to the electorate and to a share in the government in 1867 and 1884 was not followed by an overturning of the government, such as people in the upper classes had feared, nor by any exceedingly radical demands. Nevertheless, as in the earlier part of the century, a whole series of reforms was gradually carried out, the two parties vying with each other in making the changes. The Liberals believed that they ought to be made; the Conservatives considered them inevitable and believed it better for the government to grant them than for the mass of the people to compel them. Some of the changes had to do with taking away privileges from

Social and economic reforms

particular classes. In 1870 the civil service was reformed. Next year the University Tests Act practically completed the removal of the religious tests, which before had restricted the privileges of the great universities mostly to members of the Church of England. Another group had to do with bettering economic conditions and protecting labor. In the period 1878–1901 factory legislation was extended and simplified; and during the same time laws were passed to regulate better the conditions in the mines. The state socialism of Bismarck had put the German Empire ahead of other countries for a while in the improvement of social and economic conditions, but similar work was undertaken also in the United Kingdom when the Liberal Party came into power under Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Asquith, and Mr. Lloyd George in 1905. In the course of the years immediately following a Workingmen's Compensation Act (1906) made employers liable to pay compensation to employees injured by accident. An Old Age Pension Act (1909) provided that every person over seventy years of age with an income of less than £31 10s. should receive a pension from the state. Long effort had been needed to secure this law, since while its advocates asserted that it would make happier the last years of deserving unfortunates, opponents declared that all such legislation was ruinous since it tended to pauperize people, encouraging them to rely on assistance from the state rather than on their own efforts. In 1911 was passed a National Insurance Act which provided insurance for sickness and loss of employment, the funds to be subscribed generally, though not always, by the employees, and by the employers and the state.

Regulation of industry and labor

Trade unions

Beginning with 1824 a series of statutes, especially the statute of 1871, gradually legalized the trade unions, which workingmen had already formed for protection and advancement of their interests, and in order to raise their wages, but which the state long continued to oppose. In

1901, it is true, the house of lords declared, in the *Taff Vale* Case, that members of trade unions were liable singly and collectively for the acts of their union. This was merely corporate responsibility added to the corporate privileges which unions had already acquired; but it was felt by many that workingmen's unions were so much weaker than the powerful employers, and so much more in need of assistance, that they needed special protection. Therefore in 1906 the Trades Disputes Act gave immunity to trade-union funds. Actually, however, trade unions were becoming exceedingly powerful in Great Britain. More and more they were able to deal as equals or superiors with the employers, and cause the government itself to heed their wishes. Memories of long oppression and tyranny on the part of capitalists and employers made many leaders of the workingmen regard all employers with dislike and suspicion. Gradually they adopted socialist ideas and began to hope that a day might come when capitalism and middle-class employers would be done away with completely. Numerous strikes were called, it sometimes seemed, more for the purpose of harassing the employers than anything else. Particularly did the doctrine spread among British workingmen that they were made to work too many hours for the benefit of employers, that thus numerous people could find no work to do, and that only if hours were reduced and production restrained would there be work enough for them all.

The *Taff Vale* Case

As Britain became a completely industrialized country with its artisans composing so great a portion of the people, leaders aspired to found a Labor Party, to take control of the government some day for organized labor, which would then be able to reconstruct the state. In 1893 an Independent Labor Party was founded, which proposed to have the government bring about an eight-hour day of labor, collective ownership, and state control of railways, shipping, and banks. Most of the British

The Labor Party

laborers were not yet ready to accept socialistic doctrines, and they did not give this party their support. In 1906 another Labor Party was formed. It became one of the smaller groups in the house of commons, with power increasing as time went on, and its advocates expecting it to be the dominant party in the future.

Labor powerful and aggressive

Labor disputes became constantly more bitter and labor leaders more aggressive in the years just before the war. The wiser of the leaders desired nothing more than the real improvement of laboring people; but it was often believed that the numerous harassing strikes and refusal to work more than a certain amount were seriously hindering production and putting Britain behind in industrial competition with Germany and the United States. During the Great War British labor gave splendid response to the needs of the country, the unions consenting to put aside the rules which they had made for their protection. But it was very evident that they expected their reward to come after their country had triumphed. Some of them declared that then the state must take over the mines and the railways and other great instruments and sources of production to be used for the people themselves, and that much must be done by the government to give the workers a larger share in the goods of the state. In 1917 the British Labor Committee issued a *Report* in which it declared that there must be democratic control of all the machinery of the state, and that the system of private capitalists must yield to common ownership of land and capital by the people. At the end of the struggle the powerful "Triple Alliance" of miners, transport workers, and railwaymen was strengthened, and the organized laborers of the country drew up in powerful array threatening to enforce their wishes by "direct action" of paralyzing strikes. By this time it seemed that the trade unions in Great Britain, as in some other countries, were no longer struggling so much for the protection of them-

Report of the British Labor Committee

selves as to enforce the special interests of their own particular class.

Wealth and poverty in Great Britain

Social betterment in the United Kingdom had lagged far behind the wishes of some of the Liberals, especially one of the new leaders, the Welshman, Mr. Lloyd George, and the desires of the socialist and radical teachers. The condition of a great part of the people seemed much less good than that of the Germans, protected by their vigorous and paternal government, or of the inhabitants of the United States and some of the British dominions, where new lands were being opened up and great natural resources made use of. The evils accompanying industrialism had not yet disappeared. For its size Britain was the wealthiest country in the world, but much of this wealth was concentrated in the hands of a few. Some estimated that half of the national income went to 12 per cent. of the population, that all the rest of the people were poor, and that in some communities a third of them were always on the verge of starvation. Before 1914 travelers were struck by the appalling misery of the slums of Glasgow and the dreadful poverty of districts in London. The ignorant, obstinate, and arbitrary methods of the British trade unions were often to be explained and excused because of the long-standing and terrible conditions which they confronted. But it is not improbable that excessive growth of the population more than any evils of capitalism had brought these conditions about.

Much land owned by a few aristocrats

Most of the land had long since come into the possession of a few great owners. In England two thirds of the soil was owned by 10,000 persons, and almost all of Scotland by 1,700 persons; many of the large estates being entailed, so that they could not easily be alienated or divided, and so that usually they passed intact from one generation to another. To a considerable extent Britain was a country of beautiful parks and estates, with picturesque old villages, delightful to the tourist's eye, though often

antiquated, unsanitary, and not sufficient for the needs of the rural population. The agricultural laborers were crowded off the land, or else entirely at the mercy of powerful landowners. At the other extreme were the great landed proprietors, with large fortunes and extensive investments, taxed lightly on their lands, wealthy, powerful, constituting—far more than in France and as much as in Germany—an aristocratic caste above the other inhabitants. They completely dominated fashionable and social life; they filled many of the important places in the government; and some of them composed the house of lords. Generally they had been wise and careful, and had contributed not a little to the welfare of the country; and it was partly for these reasons that they had been able to retain so much of their position and their power. But many Englishmen had long thought it a misfortune that their agriculture should so far decline and their rural population diminish; and there had long been agitation, which increased during the war, for the government in some way to compel the breaking up of the great estates and to settle part of the population upon them.

The nobility in Britain

The house of lords and the budget

It was partly the cost of the social legislation, which was sought and which was being carried through, that led to one of the greatest revolutions in British government for generations. This was the virtual taking away of the power of the house of lords by the Parliament Act of 1911. More money was needed by the government, and Mr. Lloyd George, chancellor of the exchequer, now proposed to increase the budget partly by increased income taxes and also by heavy taxation on the unearned increment of land values, that is, where the value of unoccupied or unimproved land was increased not through anything done by the owner but by the mere increase in population or surrounding values. Thus, he proposed to get the larger amounts of money needed by higher taxes on the possessions of the wealthy; but his scheme was

denounced as striking at the very security of property; and when the provision passed the house of commons at the end of 1909 it was at once rejected by the lords.

The house of lords and the house of commons

When parliament was now dissolved and a new election held the issue before the country was the "veto power" of the upper house. Parliament in the beginning had been an assembly of estates—as the states general continued to be in France—which after a while developed into a body of two houses. Its principal functions were advisory and judicial, and it long continued to be known as the "High Court of Parliament." In course of time, however, the principal business of parliament came to be the passing of legislation and the appropriation of money. In the passing of bills it was necessary that both houses give their consent, nor could a bill become law if either the lords or the commons refused. During the eighteenth century the principle was equally well established that bills for the appropriation of money were to originate in the commons and not to be altered by the lords. In other respects, however, the house of lords continued to have the veto power and used it not infrequently. On several important occasions there had been bitter disputes between the two houses, and in two memorable instances the government had employed a particular device to overcome the opposition of the lords. In 1711 the government wished to have the approval of parliament for the Treaty of Utrecht which had just been negotiated. It was easy to get such approval from the commons, but there was a majority opposing in the lords. Thereupon Queen Anne announced the creation of twelve new peers, whose coming into the house of lords made a majority favorable to the measure, which was then approved. Similarly in 1831 and 1832 the lords opposed the bill for electoral reform, which the commons had passed, and which a majority of the people wanted. There was no ordinary way by which this opposition could be

Creation of new peers

removed, since the lords held their seats by hereditary title, but again the government made ready to create a large number of Whig peers who would ensure the passage of the bill. Under this threat the lords yielded, and the Reform Bill of 1832 became law. Now in 1910, after the lords had rejected the Finance Bill, parliament was dissolved and elections held on the issue of abolishing the veto power of the lords. The Liberals won and brought forward such a bill, which the lords rejected. Again parliament was dissolved and the issue bitterly contested in general elections, and again the Liberals triumphed. Early in 1911 it was announced that a sufficient number of new peers would be created to carry the bill. Then the house of lords yielded and the bill was enacted into a law.

An effective threat

The Parliament Law of 1911

This Parliament Law of 1911 provided that the lords should have no power whatever to reject any money bill, and that any other measure passing the commons in three successive sessions within a period of not less than two years should become law despite the lords' veto. Thus the constitution of parliament was fundamentally altered. For a long time the lords had been more powerful and important than the commons, but since the eighteenth century the commons had been getting an ascendancy greater and greater. None the less, the lords might still oppose and successfully obstruct. Now substantially this power was taken away from them, and only that part of parliament which was elected by the people remained with great influence in the state. According to the law the king still possessed the right to veto a bill; but no sovereign had done this since 1707, and actually this prerogative had been completely lost. It should be said that in 1719 a bill had nearly passed parliament by which the executive would have lost the right to create new peers. Had this taken place, neither the Reform Law of 1832 nor the Parliament Act of 1911 could have been enacted without a revolution, since it was only upon the

The Peerage Bill of 1719

threat of creating new peers that the house of lords had yielded and surrendered its power. It is probable that the upper house of the English parliament will presently be reconstituted on a more modern basis. At present its power is far less than that of the American senate, which, since 1913, has been made directly dependent on the people. By the Parliament Act of 1911 also the maximum duration of a parliament was fixed at five years, instead of seven years, as previously since 1716. In the same year also the commons voted to pay their members, something once done, but not done for a long while.

Future of the house of lords

Meanwhile earnest efforts were being made to settle the Irish question, and it began to seem that at last success was nearly at hand. During much of the nineteenth century Ireland had been governed by coercion acts and military rule, against which the secret societies retaliated again and again with outrage, destruction, and terror. Bad as conditions were, they had risen not from any special wickedness of Englishmen, but as a result of methods that were everywhere applied in times past, and because of circumstances particularly unhappy. These conditions were changed all too slowly. But in the latter part of the nineteenth century a great alteration came to pass. The Irish were able to make their protests and resistance more troublesome and much more effective. Steadily the people of Britain had been becoming more humane and more sensitive to wrong and the suffering about them. Moreover, Britain was slowly being transformed into a democracy, with the power of the government increasingly in the hands of the people. And just as in the nineteenth century a great series of reforms had been carried out for the betterment of the lot of the mass of the people in Britain, so, after a while, as the people of Britain and their leaders understood more clearly the conditions in Ireland, they turned themselves to the long and difficult task of improving conditions and undoing the wrongs once committed.

The Irish Question

Efforts for amelioration

Reforms in Ireland

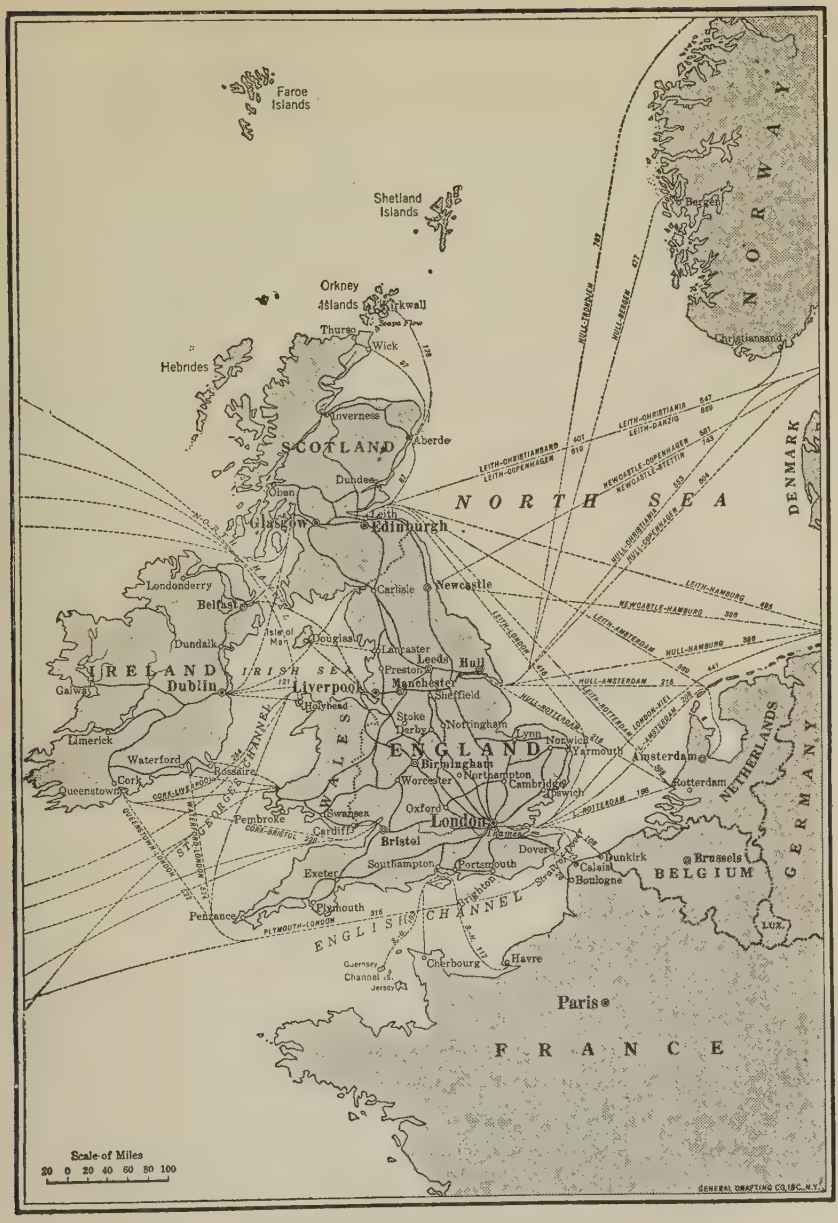
Roman Catholics had been emancipated in 1829, but the work of completing the removal of religious discrimination was effected in 1869 by the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland, the Protestant church which the British government had long before established and endowed with property, and which had until recently been supported with tithes paid by the Catholic Irish. Next, urged on by violent agitation and the savage lawlessness of some of the Irish, the government gave its attention to the question of the land. Beginning with 1870 a series of acts was passed by which Irish tenants were protected in their tenures, and assured some compensation for their improvements made on land while it had been in their possession; and presently the government itself took measures to see that they were not made to pay excessive rents. More important still, another series of laws, passed in the last quarter of the century, gave government assistance to the peasants so that they might buy their lands and become owners themselves.

The Land Purchase Acts

They were to repay the government, with moderate interest, in small payments over a long period of time, the terms being so generously arranged that presently it was cheaper for an Irishman to buy his land than it was to pay rent. By 1910 half of the island was in possession of small holders, who were slowly paying the government; and it was evident that in course of time Ireland would be owned by peasant proprietors more than almost any other country. Slowly but surely now the people were laying the foundation for considerable prosperity. Further progress would lie in setting up again, if modern conditions made that possible, the old commerce and industry of the island.

The struggle for Home Rule

But some Irishmen were not satisfied. They remained discontented with the government that made them part of the United Kingdom. Some of them wished complete independence and separation, like the adherents of Young



23. THE BRITISH ISLES

Ireland who arose about 1840, and like the Fenians who were active after 1860. But most of the people followed more conservative leaders. About 1870 the Home Rule movement began under Isaac Butt, and was soon carried forward by Parnell. This was designed to secure Irish self-government for an Ireland which would nevertheless continue in the United Kingdom, joined with Great Britain. Most of the people in Britain, however, were opposed even to this partial separation. Home Rule was advocated by the Liberal Party under Gladstone in 1886 and in 1893; but both times the bill that was introduced into parliament failed to be enacted as a law. For some years nothing further was accomplished, but the Irish under their new leader, John Redmond, continued their efforts. The great opportunity came when the Liberal Party under Asquith and Lloyd George were trying to bring about their social reforms. They soon needed all the support in parliament that they could get. The Irish Nationalist members were willing to vote with them on condition that, in return, a Home Rule bill should be passed. The Liberals were the more willing to do this since many of them favored Irish self-government. Thus it was by Irish support that the Parliament Act of 1911 was finally put through; and in the following year the Third Home Rule Bill was brought into parliament.

Butt and Parnell

The Third Home Rule Bill Passed

A memorable struggle followed. It was known that the house of lords would refuse to sanction such a measure, but no longer could the lords do more than delay the passage of any measure. The Home Rule Bill of 1912, which satisfied many of the Irish people, was passed again by the commons in 1913 and 1914, in spite of the veto of the lords, and was on the point of becoming law when the Great War broke out.

Meanwhile, however, very serious opposition had developed from a large part of the inhabitants of Ulster,

Ulster

the northern province, partly peopled by Protestant immigrants from England and Scotland, who declared that they would under no circumstances permit themselves to be separated from the government of the United Kingdom. They said that they feared religious and economic oppression from the Catholic majority in Ireland if Home Rule were established over them; and they proclaimed that they would resist such separation by force. The Great War put an end to the question for a while, the Home Rule Bill being passed, but the law suspended for the duration of the conflict.

Sinn Fein

It was most unfortunate that this question had not been completely settled long before, since events were now to show that it was almost too late to undertake any settlement at all. For some time there had been coming into greater prominence a group of Irishmen who desired to revive the Celtic literature and character of the past. In 1893 they had founded the Gaelic League. From this had come a great deal of excellent writing in the so-called Irish Literary Revival, and also some attempt to revive the use of the Celtic tongue, which by the beginning of the twentieth century had almost come to an end in the island. This movement went further under the guidance of men whose motto was *Sinn Fein* (We Ourselves), who wished to get complete political independence for Ireland. In 1904, under the leadership of Arthur Griffith and others, they established the Society of *Sinn Fein*. They endeavored to teach the Irish people to have nothing to do with the British government in Ireland.

Ireland and Britain

The spirit of these people and of other radicals in Ireland was greatly stirred by the mighty changes of the war. In April, 1916, some of them suddenly rose in rebellion in Dublin. The insurrection was quickly crushed and the rebels sternly punished, but large results followed. The Irish people had not yet received the Home Rule and self-government they had so long sought for, and

The Rebellion of 1916

they felt now little disposed to make allowance for the difficulties in which the British government found itself during the struggle of the nations. When the government ruled with firmness it alienated most of the people; when it tried leniency they merely turned to the leadership of *Sinn Fein*. Many of them now lost their desire for Home Rule, and hoped that soon under *Sinn Fein* they would get complete independence. This the people of Britain would in no wise consider, since for hundreds of years rulers and statesmen had been trying to bring about the union of the British Isles, and also because the geographical position of Ireland was such that she could control the principal lines of communication from Great Britain overseas to the sources of Britain's raw materials and food. If an independent Ireland were ever hostile to Great Britain in war, or if she got into the enemy's hands, then the British might be starved into surrender and their empire destroyed.

An Irish republic proclaimed, 1919

By 1917 the people of Britain were quite willing to have Irishmen govern themselves in domestic matters, but they insisted that Ireland should continue to be united with Great Britain and under the control of a central government in the matters which affected them all. Mr. Lloyd George, who had become the prime minister, called an Irish Convention to settle a scheme of Irish self-government, but no agreement could be reached that was satisfactory to either of the extreme parties, the Ulster Unionists or *Sinn Fein*. Most of the Protestants of Ulster wanted no Home Rule, and the adherents of *Sinn Fein* sought independence. At the end of the war, when a general election was held in the United Kingdom, *Sinn Fein* won a sweeping victory in Ireland, electing three fourths of the representatives chosen. They announced that they would not sit in the parliament at Westminster. Early in 1919 they proclaimed a republic.

Foreign relations

The foreign relations of Great Britain during this period are best related in other connections. Down to about

1900 she strove to stand aloof as much as possible from Continental affairs. Her interests were principally imperial and colonial: the protection of the colonies which she had already acquired, and, from time to time, the acquiring of new ones. For this a strong navy rather than a strong army was necessary, and so Britain did not come into rivalry with great military powers like Austria-Hungary and the German Empire, but with those, like France and Russia, whose interests were also colonial and naval, and whose ambition it was to extend territorial possessions. All through the nineteenth century there was fear that Russia might expand down through the Balkans and along the Black Sea until Constantinople was obtained, or that she might push southward from Turkestan until British control of India was endangered. So it was that in 1878, during the Russo-Turkish War, Britain made ready to oppose Russia as she had done before in the Crimean War; and at the Congress of Berlin as before at the Congress of Paris, she succeeded in holding Russia back. More acute was the rivalry with France, the old enemy with whom in the past England had carried on so many wars. With France there had been good relations after the overthrow of Napoleon I. But following the establishment of the Third Republic, when Frenchmen turned from Europe to build up a great colonial empire again, and when in furthering this they developed strong naval power, Britain became cold and suspicious. The rivalry culminated in 1898, when British moving southward from Egypt met Frenchmen moving eastward in the Sudan, at Fashoda. The two nations came to the very brink of war, which was only avoided through surrender by France. Thereafter conditions became better and this period was seen to have been a turning-point. Hitherto Germany and England had had few conflicting interests. While the most dangerous opponents of Britain seemed to be Russia and France, the partners in the Dual

Imperial and colonial interests

Rivalry with Russia and with France

Fashoda

Alliance, there were many ties between Germany and England. England had been friendly to the Triple Alliance. In 1887 she had made with Austria-Hungary and Italy an agreement concerning the Mediterranean. From 1898 to 1901 it seemed that Germany and Britain might come together in an agreement or alliance. But a great revolution in diplomatic affairs now took place. In a few years more Britain regarded the German Empire as her most formidable and dangerous rival, and helped to form the Triple Entente with Russia and France.

Ministries and prime ministers

Conservatives had charge of the government under the first ministry of Benjamin Disraeli, earl of Beaconsfield (1868). Soon they were followed by the Liberals in the first ministry of William E. Gladstone (1868–74). The Conservatives returned with the second ministry of Disraeli (1874–80). Then the Liberals with Gladstone's second ministry (1880–5); and after the Conservatives had displaced them under the first ministry of the marquis of Salisbury (1885–6) and the second Salisbury administration (1886–92), the Liberals presided under Gladstone's third ministry (1886), and his fourth (1892–4). When Gladstone resigned, impatient at the defeat of his Home Rule Measure by the house of lords, the Liberals remained in power for a while under the earl of Roseberry (1894–5). They were then displaced by the Conservatives under the third Salisbury administration (1895–1902). When Lord Salisbury was compelled through failing health to retire from his long political service, he was succeeded by the Conservative leader Mr. Arthur Balfour (1902–5). After a sweeping victory the Liberals returned under Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman (1905–8). Because of failing health he resigned, but the Liberals remained in power under Mr. Herbert Asquith (1908–16).

The war coalition government

The Great War which broke out in 1914 brought a truce to party opposition; leaders of all parties were invited to assist; and the United Kingdom was governed by a coali-

tion cabinet. In 1916 the elderly Mr. Asquith resigned, when about to be superseded in effect by Mr. Lloyd George, previously his principal colleague and assistant. The coalition government continued under Mr. George until after the end of the war and was returned as a result of the first general election held since the beginning of the struggle. For some time it remained in power (1918–22); but the members of the coalition gradually drifting apart as the necessity that had combined them became less great, the coalition was presently broken, and the election following saw a victory of the Conservatives, previously its principal part. They conducted the government for a short time under Mr. Bonar Law (1922–3), and when his poor health forced retirement, under Mr. Stanley Baldwin (1923–). With the quarrel of Mr. Asquith and Mr. George (1916) the Liberals divided into two parties. Presently they were deserted by great numbers of people. Their more conservative supporters went over to the Conservative Party. The more radical drifted to the Labor Party, which became now the second most important political party in the kingdom.

Mr. Lloyd George

Growth of the Labor Party

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CHAPTER XVIII
RUSSIA BEFORE THE REVOLUTION

> For ever extending its base, the new Democracy now aspires to universal suffrage—a fatal error, and one of the most remarkable in the history of mankind. . . . We may well ask in what consists the superiority of Democracy. Everywhere the strongest man becomes master of the State. . . .
>
> Among the falsest of political principles is the principle of the sovereignty of the people . . . a principle which has unhappily become more firmly established since the time of the French Revolution.
>
> Were we to attempt a true definition of Parliament, we should say that Parliament is an institution serving for the satisfaction of the personal ambition, vanity, and self-interest of its members. The institution of Parliament is indeed one of the greatest illustrations of human delusion.
>
> KONSTANTIN POBIEDONOSTSEV, *Reflections of a Russian Statesman* (trans. R. C. Long, 1898), pp. 26, 27, 32, 34, 35.

Alexander III

ALEXANDER III (1881–1894), son of the murdered Alexander II, was determined to avenge the death of his father, and crush all elements of disorder. The voice of God, he said, bade him strengthen and preserve his autocratic power. In temperament he was a reactionary like his grandfather, Nicholas I. And in the efforts which now he made he was constantly abetted by Pobiedonostsev, Procurator of the Holy Synod, a minister who at the end of the century stood for what Metternich had upheld at the beginning. Alexander believed that the good of the Russian state would be obtained if autocracy was strengthened and new ideas kept out, and he set himself to the task of undoing what the reactionaries thought were

Pobiedonostsev

his father's mistakes. Pobiedonostsev developed with sincerity a philosophical basis for the ideas which he strove to apply, and, like Metternich, he afterward explained them in his *Reflections*. He believed that autocratic government was not only best for the Russians, but best in itself, and that democracy was a cumbersome thing which had arisen in the errors of the western peoples. In the parliamentary system he not only saw the defects which others have seen, but believed it to be altogether useless.

Reaction

In a short time the great reforms of Alexander II were largely undone. The peasants were put back under the control of the local upper classes as much as possible. In 1886 it was decreed that breach of contract by a Russian laborer should be a criminal offence, thus binding the lower classes with stricter economic control. More important still, in 1889 the local elected magistrates were replaced by officials known as Land Captains, to be appointed by the provincial governor from among the upper classes of the neighborhood, and they were given not only judicial but also administrative functions, so that they had practically unlimited authority over the peasants, ruling them at the behest of the central government. In this way the administration of justice sank back into the evil state of a generation before. About the same time the character of the *zemstvos*, or provincial assemblies, and the *dumas*, or councils of the cities, was changed, by increasing the representation of the upper classes and diminishing that of the lower, and then taking from the assemblies thus altered much of their power.

Land Captains

Repression

In upholding their system the methods of Metternich's age were employed. There was stern regulation of the press, and many newspapers were stopped. The universities were put under strictest control. A great part of all the Russian people were illiterate, but pernicious western ideas were to be kept from those who got an education in Russia. The radicals and nihilists were remorselessly

pursued by the secret police; and the police of Russia under the direction of Von Plehve, reached a terrible efficiency previously not attained. For a long time all this seemed to succeed well enough. The tsar spent the thirteen years of his reign apart from his people, apart from his ministers even, guarded by the secret police and by innumerable sentries, safe from the enemies who continued to threaten his life as they had threatened his father's. The old system of government and church remained unaltered and unshaken. The Nihilists lost influence after the assassination of Alexander II, and presently lost heart. The great mass of the people, an ignorant peasantry devoted to the old Russian system and traditions even in the midst of misery which they endured but did not understand how to cure, remained passive and loyal. There was no powerful middle class yet, and the central government with its vast organization of officials seemed to hold unassailable position.

Russification

Alexander ardently wished to bring about greater unity and strength by obliterating the local differences which divided the peoples of his domain. Such an ideal was no new thing. It had been cherished by the rulers of Austria half a century before, by the Hungarians when they got power to govern, and it was a policy which the rulers of Germany were vigorously carrying out in Schleswig and Posen. Most of the great states of Europe had once been formed by bringing together different peoples; and though long time had obliterated most of the differences, some of them still remained. Such divisions were marked and important in Austria-Hungary and the Russian Empire. In the Dual Monarchy Germans and Magyars often worked together with utmost difficulty, while a great number of Bohemians, Rumanians, Poles, and South Slavs were held together largely by force. In the western world it was not generally realized that the Russian Empire contained peoples as diverse and forces almost as disruptive

Subject peoples

as those within Austria-Hungary. There was indeed a great difference: the power of the Dual Monarchy was based upon a minority made up of Germans and Magyars, while the power of Russia was founded upon the Great Russians the largest, the strongest, and the most important element in the state. None the less the vast expanse of the empire contained other elements of much importance which had not yet been welded together, while in the outlying portions were large districts containing non-Russian peoples who had lost their freedom and were held in unwilling subjection.

The peoples of Russia

All of central and most of northern Russia were held by the Great Russians, but to the south in the Ukraine, the richest district of the empire and one of the chief sources of the wheat supply of the world, the people, while Slavic in race and adherents of the Eastern Catholic faith, spoke a dialect which differed from that of the Great Russians as much as Low German was unlike High German, and they had developed a literature of their own. To the west lay the White Russians, also Slavs and also belonging to the Orthodox Church, but speaking yet another dialect of Slavic, and the Lithuanians, an Indo-European people closely related to the Slavs, with their own distinct speech, and adhering to the Roman Catholic religion. Over Lithuania and to a less extent the Ukraine, Polish culture prevailed and some of the upper classes were Polish, for in the days of her greatness the Kingdom of Poland had included these outlying dominions. To the east of European Russia the vast reaches of her Asiatic empire contained a sparse population of many diverse peoples but also, as the principal class, Russian immigrants from Europe. All of these parts, Great Russia, the Ukraine, Lithuania, Siberia, were sufficiently alike to unite naturally, and the local differences which persisted would, under good administration, do no harm or else disappear in time.

24. RACIAL MAP OF RUSSIA

Outlying parts of the empire

This was not so in some of the outlying parts which brought Russia down to the sea or into contact with central Europe. In the far north were the Lapps, a Mongolian people, unimportant in their distant frozen plains. To the south of them, and by the sea, were the Finns, also an Asiatic people, whose country had long been possessed by Sweden, so that not only was the civilization Swedish and the religion Lutheran but the people of the upper class were Swedish. Finland had long been a distinct state, as Poland had been at first, organized as a grand duchy, and connected with Russia through the person of the tsar. These people had been taken by conquest, had no real bond of union with the Russian people, they were greatly jealous of any encroachment on their privileges, and determined to maintain their identity and character. To the south of the Gulf of Finland, on the Gulf of Riga, and down the coast of the Baltic, were provinces—Esthonia, Livonia, Courland—taken from Sweden or Poland as Russia won her outlets here on the sea. Their people were Finns or Letts, a branch of the Lithuanian people, completely dominated by a German upper class, the "Baltic Barons." Farther to the west and the south, and thrusting itself in between Prussia and Austria-Hungary, was Poland, formerly the Kingdom of Poland which Russia had organized and united with herself under the tsar, and a part of the independent Poland of earlier days. The Poles were Roman Catholic in religion, and while Slavic in race, were a distinct branch of the Slavic people, speaking a tongue as different from Russian as Swedish was from the German. For a long time they had been the leading branch of the Slavs in Europe; they continued to feel that their civilization was higher than that of the Russians; they clung to their nationality and Roman Catholic faith with passionate devotion; and longed vainly, it seemed, for freedom and independence once more. Far to the southeast, between the Black and the Caspian seas,

was Caucasia, comprising a great number of little peoples of different races and religions, strongly conscious of separate nationality. The great diversity of peoples in the Russian Empire was strikingly seen in some of the cities on the Volga, where the market places were thronged with multitudes of strange peoples speaking a babble of different tongues.

Jews and Germans

Nor was this all. In European Russia the larger number of the Jews of the world long continued to live, clinging to their faith, their customs and their racial consciousness as the Jews have generally done. More important but less striking was the German element. For a long time Germans had been penetrating the lands of the Russian Empire, where, by their superior culture and efficiency, they were able to exploit the natives. In the Baltic Provinces the upper class was German; in other places were isolated colonies preserving language and racial character; almost everywhere were German business men and skilled artisans, who controlled or directed a great part of the economic life of the state; while for a century and a half the tsars had usually married German princesses, and been attended by German favorites and assistants. Russia with a vast population of backward people, with illimitable resources and raw materials to be exploited and used, lying right to the east of the German Empire with its intelligent, highly developed, and aggressive people, was for Germans the best field for economic expansion.

Unification

It had long been the ambition and the proper policy of states to achieve as complete unity as possible. In the United States of America, where the population had been increased by emigration from all parts of Europe, an English-speaking nation, with much coherence and unity, had been easily achieved because of an excellent system of education and as a result of liberal institutions. The children of immigrants in the United States of their own accord gave up the alien speech and the foreign customs

which their parents had brought. But in Russia, where there was no general system of education, and where the government was oppressive and inefficient, such unification could only be brought about by force, and this the Russian government tried to do in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Methods of Russification

Under Alexander III continued attempt was made to Russianize all the people. The Jews, the most evidently alien part of the population and greatly disliked, were subjected to such persecution as to deprive them of "the most common rights of citizens." They were concentrated together in the west, in what was known as the Jewish Pale, forbidden to own land, debarred to a great extent from schools and the professions, and often left to the mercy of mobs. The Poles continued to be excluded from the government, and Russian was to be taught in their schools. In the next reign the particular privileges of Finland were withdrawn, and the government put in the hands of Russian officials; while in the Baltic Provinces Russian was proclaimed as the official tongue. The Russian Church, as always, coöperating with the government, forwarded the work. The Holy Synod persecuted the members of other sects and forcibly converted some of them to the Orthodox Church.

Extreme Slavic nationalism

This policy of Russification was also an aspect of the extreme nationalism which grew constantly so much stronger in Germany, in Russia, and other places. During the latter part of the nineteenth century there rose up among the Slavs, and especially among the Great Russians, a host of writers who asserted that almost all of the inhabitants of the Russian Empire, and many peoples of central Europe and the Balkans, were of the great Slavic race, best of all races in character and institutions, and destined to have the most glorious future of any of the peoples of the earth. The Russian autocracy, the Orthodox Church, the village community of the Slavs, were all

the best things of their kind. These nationalists inculcated the doctrine of Pan-Slavism, just as in central Europe Pan-Germanism was similarly taught. It was their object to unify the peoples within Russia and so make her stronger, ready to undertake the mission of protecting all the other Slavs, perhaps some day of uniting them all together.

Strength and weakness of the system

Under Alexander III the Russian government was able to maintain itself and resist all progress. The tsar and some of his principal officials believed sincerely that the system they upheld was for the best interests of the people, and they labored hard to make Russia strong and great. But such government—above the influence and criticism of the mass of the people, controlled entirely by the Autocrat of all the Russias yet largely administered by a vast number of officials with whom he rarely if ever came in contact, and who therefore did much as they pleased—contained the causes of its own destruction. Many of the officials were corrupt and inefficient, powerful only in oppressing the people beneath them, not able to rule honestly or well. After a while the Russian government came to be something like the systems which had endured so long in western Europe and then fell almost of their own weight about the time of the French Revolution. It might long maintain itself in ordinary times over the great multitude of passive Russian peasants, but most probably it would be silently undermined by imperceptible forces, and if some great disaster came it might suddenly fall into ruins. During the last part of the nineteenth century the old Russian system in reality was being shaken by the Industrial Revolution. Then in 1905 the disasters of the Russo-Japanese War shook it to its base, and the greater calamities of the War of the Nations at last destroyed it altogether.

Nicholas II

The policy of Alexander III was continued by his son Nicholas II (1894–1918). Like the last French ruler of

the Old Régime, he was amiable in character, but also weak and easily swayed, whether by the German Emperor in foreign affairs or by his wife and his ministers at home. He took what he found, and he upheld it because he believed it was good. To diminish his autocratic power would be most foolish, he thought. For a long time his most trusted adviser was Pobiedonostsev. Von Plehve was made Minister of the Interior and given enormous power for the continuance of his work. Nicholas approved the policy of Russianizing all the parts of his dominions.

The Industrial Revolution in Russia

The forerunner of the great changes soon to take place was the Industrial Revolution, after the emancipation of the serfs the most important thing in the history of Russia in the nineteenth century. Especially under the guidance of Count Sergei Witte, who became Minister of Finance in 1893, a large industrial development went forward. The Dual Alliance had just been made between Russia and France, and a great amount of capital was loaned by the French. Rapid increase of the Russian agricultural population, obliged to support itself upon holdings of land not sufficiently large, drove increasing numbers of Russian peasants to the cities in search of work. Tariffs were levied to protect new industries, factories multiplied, and the population of the cities rapidly increased. Railroads were constructed or extended, until Russian mileage exceeded that of any European country; though, because of the large distances within the empire, railway facilities continued to be more inadequate than in any other great country of Europe.

Social consequences in Russia

About the middle of the nineteenth century more than nine tenths of the people of the Russian Empire lived scattered in the country. Upon this rural population, ignorant and extremely conservative, the earlier reformers and radicals had been unable to make any impression; and so the nihilist movement had come to an end largely because it remained a movement with leaders but without many

followers among the people. Now there grew up a larger urban population, an industrial proletariat which responded more quickly to the ideas of leaders who wished to change the government and the system that existed. In Moscow, in St. Petersburg, in the Polish cities, increasing crowds of overworked, ill-paid workingmen, were very willing to think of changes in the state. There now rose up the party of the Social Democrats, who hoped that later on the existing system would be overthrown, after which, in a regenerated Russia, socialism might be established. The new leaders obtained adherents more easily than the old, yet the urban population of Russia at the end of the century was still less than 14 per cent. of the whole. But now the new ideas began to affect the peasants, hitherto inert. The Social Democratic Party of the workmen organized the factory operatives of the towns, who tried to better their condition and get their reforms by strikes. Among the peasants, who had no land or who had not enough land to support them, the Socialist Revolutionary Party rose up, these peasants desiring to take from the great proprietors their estates, which were then to be divided in small holdings.

Socialism

The great changes which now took place resulted directly from terrible disasters which affected all of the people. For some time in the latter part of the nineteenth century Russian foreign policy continued as it had been in the earlier part; friendship was maintained with Prussia and the German Empire, and Russia continued to try to expand to the sea. Her efforts to dominate the Balkans and, perhaps, control Constantinople were frustrated by Great Britain after the Russo-Turkish War in 1878, and thereafter by the opposition of Austria-Hungary. Germany drew closer in alliance with the Dual Monarchy, but under Bismarck's masterly handling of foreign relations Russia was bound to Germany by a secret treaty. In 1890, however, the new German Emperor refused to prolong this,

Foreign affairs

and Russia soon joined France in the Dual Alliance, changing her foreign policy completely. She now had increasingly the opposition of Germany as well as of Austria in the Balkans, and while continuing to take great interest in affairs there she turned her attention more and more to expanding her dominions in Asia. All of northern Asia, or Siberia, had been taken as far as the Pacific, but the Russians hoped to go southward and reach ports on the warmer seas. Much progress was made, but always in western Asia the power of Great Britain in the end blocked the way.

Russia, China, and Japan

In the eastern half of the continent Russia's southern neighbor was China, and here the prospect of success was greater, for at the end of the century China seemed just about to fall to pieces. Still farther to the east, it is true, the Japanese, in their island empire, had just taken up western civilization and methods with amazing capacity, and in 1894-5 gained a complete triumph in the Chinese-Japanese War; but Japan was not yet regarded as a match for any great European power, and at once Japan was by Russia, Germany, and France compelled to give up most of the fruits of her victory. The so-called Trans-Siberian railway, which had been begun in 1891, and which was to run from Moscow to Vladivostok on the Pacific, was being pushed steadily forward, and Russian expansionists dreamed of splendid possessions soon to be got from the dying Chinese Empire and the acquisition at last of an ice-free ocean port. This was a time when apparently China was about to be divided up among predatory European powers. In 1897 the Germans seized Kiao-Chau. Next year France got concessions in southern China; and at the same time Russia obtained much greater ones in the north. In 1898 she obtained from the Chinese government the right to build the Siberian railway across Manchuria; she was soon in possession of that province, and she got a lease of the great stronghold, Port

Arthur, at the end of the Liao-tung peninsula, from which Japan had shortly before been compelled to go, and which she now joined with her railway by a branch line, and converted into one of the strongest positions in the world. After the Boxer outbreak in 1900, the Russians took complete possession of Manchuria, and, in the years that followed, threatened to advance farther and absorb Korea, which lay on the flank of their communication between Manchuria and Liao-tung. Not only had Japan long wished to obtain Korea, but such was its geographical position, pointed directly at the heart of Japan, that in the hands of Russia it might be as dangerous as Belgium, in the possession of Napoleon or the German Empire, would have been to Great Britain. In February 1904 the Japanese suddenly struck and then declared war.

The Russo-Japanese War, 1904–5

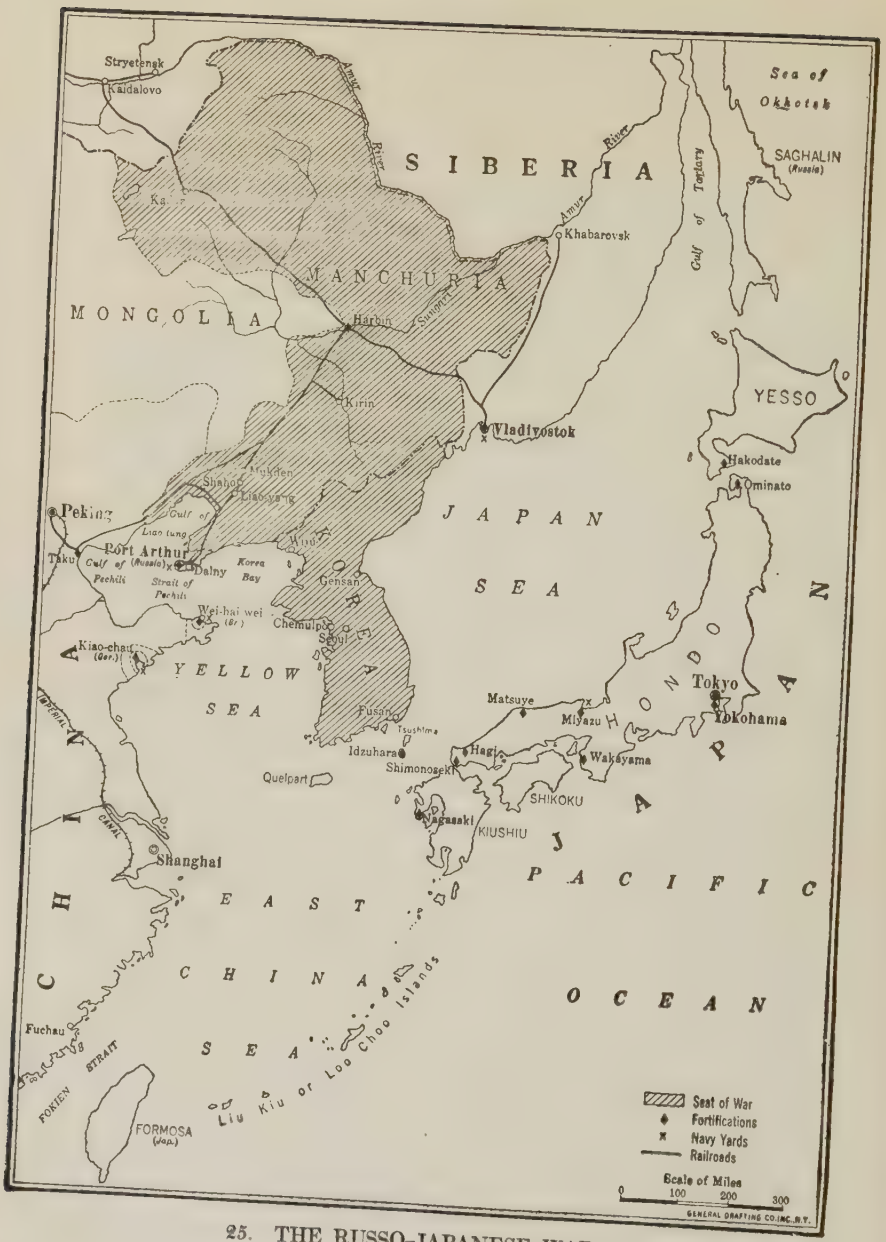
Japan was greatly inferior in resources, but she had a splendid modern army of brave, hardy, and devoted soldiers, and an excellent fleet. Russia, far stronger, with greater army and fleet, was badly organized and poorly prepared, and fought moreover far from her base. Japan was close to the area of conflict.

Japan gets control of the sea

The beginning of the struggle found the Russian fleet in the east divided, part at Port Arthur, part at Vladivostok. At once, before declaration of war had been made, the warships in Port Arthur were attacked and greatly damaged. When at last, some months later this fleet came forth to give battle, it sustained a terrible defeat. The squadron at Vladivostok was destroyed; and the Japanese got undisputed control of the sea.

Japanese victories on land

Meanwhile they had sent a great army over into Korea, from which an inferior force of Russians was quickly driven. Then one Japanese army advanced into Manchuria, while another went down the Liao-tung peninsula to lay siege to Port Arthur. Everywhere the Russians were defeated. In September at Liao-yang was fought the first great battle in which the fearful new devices of



25. THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR

war were used by large armies. The Russians were entrenched in a wonderfully fortified position, but after terrible slaughter the Japanese drove them out. Meanwhile the Japanese tried to carry the almost impregnable fortress of Port Arthur by storm. Hideous slaughter resulted, but in January, 1905, after a long siege, the fortress was taken. At the end of February the main Japanese army, reinforced by the army which had captured Port Arthur and now amounting to nearly three hundred thousand men, attacked the Russians who had about the same number. In the next two weeks, in a great struggle known as the Battle of Mukden, the Russians were driven back in complete defeat, losing a third of their number.

Mukden

In all the principal engagements thus far the Russians had been beaten, but they might still hope for victory in the end, for whereas the Japanese had brought into play nearly all their force the Russians, who were not yet vitally wounded, had used only a part of theirs. If they could get control of the sea, the Japanese armies would at once be cut off from their base and quickly forced to yield; and if this failed, then in a contest of resources Japan might first be worn out. The Baltic fleet, what remained of Russia's power on the sea, was already on its way around the world, superior to the enemy in numbers, but inferior in equipment and personnel. May 27, 1905, it encountered the Japanese fleet under Admiral Togo in the Battle of Tsushima, near Japan, by far the greatest sea fight since Trafalgar, and one of the most decisive in history. There the Japanese ships, with superior speed and range of fire, took the position which they desired and performed the maneuver of "capping the line"; for as the Russian ships advanced in column formation, they at their own distance steamed across the path of the approaching enemy and destroyed his ships in succession. The Russian fleet was annihilated, and Japanese control of the sea was finally assured.

Tsushima, the decisive victory

The Treaty of Portsmouth, 1905

The war was not yet won, however. Japan was almost completely exhausted. If the Russians persisted, time was probably on their side. But domestic considerations now caused them to lose heart and abandon the struggle. President Roosevelt of the United States attempted to mediate, and plenipotentiaries met at Portsmouth, where a treaty was signed September 5th. By the terms of the Treaty of Portsmouth, Russia abandoned to Japan Port Arthur and her rights in the Liao-tung peninsula, gave over her attempts upon Manchuria and Korea, and ceded to Japan the southern part of Sakhalin, an island to the north of the Japanese group, and, indeed, forming an extension of the archipelago of Japan. In the Far East Japan became now the dominant power, and presently seemed to threaten China.

Discontent and disorder in Russia

Russia had yielded principally because such internal unrest and confusion had arisen that the whole structure of her government seemed near to the point of collapse. The system which the government had upheld by force, by arbitrary arrests, by secret trial, by banishment to Siberia, through the power of the secret police and the army, could be maintained only so long as Russia was at peace. Now the government was deeply involved in a distant war, which was never popular, which most of the people ill understood, in which patriotic fervor was never aroused. Had there been a great success, the military glory abroad might have stilled discontent at home, but when news came of repeated and shameful defeats in Manchuria and on the seas about China, popular fury burst out, and the radicals among the workingmen of the towns, the radical peasants in the country, the liberals of the upper and middle classes, and all the oppressed peoples—the Jews, the Poles, the Finns, and others—turned against the authorities, and it was no longer possible to resist them.

Terror and uprising

In July, 1904, Von Plehve was blown to pieces by a bomb; in the following February the Grand Duke Serzei,

reactionary uncle of the tsar, was assassinated; and after that a great many murders of officials took place. In the cities workingmen declared great strikes, and presently a general strike brought widespread demoralization. In the country districts angry and ignorant peasants drove away country gentlemen and noble landlords, burning their houses and taking their lands as peasants in France had done a century before. In some parts of the country it was difficult to operate the railways, and in outlying provinces armed insurrections broke out. On "Red Sunday," January 22, 1905, a great procession of strikers in St. Petersburg followed a priest to present a petition to the tsar, but the troops fired upon them, and the bloodshed aroused wild indignation and horror. During all this time the liberals of the upper classes were demanding reforms, and they along with many others insisted that the war should be ended.

"Red Sunday"

Nicholas II soon yielded to the general clamor. He tried at first to give satisfaction with small reform. Some concessions were made to the Poles, the Lithuanians, and the Jews, and presently Finland got back her constitution, while the arrears due from the Russian peasants were remitted. But he was urged to summon a national assembly, and in August, 1905, proclaimed a law establishing an Imperial *duma*, or assembly, to advise him in legislative work. He dismissed Pobiedonostsev and other reactionaries previously all-powerful, and appointed Witte to be prime minister in the cabinet now to be set up. Then he issued the *October Manifesto* which established freedom of religion, of speech, and of association, and promised that thereafter no law should be made without the consent of the *duma*. A series of decrees provided that the members of the *duma* should be elected practically by universal suffrage. The old Council of State, which had been much like a king's council in the Middle Ages, was now changed so that part of its members were indirectly elected, and it

The first *Duma* proclaimed, 1905

The *October Manifesto*

was made the upper house of the national assembly with the *duma* as the lower.

Speedy reaction

These reforms had been yielded in a period of great weakness. The bureaucracy of officials and most of the powerful upper class were sternly against such concession. Moreover, the reformers almost immediately began to fall apart. To the radicals it seemed that little had been accomplished, and they desired to bring about much more fundamental changes. The liberals divided into two parties: the "Octobrists" were content with what had been granted by the tsar in the *October Manifesto*, and they wanted a strong united Russia now under his rule; the "Constitutional Democrats" or "Cadets" under their well-known leader, Professor Miliukov, wanted a constitutional government like that of England or France, with responsible ministers completely controlled by elected representatives of the people, and they advocated a federal union for the different parts of the empire.

The "Black Hundreds"

In September, 1905, the war with Japan was ended; the government was immediately relieved from much of its embarrassment, while it had now a far greater military force to be used at home. It was not long before the nobles, great landlords, and reactionaries generally united, and becoming stronger, by means of armed forces known as the "Black Hundreds" began to drive away the radicals and undo the changes which they had accomplished.

The first *duma*, 1906

During the same time the tsar began to withdraw the powers given to the *duma*. In the decree of March, 1906, he proclaimed that the fundamental laws of the empire were not to be within the power of the *duma*, and declared that foreign affairs, the army, the navy were exclusively within his own jurisdiction. In May, 1906, the first *duma* assembled, but it was unable to control the ministers, and after a bitter struggle it was dissolved in July. The Cadets, who had made up the majority of the body, would not accept the dismissal, and retiring to Viborg in Finland,

called on the Russian people to support them. But reaction was now running strongly; many opponents of the government were put to death and many more banished from the country.

The second *duma*, 1907

A second *duma* was assembled next year, but, the opponents of the government again controlling it and again seeking radical changes, it also was dissolved after sitting for three months. The tsar now issued a decree by which the electoral law was so altered that control would pass to the conservatives and the wealthy classes. The third *duma*, elected in 1907, contained a majority willing to acquiesce in the government's policy. The *duma*, accordingly, remained a consultative body, much like the English parliament had been three hundred years before; which was, perhaps, as much as the Russian people were capable of using in their stage of political evolution. The *Almanach de Gotha*, with what the Russian radical Trotzky described as unconscious humor, declared that the government of Russia was "a constitutional monarchy under an autocratic tsar." Under Stolypin, the principal minister, stern measures were taken against the radicals, and they were completely suppressed. Some reforms were indeed made. In 1906 the peasants were allowed to become owners of their land allotments in the *mir;* and so far as this was carried out, it brought the old communal holding to an end.

The third *duma*, 1907

Failure of the Russian Revolution of 1905

Such was the Russian Revolution of 1905. Temporarily, in the midst of the weakness of the government, it accomplished striking reforms, and was not unlike the first part of the French Revolution long before. But it was soon seen to be more like the Revolution of 1848 in central Europe, for its movers were really too weak to accomplish important lasting results, and it soon lost most of its gains in the period of reaction that followed. It could scarcely be otherwise. Russia continued to be, as before, remote from the principal currents that were affect-

Adverse conditions

ing European life. The vast expanses of her lonely plains were still peopled almost entirely by illiterate and superstitious peasants, steeped in ignorance, bowed down by toil, engaged in rude agriculture, living in small groups far from great cities. Only under extraordinary circumstances—if the usual government was completely shattered by some great disaster —would these people carry through a revolution; and the urban population, as always before, was too small to do much by itself. There might be reaction and stagnation; there might be slow alteration through a considerable period of time; or else great changes might follow some utter disaster and mortal stroke from outside. Had the Russo-Japanese War lasted longer, or had the defeat been more terrible, the revolution might have gone further. But on this occasion the Russian government made peace in time to save itself at home.

The years before the Great War

What the future of Russia might have been had peace lasted, whether the reactionaries would have seated themselves more firmly in power, or whether constitutional progress would have gone slowly forward, cannot be known. In the years between the Revolution of 1905 and the Great War the country seemed to settle down; slowly the harsh measures of government were lessened; the ravages of the war were repaired; the army was strengthened; a great appropriation was made to rebuild the navy; and increasingly Russia took her place once more in European councils. Again she became a powerful member of the Dual Alliance. Presently she settled her differences with England, which at the moment had to do mostly with Persia —that country now being virtually divided between them (1907). Then along with England and France Russia made the Triple Entente (1907), a combination that was a more effectual counterpoise to the Triple Alliance than the Dual Alliance had been. Despite the new friendship with England, however, and the older friendship with France, German influence continued strong at the Russian

The Triple *Entente*

court. A secret agreement was concluded between Germany and Russia in 1905, and a more open one was made five years later. But now that Russian expansion in the Far East had been checked she had turned again with greater interest to the Balkans, coming there into more and more dangerous rivalry with Austria-Hungary and the German Empire. Once Russia had been the champion of Bulgaria, but that state had been brought under the influence of the Central Powers, and Russia now gave her support to Servia, whom she encouraged and assisted as much as she could. It was the clash of interests growing out of the intrigues and rivalries of the Balkan states and of the Great Powers which stood behind them that produced the Bosnian crisis of 1908–9, in which Russia yielded; the crisis of 1912, occasioned by the Balkan War, in which she held her own; and the crisis of 1914, which led to the War of the Nations, in which presently Russia, Austria-Hungary, and the German Empire all went down into ruin.

Relations with the Central Powers

The Great War

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CHAPTER XIX

AUSTRIA, TURKEY, AND THE BALKANS

AEIOU

[Austria Erit In Orbe Ultima
Austriae Est Imperare Orbi Universo
Alles Erdreich Ist Oesterreich Unterthan]
Motto of the Hapsburgs, adopted in 1443.

The Turkish Empire is in its last stage of ruin, and it cannot be doubted but that the time is approaching when the deserts of Asia Minor and of Greece will be colonized by the overflowing population of countries less enslaved and debased. . . .
SHELLEY, *A Philosophical View of Reform* (1820, printed 1920), p. 26.

The Dual Monarchy

THE domestic history of Austria during the period 1867–1914 was one of political discord and much discontent on the part of the subject peoples, but withal much advance in prosperity and material greatness. The Industrial Revolution, which had for a generation been changing central Europe, went forward in the Dual Monarchy as in the new German Empire, though it was far eclipsed by the mighty progress there. Railway communications were developed and great factories arose in Austria and Bohemia, bringing industrial prosperity for part of the people. During the second half of the nineteenth century also agriculture in the fertile plain of Hungary was developed as never before, until Hungary became one of the great wheat-producing districts of Europe. Furthermore, public improvements were made, and education was fostered, not as in Germany and in France, yet so far that

Austria-Hungary was one of the progressive countries of Europe.

The *Ausgleich*

The domestic politics of all this period were concerned with the relations between the two partners in the Dual Monarchy, and then with the relations between each one of them and the subject peoples whom they ruled. By the *Ausgleich* or Compromise of 1867 Austria and Hungary were joined together under an agreement which was arranged for ten years. Accordingly once in a decade the arrangement was brought forward for renewal, and on each occasion there was more strain and confusion than a presidential election caused in the United States. Each time it was necessary to renew or rearrange commercial relations and decide about apportionment of contributions to support the general government. Austria continued her industrial development while Hungary remained for the most part an agricultural district. In the Monarchy, however, the interests of both were subserved by putting protective tariff duties upon foreign manufactures for the benefit of Austria, and protective duties upon foreign agricultural products to benefit Hungarian proprietors. The proportions to be contributed by each for joint expenditure caused much difficulty. By the first *Ausgleich* treaty Austria was to give 70 per cent. and Hungary 30 per cent., but forty years later Hungary's share was somewhat increased to 36.4 per cent., she having meanwhile enjoyed much advantage. More furious were the disputes that raged about the question of the army. Like France, Austria-Hungary adopted the Prussian system of compulsory military service. Since unity was necessary in the making of strong military power, the authorities at Vienna declared that German should be the language of command throughout the army, but the Hungarians sternly insisted that their language should be used for the troops which Hungary furnished. This question threatened at times to destroy the *Ausgleich*, and in 1897 it was not possible to

Contributions for joint expenditure

26. THE OTTOMAN DOMINIONS: GREA

XTENT, SUCCESSIVE LOSSES, EXTENT IN 1920

come to any agreement. The use of German was enforced however, by decree of the emperor-king. Meanwhile questions of recruiting and appointing officers were left to the governments of the two parts.

Ties connecting Austria and Hungary

During all of this time the partners were held together because people in Austria and in Hungary saw that the two countries could not easily stand alone in the midst of their hostile subjects and surrounded by more powerful neighbors. At times the disputes were so furious and bitter that to outsiders it seemed impossible for them to live together longer, but always the fundamental need of association remained and was well understood. Furthermore, there was a strong connecting link in the person of Franz Josef (1848–1916), Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary, whose personal qualities endeared him to his subjects. Much about his character and motives remains ill-understood, but strange and terrible misfortunes made him the most romantic and pathetic great personage in Europe.

The ending of the House of Hapsburg

He came to his throne in the midst of the disasters of 1848. Not many years later he lost in wars with France and Prussia the Italian provinces, which seemed then his brightest possession, and the position of leadership in Germany which Austria had so long had. The state was constituted anew, and much prosperity came, but in the year after the disastrous war with Prussia, his brother, Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico, was captured by his enraged subjects and shot as a conspirator against the state. In 1889 his only son, the Archduke Rudolph, died by suicide in the midst of mysterious and romantic circumstances never entirely cleared up. Eight years after this his wife, the beautiful Empress Elizabeth, from whom he had long been estranged, was stabbed to death by an anarchist at Geneva. Finally, his nephew, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, now heir to the throne, was murdered by assassins. And in 1916, during the war that followed hard

on this deed, the aged Emperor passed away just before his empire was destroyed.

Parts of the Dual Monarchy

In the Dual Monarchy the Empire of Austria included the archduchies of Upper Austria and Lower Austria, the kingdoms of Bohemia, Dalmatia, and Galicia, and the various districts of Bukowina, Carinthia, Carniola, Istria, Moravia, Salzburg, Styria, and Trieste. The Kingdom of Hungary included Hungary, Transylvania, and Croatia-Slavonia. The total area of Austria was 116,000 square miles, a little less than the territory of the Kingdom of Hungary, which was 125,000 . In 1910, at the time of the last census, the population of Austria was 23,000,000 while that of Hungary was 21,000,000; the total population, including that of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which was annexed to the Dual Monarchy jointly, was 51,000,000.

The government of Austria

By the constitutional laws of 1867 the government of Austria was vested in the emperor and in the *reichsrath* (imperial assembly), composed of a house of lords, consisting of peers hereditary or appointed by the emperor for life, and a house of representatives, elected at first by the provincial diets or assemblies, but after 1873 chosen directly by a narrow electorate. The franchise was widened by an electoral reform in 1896, and in 1907 equal and direct manhood suffrage was established. The government was carried on by ministers, responsible to the *reichsrath* in theory, but actually dependent mostly on the emperor, who was also easily able to control the *reichsrath*, of which the upper house was extremely conservative and aristocratic, and the lower divided among numerous political parties and constantly torn by bitter racial disputes.

Peoples in Austria

The general policy of the Austrian government was the maintenance of the power and privileges of the German inhabitants who had brought together the parts and long been the masters. Out of 28,000,000 inhabitants they numbered only 10,000,000, and with the development of

greater national feeling in the different parts their task became constantly harder. Some local self-government was granted to the different parts, but not enough to satisfy the local populations. The Czechs of Bohemia had long wanted an autonomy like that which had been granted to the Hungarians, and often adopted such tactics in the *abgeordnetenhaus*, the lower chamber of the *reichsrath*, that the uproar and confusion made it impossible for anything to be done. The Slovaks and the South Slavs nursed their grievances and, in spite of no little advance in prosperity, longed for their freedom. In Galicia the Austrian government succeeded better than anywhere else, but that was because it conserved the privileges of the Polish upper class, and so got their good will, while it left the Ruthenians and the Polish masses in lowly condition.

The government of Hungary

Government in Hungary was founded directly upon a series of laws passed during the Hungarian uprising in 1848, suppressed as soon as the uprising failed, but guaranteed in 1867 when the *Ausgleich* was agreed on. It was vested in the King of Hungary, who was Emperor of Austria, and exercised by his ministers who were responsible to a parliament. This parliament consisted of an upper aristocratic house, the *Table of Magnates*, most of them hereditary noblemen, and a lower, the *Chamber of Deputies*, consisting of members almost all of whom were elected from Hungary proper by a narrow electorate rigidly limited by property qualifications. This electorate was so arranged as to keep power altogether in the hands of the 10,000,000 Hungarians, who were a little less than half of the entire population. Local self-government was given to the subject peoples in Hungary, the Rumanians of Transylvania and the South Slavs of Croatia-Slavonia, more grudgingly than it was given in Austria.

Altogether, in the Hapsburg Monarchy government by ministers responsible to a parliament dependent on

General character of government in the Dual Monarchy

the people was really established only in small part. In Hungary most of the people had no voice in electing representatives, and until 1896 this had been the case in Austria also. In both parts of the Dual Monarchy government was in the hands of ministers controlled by the crown, and a bureaucracy, cumbersome and inefficient also dependent on the crown.

Foreign policy

The foreign policy of Austria-Hungary during this period had to do mostly with ambitions in the Balkans and attempts to extend to the south. With the new German Empire cordial relations were established. With respect to Italy the old ambitions were completely given over. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, while other European powers were making themselves greater by colonial expansion the Dual Monarchy hoped to reach southward along the eastern shore of the Adriatic and down through the Balkans to an outlet, perhaps at Salonica. As early as the War for Greek Independence it was evident that Austria and Russia were suspicious of each other in rivalry about the Balkans. This was more apparent in 1877, when the Russo-Turkish War began. In the next year, at the Congress of Berlin, when Russia was forced to let a great part of what she had accomplished be undone, Austria-Hungary was given the administration of the two Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, peopled with South Slavs, and conveniently adjoining her own Slavic provinces of Dalmatia and Croatia-Slavonia. In the following year she joined the German Empire in alliance, from which she got added protection against Russia, though Germany was not yet disposed to forfeit the friendship of Russia.

Russia, Austria-Hungary and the Balkans

Year by year the rivalry of Austria-Hungary and Russia for greater power and influence in the Balkans increased. In 1897 an agreement was made between Austria and Russia, and their "superior interest" in the provinces of European Turkey was recognized by the Great Powers.

At that very time, however, began the new direction of German policy which tended toward expansion in Asiatic Turkey, and which therefore supported Austria-Hungary. The two powers now worked together in close understanding for predominant influence in the Balkans and at Constantinople, for the gradual exclusion of Russia, and the connecting of the German-planned Bagdad Railway with the road running from Constantinople to Vienna and Berlin.

The Dual Monarchy and the Balkan states

It was not merely ambition but sound policy which caused statesmen of the Dual Monarchy to take interest in Balkan affairs. As the Ottoman Empire had shrunk and decayed in Europe part of the South Slavic and Rumanian people whom Turkey ruled were incorporated in Austria and in Hungary, while part of them afterward shook off the sultan's yoke and set up independent states for themselves. In Transylvania and Bukowina there were more than three million Rumanians, while in Rumania, just across the Carpathian Mountains there were 8,000,000 more. In the southern provinces of the Monarchy just before the war there were 7,000,000 Jugo-Slavs, while across the border in Montenegro and Servia there were 5,000,000. Once these people had been glad to escape the Turkish yoke by being taken into the Austrian dominions, and now in the Dual Monarchy they had no little prosperity and progress. But meanwhile, Rumania and Servia had grown up, and in course of time, as the Ruman and South Slavic subjects of Austria-Hungary saw themselves treated as inferiors and debarred from equal rights, some of them began to yearn for the day when they might be united with their brethren. Thus the statesmen of the Dual Monarchy saw it threatened with disintegration. Just before the Great War, it is said, the ill-fated Archduke Franz Ferdinand cherished the scheme of admitting the Slavs to a partnership with Magyars and Germans; but this plan, which would probably have failed to cure the ills of the state, never was tried.

Generally it had seemed best to the leaders to pursue an aggressive policy, and try to control the small neighboring states in the Balkans, and thus make it impossible to draw parts of the monarchy away. A good understanding was effected with Rumania which became virtually an appendage of the Triple Alliance. For some time very friendly relations were established with Servia, while Russia had great influence in Bulgaria; but after a while Bulgaria favored the Teutonic powers, and Servia came under the influence of Russia.

The former greatness of Turkey

The history of the Balkans in the nineteenth century is largely a story of the disintegration of the Turkish Empire in Europe and the establishment of separate states from its ruins. The Turks, who three centuries before had the most splendid position in Europe and who had been dreaded by all Christian peoples, were now weak and declining, and would undoubtedly have suffered the fate of the Poles had they not been farther removed from strong neighbors, and had the Great Powers not been too jealous to unite to despoil them. They had come into Europe from Asia Minor in the fourteenth century. In 1361 they took Adrianople; in 1398 they broke the power of Servia; and soon afterward overran Bulgaria and Wallachia. A pitiful remnant of the Eastern Roman Empire survived on the Bosporus, but in 1453 they captured Constantinople, which was thenceforth the center of their power. Their dominion was rapidly extended up through the Balkans; Hungary was overrun; and turning to the east they subjected the Russians and the Tartars along the northern shore of the Black Sea. For a while they were the greatest naval power in the world; their galleys swept the eastern Mediterranean; they conquered the islands and much of the north African shore. In 1571 the Christian powers of the west combined to defeat them in the great naval battle of Lepanto, and this was in fact a decisive triumph; but for another century the Ottoman power continued to

be mighty and terrible on land. The king of Poland was reduced to pay tribute, and in 1683 Vienna itself was besieged by a Turkish host.

Decline of the Ottoman power

The foundations of this mighty structure presently began to decay, though the edifice long stood erect in its splendor. Gradually the vigor of the rulers declined amidst the pleasures of Constantinople; and the Janissaries, the terrible organized mercenaries who had so long defeated all their enemies, fell behind rival armies in discipline and equipment, and were finally able to inspire terror only in the Turkish government itself. Moreover, the Turks had never perfected any strong organization in their empire. Always deficient in political ability, they depended on force and chicane for holding together their dominions. Like the Mongols once in Russia, the Turks ruled their Christian subjects in the Balkans by taking advantage of differences in race and religion to keep them apart, and by punishing them savagely if they resisted or failed to pay tribute. They did not attempt really to incorporate the Servians, the Bulgarians, the Hungarians, and the Greeks in a compact Ottoman Empire, but reduced them to serfdom or put them under tribute, otherwise leaving them largely to themselves, so long as they continued submissive. Always the Turks were a minority of the population, and so far as they lived among their subjects they lived as an upper ruling class, never winning affection or loyalty or gratitude from their subjects, and never mingling with them to form one united people. Misgovernment and oppression of the subject Christians by the Turks proceeded less from Turkish brutality than from incapacity. And it must be remembered that during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, at a time when Catholics in Ireland and England and Protestants in the Austrian dominions suffered under disabilities and persecution, the Ottoman Empire allowed the greatest measure of religious freedom permitted by any government in Europe, and that

Organization of the Ottoman power

Christians exercised their religion, as a rule, unmolested, and were freely admitted to hold office in the state.

Rapid decline

Such an empire, like the ancient empires of the east, could be held together only so long as its military organization remained strong enough to crush all rebellions within and meet its enemies without. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries this was so, but the turning point came in 1699, when by the Treaty of Carlowitz the Turks were forced to yield their outlying possessions in Hungary, in Transylvania, on the northeastern Adriatic, and the Sea of Azov. In the eighteenth century the Ottoman Empire began to yield before Austria and Russia, and in the nineteenth it began to break up from within.

Rivalry concerning the spoils

In the days of their greatness the Turks had been a concern and a danger to all Europe, though the protection of Christian Europe usually fell to Austria alone. During the nineteenth century, while the strength of the Turks was ebbing, their European provinces became the great danger spot of Europe, because of rivalry for possession of the spoils. In the latter part of the eighteenth century, Russia, expanding southward, took Turkish territories north of the Black Sea, and afterward threatened to go slowly forward until she dominated the Balkans and arrived at Constantinople. Austria was much interested in this, for already she had many subjects who had once belonged to Turkey, and expected to get more; but at first she was not greatly hostile to Russian expansion, and in 1790 an arrangement was planned by which the Ottoman dominions should be divided between Austria and Russia. England, however, already dreaded the appearance of a great European power on the ruins of Turkey, and exerted herself then, as afterward, to save the Ottoman state from destruction.

England, then Austria, opposes Russia

During the first half of the nineteenth century England was the principal supporter of Turkey, and, along with France, fought the Crimean War in 1854 to save her from

Russian aggression. She intervened decisively also in 1878 and again saved Turkey from destruction. But after that time Austria came more and more to be Russia's principal opponent in the Balkans, dreading the extension of Russian power southward. During much of this time either Russia or Austria would gladly have got the Ottoman provinces, but failing that, each was resolved that no other power should get them. Gradually it was recognized that a great European war might very easily grow out of attempted aggrandizement by any of the Great Powers in the Balkans, and so for the most part the Powers exerted themselves to preserve the Ottoman state. It was due almost solely to this that Turkey survived down to the time of the Great War, and it is owing to similar rivalries and international conditions that a part of her still remains.

The dismemberment of Turkey, 1829-1913

But by 1914 only a remnant of Ottoman power existed in Europe. In less than a century she had lost all her possessions in Africa, and in Europe she had saved only a small district around Constantinople. The principal steps in the dismemberment of European Turkey since the time of the French Revolution were the Treaty of Adrianople between Russia and Turkey in 1829, which ended the War for Greek Independence; the Treaty of San Stefano and the Congress of Berlin which brought to an end the struggle between Russia and Turkey in 1877-8; and the Treaty of London, 1913, which concluded the First Balkan War. All of the crises which led to these settlements were brought about partly because of misgovernment and oppression of Christian subjects by the Turkish government, partly because of the indignation which this aroused either in Russia or among the Balkan peoples themselves, and partly because of the desire of Russia or Austria at first, and later of the Balkan states, to seize for themselves what was slipping away from the weakening grasp of the Turks.

The beginning of Servia, 1804-1817

In the early part of the nineteenth century the submerged peoples of Turkey began to seek their freedom at the same time that the Turkish dominions were beginning to crumble from internal decay. Ali Pasha, pasha of Janina, first made himself almost independent in Albania, then, as governor of Rumelia, began to intrigue with foreign powers. In 1804 the Serbs, still under Turkish rule, began a long struggle for their independence, and in 1817 some of them won their autonomy, thus making the foundation of the Servian kingdom.

Revolt of the Greeks

Meanwhile the Greeks had begun a struggle which aroused sympathy all over Europe. They had, indeed, been treated with considerable moderation, and in the islands of the Ægean they were already practically independent. They had retained their distinctive character, and the spirit of nationality was aroused among them early in the nineteenth century by revived study of the Greek classics and recollections of the Hellas of old. In the Greek Catholic Church they had a strong organization which served to maintain their national spirit and urge them forward to obtain their independence. In 1814 was founded the *Hetairia Philike* (friendly union), a secret society something like the *Carbonari* in Italy later on. Revolt broke out in 1821. It was led by Prince Ypsilanti in the north and by various others of the *Hetairia* in the Peloponnesus or Morea. The northern movement was broken at once, but in the south the Greeks had command of the sea, and a long struggle inclined in their favor. In 1824, however, the sultan called to his assistance the great pasha, Mehemet Ali, of Egypt, and the powerful fleet which was now brought to the Turkish side soon reduced the Greeks to despair. Unless they could get help from abroad it was apparent that their cause was doomed. Volunteers from other countries—notable among whom was the English poet, Lord Byron—enlisted in their service, but they accomplished little of importance.

Independence of Greece

The European governments, whatever the sympathies of their people, were at first reluctant to intervene, because they dreaded any disturbance of the existing arrangement in Europe. But in 1823 Great Britain recognized the belligerency of the Greeks, and already the sympathy of the Russian people had been stirred profoundly, though the only result was negotiations which dragged on and led to nothing. In 1827, however, the combined fleets of England and France, attempting to enforce a truce between the Greeks and the Turks, destroyed the fleet of Mehemet Ali at Navarino. The sultan now rashly declared war, and a Russian army entering the Balkans pressed on to Constantinople itself.

The Treaty of Adrianople, 1829

By the Treaty of Adrianople which ended the war Turkey practically acknowledged the independence of Greece, which was defined and established at an international conference at London three years later. At the same time she acknowledged the autonomy of Servia; of Moldavia and Wallachia, the Danubian principalities, which became a Russian protectorate; and gave up to Russia such claims as she had to certain districts in the Caucasus, which Russia afterward acquired for herself. Thus by the settlement of 1829 Turkey lost her outlying European provinces—Greece, Servia, and what was afterward the Rumanian kingdom.

Revolt of the Bulgars, 1876

The old conditions continued in the territory left to her, for in the midst of all the great growth and changes of the nineteenth century the Turks changed almost not at all. There were the same stagnation, inefficiency, heavy oppression, and lack of progress; and the fierce wildness of the rude and long-oppressed Christian population was suppressed from time to time by outbursts of fearful cruelty and destruction. About 1875 an insurrection broke out in Herzegovina, a district to the west of Servia, peopled by Serbs, but still under Turkish rule. While the rebels were being encouraged by the surrounding states, Monte-

negro, Austria, and Servia, in 1876, the inhabitants of Bulgaria—a large province east of Servia and south of the Danube, and so nearer to Constantinople and Turkish oppression—rose against the Turks also. Servia and Montenegro declared war on Turkey, and great sympathy was aroused in Russia, many of the tsar's subjects enlisting to fight as volunteers. Generally the Turks were successful, but the awful atrocities committed by them upon the Bulgarian peasants aroused the indignation and horror of Europe, especially in England, where Gladstone declared that the Turks must be expelled "bag and baggage" from Europe, and in Russia, which made ready to intervene.

The Russo-Turkish War, 1877-8

In the spring of 1877 Russia did begin war. Rumania, declaring now complete independence, joined her, and the allies pushing rapidly southward soon got the passes of the Balkan Mountains which were the gateway into the country. At Plevna, in northern Bulgaria, where a network of highways converged, Osman Pasha, an able Turkish commander, fortified himself to oppose them. The allies had not sufficient forces completely to mask this fortress and also advance against Constantinople, but for some time they were unable to take it. In December, however, Plevna fell, after a memorable siege. In another month the Russians had pushed on and taken Adrianople, and Constantinople itself would have fallen except for the rising jealousy of Austria and above all the determined hostility of Great Britain. None the less, in March 1878, the Turks concluded with Russia the Treaty of San Stefano, by which at last was acknowledged the complete independence of Montenegro and Servia, to whom some territory was yielded; and almost all of Turkey's European territory, except for a small area including Adrianople and the capital and another area in Albania on the Adriatic, was given to a new Bulgaria, autonomous but tributary to the sultan.

Treaty of San Stefano, 1878

27. THE TREATY OF SAN STEFANO

28. THE BALKANS IN 1878

The Treaty of Berlin, 1878

This would have made Bulgaria the most important state in the Balkans, and for some time, doubtless, she would have been largely dependent on Russia. But owing to the efforts of Austria and Great Britain this treaty was almost at once undone at the Congress of Berlin, which reduced Bulgaria and restored to the sultan much of what he had lost, though Bosnia and Herzegovina were put under the administration of Austria-Hungary. The result of this was that Turkey, though considerably reduced, still stretched from the Black Sea to the Adriatic Sea and still rested on the Ægean, and she continued the foremost power in the Near East.

Continued decline of Turkey

The decline and decay of Turkey continued; although after 1876 she was ruled by Abdul Hamid, a man of sinister and evil reputation, but subtle and skilful in upholding Turkey by playing upon the rivalries of the powers. Meanwhile the new Balkan states were growing in experience and strength and beginning to hope for the day when the complete break-up of the Ottoman power would enable them to become greater still.

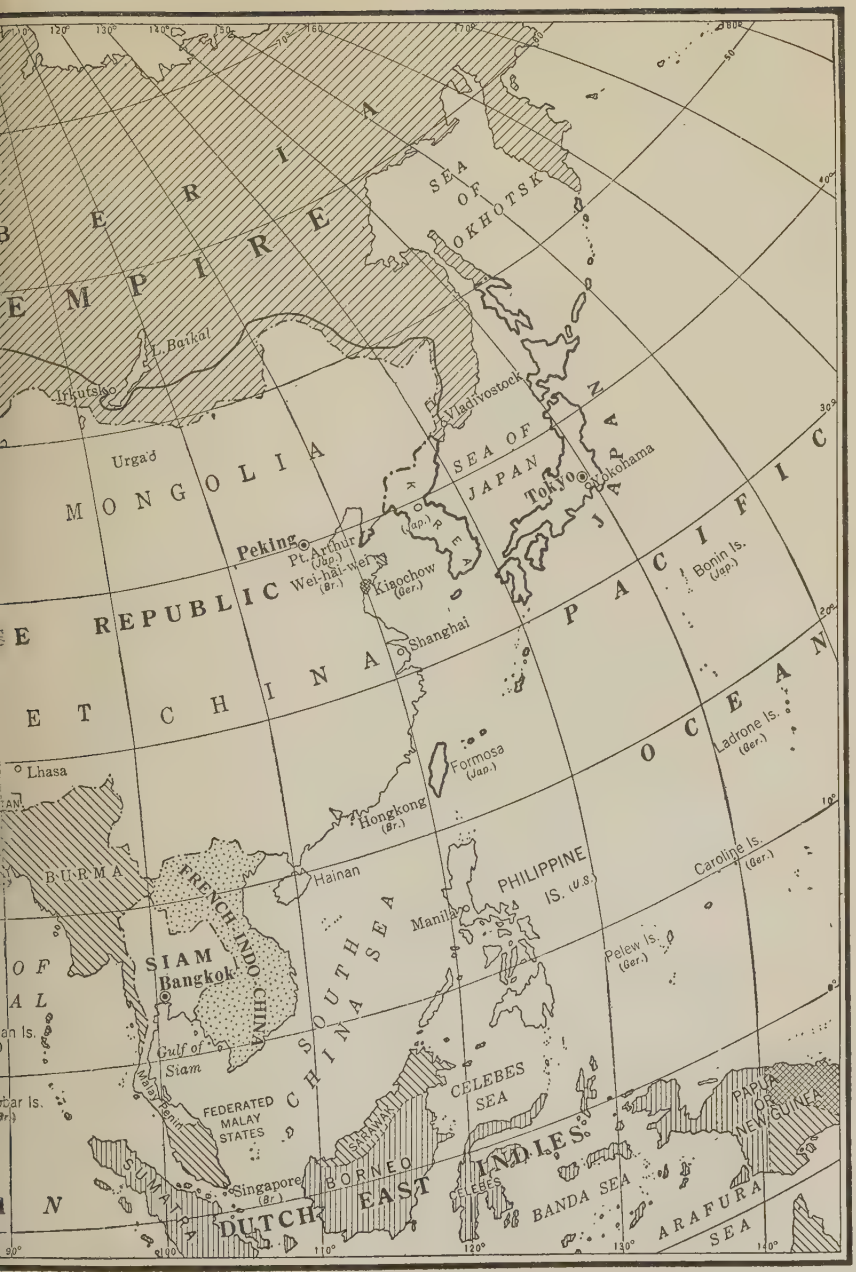
In 1908 Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina; and Bulgaria declared her complete independence. In 1911 Italy, which had at last acquiesced in French possession of Tunis and approved French expansion in Morocco on condition that France make no objection to Italian occupation of what was left to take east of Tunis, suddenly seized Tripoli, and although a long and exhausting struggle was maintained by the tribesmen in their deserts, supported by officers from Turkey, yet the Ottoman government was in 1912 compelled to yield its last African possession. This incident was of much importance in the large changes of these years. The German government strongly disapproved of this attack on its friend, but could not hinder its ally. On the other hand both England and France encouraged and approved, and it was evident that Italy would be loath now to offend

these powers, since they controlled the Mediterranean Sea, and because only with their good will could Italy keep her possession.

The Turks, Macedonia, and the Balkan states

European Turkey had shrunk to small size in Europe, but the old evils of misgovernment continued as they always had been. The Turks had been brave and admirable soldiers, and under favorable circumstances they had revealed a character pleasant and with noble traits. But they never mastered the art of organizing and governing well. They were often tricked and deceived by their subjects, but in last recourse their method was to employ dull, stupid, and brutal force, and with greatest cruelty compel submission. In the country left to them outside Constantinople their subjects were still oppressed with ruinous and foolish taxes, and still treated with inferiority and contempt. In the western district, the mountainous country of Albania, Turkish authority was defied; but in Macedonia and Thrace the people groaned under grievous misrule. The people of Macedonia especially were Servians, Greeks, and above all Bulgarians, mingled together. They often looked with longing eyes to their brethren in Servia, Greece, and Bulgaria, over the borders; and always the governments of these countries, especially Bulgaria, looked forward to the day when, on the dissolution of Turkey, these populations would be incorporated in the greater Balkan states of the future. Ceaselessly agents from over the border tried to stir up the Christians of the Turkish country to be ready for the day of deliverance, and always they tried to prepare the way for the incorporation of as many of them as possible in their respective countries. These three little nations hated with a great hatred the Turk, who had once oppressed their fathers, but so great had their own rivalries become, that in the earlier years of the twentieth century they hated each other still more. It was accordingly an extraordinary diplomatic triumph and a great surprise to the rest of Europe, when, after

EUROPEAN RUSSIA
Petrograd
(St. Petersburg)
TRANS-SIBERIAN
Omsk
L. Balkash
BLACK SEA
Constantinople
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Smyrna
Cyprus (Br.)
CASPIAN SEA
ARAL SEA
Aleppo
Mosul
Damascus
Jerusalem
Baghdad
Teheran
PERSIA
AFGHANISTAN
Kabul
NEUTRAL
Koweit
ARABIA
RED SEA
Medina
Mecca
ASIR
YEMEN
Persian Gulf
OMAN
Delhi
INDIA
Bombay
Aden (Br.)
ARABIAN SEA
Socotra I. (Br.)
Goa (Port.)
Laccadive Is. (Br.)
Mahe (Fr.)
Maldive Is. (Br.)
Colombo
INDIAN OCEAN
AFRICA
Russian
Ottoman
Portuguese
British
French
Dutch
German
Under British Influence
Under Russian Influence
Scale of Miles
0 200 400 600
GENERAL DRAFTING CO INC. N.Y.


E M P I R E
B E R I A
SEA OF OKHOTSK
L. Baikal
Irkutsk
Vladivostock
Urga'd
MONGOLIA
SEA OF JAPAN
JAPAN
Tokyo
Yokohama
Peking
Pt. Arthur (Jap.)
Wei-hai-wei (Br.)
Kiaochow (Ger.)
Bonin Is. (Jap.)
E REPUBLIC
Shanghai
E T C H I N A
PACIFIC OCEAN
Ladrone Is. (Ger.)
Lhasa
Formosa (Jap.)
Hongkong (Br.)
B U R M A
FRENCH INDO-CHINA
Hainan
PHILIPPINE IS. (U.S.)
Caroline Is. (Ger.)
Manila
SOUTH CHINA SEA
SIAM
Bangkok
Pelew Is. (Ger.)
Gulf of Siam
Malay Penin.
FEDERATED MALAY STATES
CELEBES SEA
PAPUA OR NEW GUINEA
BORNEO
Singapore (Br.)
DUTCH EAST INDIES
Celebes
BANDA SEA
ARAFURA SEA

IN 1914

secret negotiation, early in 1912, Bulgaria, Servia, Montenegro, and Greece concluded an arrangement by which they agreed to act together. This agreement, it is believed, was largely the work of the great Greek statesman, Venizelos.

Causes of the First Balkan War

In 1908 the Ottoman government had been overthrown by a revolution. The new leaders, the Young Turks, strove to reform the government and restore the vigor and power of the state. Actually, at the time it seemed that they did more harm than good. They soon undertook a policy of nationalization, attempting to assimilate their various subjects. So, they withdrew privileges from the Christian peoples in Macedonia, and began bringing Mohammedans in. This led to disorder, massacre, and reprisal. The Balkan states, desired that this come to an end. In the autumn the Turks concentrated some of their best troops north of Adrianople for maneuvers. Immediately the four Balkan states issued simultaneous orders for mobilization, after which the Turks ordered mobilization next day. It was evident now that the little states of the peninsula, encouraged by the example of Italy, were really willing to go to war. The Great Powers in much alarm endeavored, too late, to prevent a conflict. But Montenegro immediately declared war. October 14th, Servia, Bulgaria, and Greece presented an ultimatum to Turkey, and the next day fighting began. Such was the beginning of the First Balkan War.

The Balkan allies victorious

Turkey was known to be in the latter stages of decay; but the Turks had always been brave, steady fighters. Weak though their state might be, it was supposed that their army, organized and trained by Germans, was still in fair shape; it was believed to be greatly superior to the military force which the Balkan powers could assemble against it. But the four Balkan armies moved forward at once, and struck a series of terrible blows by which the power of Turkey in Europe was ruined. The little Mon-

tenegrin army advanced southward and laid siege to Scutari. The Servians defeated the Turks at Kumanovo, overran part of Macedonia, presently captured a large Turkish force in the stronghold of Monastir, and even crossed Albania and reached the Adriatic at Durazzo. The Greeks at once got control of the Ægean Sea, the task which had been assigned them, and, in addition, moved their army rapidly forward, pushing the Turks back and driving some of them into the fortress of Janina, and some into the seaport of Salonica.

Great victories of the Bulgars

Meanwhile the greatest tasks were being done by the Bulgars. To them had been assigned the work of holding the main Turkish forces in Thrace. At once they moved down upon the principal fortress, Adrianople, sacred in the eyes of the Turks, and key to the Thracian plain. Near by they encountered a Turkish army, which was defeated at Kirk-Kilisse, and driven from the field in total rout. A week later they destroyed the military power of the Turks in a greater and more desperate battle at Lüle-Burgas. Thrace was now cleared, and the Bulgarians advancing swiftly in triumph were stopped only by the strong fortifications of the Tchataldja line, which protect Constantinople, and had in days of need long before often halted invaders from the north.

The London Conference

Within six weeks Turkish power in Europe had been destroyed. The Turks had been defeated in all the great battles and had lost command of the sea. The relics of their forces had been driven down upon Constantinople, or were hopelessly shut up in the beleaguered fortresses of Adrianople, Scutari, and Janina. The Turks asked for an armistice, and a peace conference assembled in London.

End of the First Balkan War

This conference between the Turks and their foes was soon broken off, and at the beginning of February hostilities were again begun. The Bulgarian troops at Tchataldja were not able to force the Turkish lines and take Constantinople, but no more were the Turks able to drive

them away. Meanwhile the Greeks took Janina, and the Bulgarians Adrianople. The Great Powers had already proposed mediation. On April 19th an armistice was signed and at the end of May a treaty made whereby an Albania was to be constituted by the powers, and the Turks were to keep a small district outside of Constantinople; otherwise what had belonged to Turkey in Europe was to go to the victorious Balkan states. This would probably meet the wishes of Greece and Bulgaria, provided they could agree among themselves, but it debarred Servia and Montenegro from getting a great part of what they expected, on the shores of the Adriatic, in Albania. Servia yielded, because of the injunctions of the Great Powers and because she hoped for compensation elsewhere, but Montenegro, bent on having possession of Scutari, continued the siege of that mountain stronghold, and, after prodigies of valor, captured it. Presently, however, the threats of the powers compelled her to give it up again.

Treaty of London, 1913

A second Balkan War soon followed. This struggle was directly the result of the decision of the powers not to permit Servia, Montenegro, or Greece to take territory in Albania, and this had been done because of the insistence of Austria that an Albania must be maintained. It had in the first place seemed almost inconceivable that the Balkan states with their bitter rivalries would be able to act in alliance, but they had carefully agreed beforehand what each should have, provided they defeated Turkey, and it is possible that if there had been no interference they might have divided the spoils without fighting. Now that they were forbidden to touch Albanian territory, however, Servia demanded that the agreement of 1912 be revised so as to give her compensation elsewhere, but a week later this was refused. Savage fighting had already broken out between Bulgarians and Servians and Greeks. At the end of June, suddenly, without any declaration of war, the Bulgarian armies attacked the

The Second Balkan War, 1913

Servian and the Greek forces, and a few days later Montenegro, Servia, and Greece declared war on the Bulgars.

Bulgaria overwhelmed

It is probable that the Teutonic powers had encouraged Bulgaria to resist the Servian demand, and it is certain that they expected her to win easy triumph, just as they had expected a Turkish victory the preceding autumn. They were grievously mistaken. Neither the Greeks nor the Servians were overwhelmed, but began driving the Bulgarians back before them. And while this struggle was being waged, with inconceivable atrocities on both sides, the doom of Bulgaria was sealed by unexpected action of the Rumanian government. Rumania suddenly demanded that Bulgaria cede a strip of territory on her southern border; and when this was refused her powerful army was moved down upon the Bulgarian capital while the Greeks and the Servians were advancing from other sides. At the same time the Turks reoccupied Adrianople. The King of Bulgaria threw himself upon the mercy of his foes. In August the stern Treaty of Bucharest was imposed, by which Bulgaria lost most of what her great victories had gained from the Turks; Rumania took that which she had demanded; Servia and Greece got the territories which they had taken in the First Balkan War, while Bulgaria was engaging the main Turkish forces.

The Treaty of Bucharest, 1913

The relics of the Ottoman state

The result of the two Balkan wars was that to Turkey in Europe there were left only Constantinople and a small area of territory northward. Steadily the state sank lower into feebleness, decrepitude, and ruin, while foreign capitalists and diplomatic agents came in to intrigue and control. Turkey had drifted away from the old friendship with Britain, and become more and more dependent on the Germans, so that at the beginning of the Great War she was brought into the struggle to aid the German Empire almost like a vassal state.

Montenegro

Of the Balkan countries the oldest was Montenegro, whose hardy population of rude mountaineers had never

30. THE BALKANS IN 1913

been entirely conquered by the Turks. Her complete independence was formally acknowledged by the Treaty of San Stefano, and by the Congress of Berlin in 1878. The people were Serbs, closely related to the population of Servia. Owing to the good offices of England an outlet was procured for them in 1880 on the Adriatic, at Dulcigno. The government was in theory a constitutional monarchy, but actually the prince was a patriarch and leader of a tribal people.

Servia, 1817-78

Next in age was Servia, which got autonomous government in 1817, this autonomy being recognized more formally in the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829. In 1804 the struggle for freedom had been begun by a peasant leader, Kara (Black) George, the father of Servian independence. After successful guerilla warfare in the mountains he completely overwhelmed the Turks at Mischoz in 1806. For a few years the Turks granted virtual autonomy, but when Russia, the patron of the Balkan Slavs was occupied in the great struggle with Napoleon, the sultan again reduced the country. Presently, however, the Servians rose under another peasant leader, Milosh Obrenovitch, and Russia being free to intervene again, the sultan yielded once more. Complete independence was acknowledged in 1878.

Rival dynasties

The circumstances of the Servian war of liberation were unfortunate in that freedom was got through the efforts of two leaders both of whose families now desired to rule, with the result that the country was torn by family and dynastic disputes like the feuds of Irish princes in the Middle Ages. In a country of peasants, where tribal instincts were still very strong, it would, in any event, have been difficult to avoid this. In 1817 Kara George was assassinated so that the Obrenovitch family might rule. This was avenged in 1868 when Michael III was assassinated by partisans of the Karageorgevitch House, and in 1903 when they murdered Alexander and his queen. The Obrenovitch Dynasty was now extinct, and the throne

came finally into the possession of the House of Kara George.

Servia, Russia, and Austria

In foreign relations Servia long remained dependent on Austria, who supported and protected her in her rash war with Bulgaria in 1886, in which she was badly defeated at Slivnitsa. But at the Congress of Berlin, eight years before, Austria-Hungary had been given the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in which dwelt a large part of the Servian race. As time went on Servia greatly hoped some day to obtain these provinces for herself. Accordingly the friendship with Austria gradually cooled, and Servia getting more and more under Russian influence strove to free herself from economic dependence on her neighbor to the north. In 1908, when Bosnia and Herzegovina were annexed by the Dual Monarchy, and the last chance of Servia acquiring them seemed to have gone, the Servians were filled with the rage of despair, and apparently hoped to be able to fight along with Russia as an ally. When Russia yielded to Austria and Germany together, it seemed for a moment that Servia would strike by herself, but she also yielded and was compelled to accept what had been done. In 1912 she helped to form the Balkan Alliance which dismembered Turkey. She overcame all opposition and even got the long-desired outlet on the sea at Durazzo. But Austria-Hungary, unwilling that Servia should grow great or even have a port on the Adriatic, compelled her to withdraw from Albania. She did, indeed, at this time yield to Servia the *sanjak* (province) of Novi-Bazar, which lay between Servia and Montenegro, and which she had undertaken to administer when she got possession of Bosnia. None the less, the Servians, cheated of the fruits of their victory, turned for compensation to the east, and this helped to bring on the Second Balkan War. In this struggle Servia and Greece defeated Bulgaria, and, as a result of the Treaty of Bucharest, Servia, although terribly weakened, was left with greatly increased territory and

prestige. In 1915, during the Great War, she was destroyed by her enemies, but part of her army escaped and afterward assisted the Allies in their final triumph, as a result of which Servia was made the leader of a great federation of South Slavs, based upon the eastern Adriatic Sea.

Domestic affairs

The domestic history of the country records the long, slow rise of the peasants to better economic conditions. The principal occupations of the people were agriculture and the raising of cattle. Generally speaking the land was in the hands of small peasant proprietors, who lived a rude, hard life but enjoyed more economic independence than most of the peasants outside of France, and of Ireland after the Land Purchase Acts. The government was vested in a prince, until 1882, when the title of king was assumed. There was a legislature, the *Skupshtina;* and for some years before the war a considerable measure of constitutional self-government had been developed. The religion of the people is the Greek Catholic faith.

Greece, 1829-32

For ages the fate of Greece has been closely associated with that of Turkey and the Balkans. The Greeks obtained their freedom in 1829, about the same time that the Servians did. When Turkey had abandoned her claims there was some delay about fixing the status of the country. Russia desired that she have self-government and remain tributary to the sultan, but since it was believed that this would make her really dependent on Russia, Austria and England urged that Greece be established as a sovereign and independent state. This was done in 1832 as the result of an international conference held at London, and in the next year a Bavarian prince, Otto, was called to the throne. Increasing unpopularity caused his deposition in 1862, after which a Danish prince was invited to rule the country.

Foreign relations

In her foreign relations Greece was generally fortunate. In 1862 the British government gave her the Ionian Islands which lay just off the west coast, and which England had

got during the Napoleonic Wars; and at the Congress of Berlin her northern boundaries were extended. In 1897, during a rebellion in the large Greek-inhabited island of Crete, Greece declared war on Turkey, but was at once overwhelmed and would have lost some of her territory in the north except for prompt intervention by the powers. None the less the Cretans, who had repeatedly risen in rebellion since the time of the Greek War of Independence, were now given autonomy under Turkey. In 1905, under their leader, Venizelos, the greatest Greek of his generation, they declared for union with Greece, and five years later the Treaty of London at the end of the First Balkan War brought this about. In the First Balkan War, the Greeks got command of the sea, occupied such islands in the Ægean as Italy had not taken the year before, and, defeating the Turkish armies opposed to her, got the long-coveted city of Salonica. In the second war, she helped Servia to defeat Bulgaria, and kept what she had won. During the Great War Venizelos would have had her join the Allies, but the sympathy of the sovereign was with Germany, and for a long time Greece remained neutral. The Allies occupied Salonica, and in 1917 a revolution drove the king out, whereupon Greece entered the war with England and France. In 1920 during the settlement of European affairs, at Paris, Greece received considerable portions of Turkish territory along the Ægean and up beyond Adrianople and also in Asia Minor.

Domestic affairs

The domestic history of the country during this period has no great general interest. The people are descended from the ancient Hellenes, though their forefathers mingled with the Slavic intruders who came into the peninsula in the early Middle Ages. Their language is a modification of the Greek spoken by the countrymen of Aristotle and Pericles. Indeed, modern Greek is much more like the Greek of classical times than modern English is like Anglo-Saxon. The people belong to the Greek Catholic Church.

The government is a constitutional monarchy. The people continued the traditions of old Greece and developed much commerce and shipping, but the country has been poor and opportunity small, and large numbers of emigrants have left the homeland.

Rumania, 1829-61-78

Rumania dates from about the time when Greece was established. By the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829 the Danubian principalities, Moldavia and Wallachia, were left under the nominal sovereignty of the sultan, but actually autonomous and largely dependent on Russia, who had gained them their freedom. Russian control of the country, which commanded the mouths of the Danube, awakened the jealousy of Austria, and in 1856 at the Congress of Paris the principalities were formally declared autonomous states under Turkish suzerainty and the Russian protectorate abolished, while at the same time Bessarabia, formerly an eastern part of Moldavia, lying across the Danube, and taken by Russia from Turkey in 1812, was restored to Moldavia once more. The constituent assemblies summoned in the two provinces declared for union in one state, but this was opposed by England who feared Russia, and by Austria who wanted no strong Rumanian state right on the border of her province of Transylvania, which was peopled by Rumans. None the less, the people of the two principalities proceeded to elect the same prince, Alexander Couza, and, supported by Napoleon III, who at this very time was making war upon Austria to assist Italian nationality, they were united. This union was sanctioned by Turkey in 1861. The great reforms which Couza undertook raised enemies who drove him from his throne five years later. He was succeeded by a German prince, Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, in whose long reign the country went forward in development and progress.

Foreign affairs

With Russia Rumania made war upon Turkey in 1877, and her soldiers won great distinction; but she gained

nothing, for in the settlement which followed Russia took back Bessarabia and gave the less valuable Dobrudja to the south, which had just been taken from Turkey. But the complete independence of Rumania was recognized by the Treaty of Berlin, and in 1881 her ruler assumed the title of king. Rumania took no part in the First Balkan War, but intervened decisively in the Second, and by the Treaty of Bucharest got a small portion of Bulgarian territory. During the Great War, like Italy and Greece, she maintained neutrality for some time, but in 1916 she joined the Allies. After a brief struggle she was overwhelmed, and presently forced to make an ignominious peace and see her country stripped bare. But two years later her enemies were completely overthrown and in the general settlement of European affairs at Paris, she obtained what she had so long hoped for—Transylvania, and proceeded to take Bukowina and Bessarabia also.

Domestic affairs

The domestic history of the country reveals steady development and increase in material prosperity. Even before her latest acquisitions Rumania was the largest and most populous of the Balkan states; she was rich in resources, was one of the great wheat- and oil-producing districts of Europe, and had a trade almost as great as that of the other Balkan states combined. After the settlement at Paris and the taking of Bessarabia her size was nearly doubled, and she became greater and more important than her neighbors, Austria, Hungary, or any of the Balkan states. Rumania was free from the uprisings and violent overturns which interfered with the development of neighboring states. Constitutional monarchy was established but a restricted franchise kept control in the hands of the upper classes. Under Alexander Couza a series of notable reforms was made; the property of the monasteries was confiscated, and part of the holdings of the great landowners was sold to the peasants, who at the same time were relieved of the more onerous of the feudal

Prince Alexander Couza

or manorial obligations. These changes, which were carried through just about the time when Alexander II was making his great reform for the Russian serfs, partly failed to satisfy—for the same reasons as in Russia. The amount of land given to the peasants was small, and since the population increased rapidly, after a while the amount was insufficient. Furthermore, some of the feudal obligations were left upon the peasants, such obligations lingering in Rumania longer than anywhere else in Europe. The result was that while the wealth and prosperity of the country increased, it was largely for the upper classes. The mass of the people were poor, and agrarian discontent very great. During the period of the Great War, however, large estates were divided among the peasants and universal suffrage was granted. The people claim descent from Roman colonists of the time of Trajan, and their language is an offspring of the Latin; but most of the people are Slavic and most of them adherents of the Greek Orthodox Church.

The Bulgars

Youngest of the Balkan states was Bulgaria. The Bulgarians like the Servians, had long before been formidable enemies of the Eastern Roman Empire in the days of the empire's decline, and both founded great states in the Balkan peninsula during the Middle Ages. Both of them were afterward overwhelmed by the Turks, and spent long ages in dumb and hapless subjection. Because of their rivalry and disputes the Turks had found it easy to conquer them, and afterward play them off against each other.

Bulgaria, 1878-1908

In 1876 the Bulgarian peasants rose against their Turkish masters. The revolt was easily suppressed, but with such infamous cruelty that all of Europe was aroused. In 1877 Russia, moved partly by ambition to extend her influence toward Constantinople but also because of sincere sympathy for her kinsmen, declared war upon Turkey. In the next year, by the Treaty of Berlin, the

Bulgarian country was divided into three parts, the southernmost, Macedonia, which contained many Bulgarian people, was left to the Turks; the middle part, Eastern Rumelia, was made an autonomous province under a Christian governor, but also under the direct authority of Turkey in military and political matters; while the northern part, was made into the autonomous principality of Bulgaria tributary to the sultan. Part of this enforced division was soon undone. In 1885 Eastern Rumelia joined Bulgaria. Greece and Servia were unwilling to see their new rival strengthened, and Servia suddenly attacked her. But the Bulgarians completely defeated their enemies at Slivnitsa, and the union was achieved.

The Kingdom of Bulgaria, 1908

The first ruler of the country was a German, Prince Alexander of Battenberg, but after a troublous reign of seven years he withdrew from the country, and presently another German, Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg was chosen. For some years the country was directed by the one great statesman whom Bulgaria has produced, Stephen Stambulov, in whose time Bulgaria threw off the tutelage of Russia and made herself truly independent. The young nation constantly grew in strength and prestige, and in 1908, at the time when Austria annexed the two Turkish provinces, the Bulgarian prince cast off all Turkish allegiance and proclaimed the independent Kingdom of Bulgaria.

Misfortune in war

Four years later Bulgaria was the principal member in the Balkan coalition which destroyed Turkish power, and after her armies had everywhere gained great triumphs she found herself in possession of the province of Thrace down beyond Adrianople. But in the next year, unwilling to compromise with her allies, she suddenly attacked Servia and Greece. She did not succeed in defeating them, and while they were driving her back the Rumanians suddenly came down from the north, while the Turks took back Adrianople. Bulgaria was forced to make abject sub-

mission. It was partly to get revenge and partly to undo the settlement of Bucharest that the Bulgarians joined the Teutonic powers in 1915 and helped to destroy first Servia then Rumania. But in 1918 she was the first to surrender to the Allies, and the war left her poverty-stricken, ruined and bare.

Domestic affairs

The origin of the Bulgarians is not certainly known. Like the Magyars and the Finns they are apparently Asiatic intruders in Europe, but they are much mixed with Slavic people, and speak a Slavic language. Their religion is the Greek Catholic, but they have an independent church, the Bulgarian Exarchate. The principal industry is agriculture, and the Bulgarians constitute a state of small, sturdy, free, independent peasant proprietors. The government is a constitutional monarchy, under a king and a parliament, the *Sobranje*, elected by the people.

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Canary Is. (Spun.)
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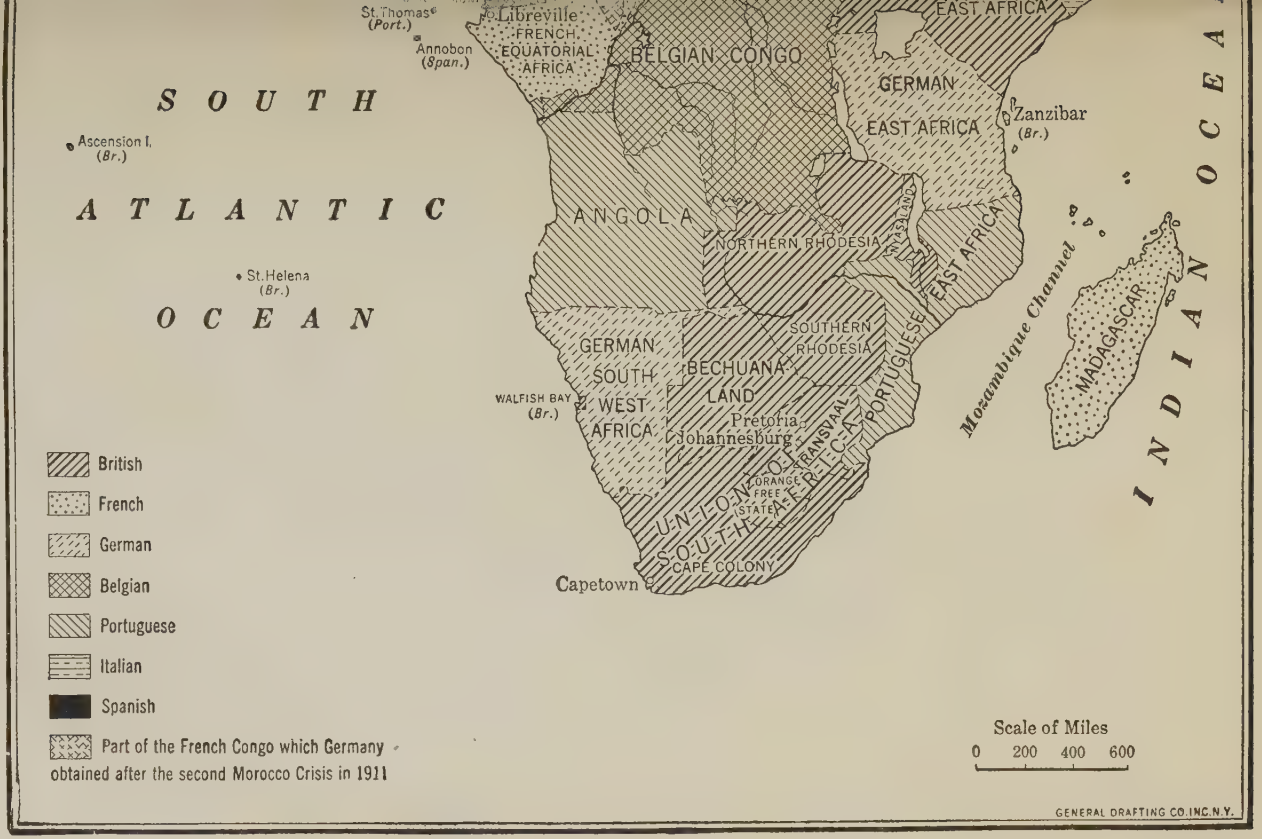


31. AFRICA IN 1914

CHAPTER XX

COLONIES AND IMPERIAL EXPANSION

God of our fathers, known of old,
Lord of our far-flung battle-line,
Beneath whose awful Hand we hold
Dominion over palm and pine—
Lord God of Hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget!
RUDYARD KIPLING, "Recessional" (1897).

If Germany becomes a Colonizing Power, all I can say is "God speed her." She becomes our ally and partner in the execution of a great purpose of Providence for the benefit of mankind. . . .
GLADSTONE in the House of Commons, March 12, 1885.

The expansion of Europe

THE latter half of the nineteenth century was strikingly marked by a great movement which had been going on for some hundreds of years, the expansion of European people and power into other parts of the world. The process was more rapid than ever before, because some of the European states were now stronger and more capable of great undertakings, and because of improved means of communication: the telegraph, the steamship, the railroad. The principal motives continued, as in earlier times, to be desire for raw materials and wealth, the hope which individuals had of finding their fortune, and the belief that colonies made the mother country stronger and greater. As the Virginia Company of London and the Dutch East India Company had carried colonists and power to America or Asia in the seventeenth century, so in the nineteenth did the Association of the Congo and the British South

Africa Company acquire great African dominions. As in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries England and France sought colonial possessions for raw materials and naval stores, so in the nineteenth and twentieth did the German Empire try to get colonies containing cotton and rubber. And as Great Britain in the time of George II and George III wished America to buy British manufactures and supply business for the British ships, so did France and Germany now hope that they might build up colonial empires to assure them of a market for their goods.

Europe unimportant once

Nothing is more wonderful than this expansion of European people and power into America, Asia, and Africa. In early times the north shore of Africa, with Egypt and Carthage, was more important than southern Europe with Greece and Rome. From faraway times Asia rightly seemed the center of the world and the cradle of civilization, with the culture of the Tigris and Euphrates, the teeming myriads of old India, and farther remote the vast numbers and immobile character of immemorial China. To the wealthy and cultured upper classes of Hindustan and Persia, Europe must have seemed small and sparsely peopled and unimportant. During all this time and long after, the great American continents lay hidden beyond their ocean, almost unpeopled, and to the rest of the world unsuspected and unknown, unless sometimes faintly imagined as Atlantis or *Ultima Thule*.

European peoples now dominate the world

During the past four hundred years a vast change has come over the world. Asia, which as late as the twelfth century threatened to overrun Europe, long ago lost her superiority, and Europe going forward with immense acceleration, has gained unquestioned primacy in culture and power. First she discovered and appropriated the Americas, then she took parts of Asia, then most of Africa also. By the beginning of the twentieth century European people and their rule had expanded into all the four quarters of the world, and the continents were largely occupied

by them or contained in the colonial empires of European powers.

The British Empire

The greatest, though not the oldest of these colonial empires was the British, which at the end of the nineteenth century contained 13,000,000 square miles of territory and 425,000,000 people. As early as 1583 England established a claim to Newfoundland the center of the wondrous new American fisheries. In the early years of the seventeenth century she took possession of some of the smaller islands of the West Indies and presently, in 1655, the more important island of Jamaica. During this same period she began the establishment of her colonies on the mainland, and in the years from 1607, when Virginia was founded, to 1733, when Georgia was established, she got possession of the best part of the Atlantic coast of North America. Meanwhile in 1638 she took Honduras in Central America. In the first half of the seventeenth century also she obtained a footing in Africa at Gambia and the Gold Coast, and in 1651 the little island off the west African coast, St. Helena, afterward so much renowned. Meanwhile in Hindustan the English East India Company was establishing forts and factories which were the forerunners of an Indian empire.

Increase by conquest

Down to the end of the seventeenth century the English colonies came largely from settlement or exploration, and they lay for the most part in North America. Britain now greatly extended her holdings as the result of successful wars, mostly at the expense of France. In 1704, during the War of the Spanish Succession, she seized Gibraltar, one of the gates of the Mediterranean, which ever since she has kept; while in 1713 by the Treaty of Utrecht, which brought the struggle to an end, she got from France New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, the outposts of Canada, and undisputed title to the territory of Hudson Bay. In 1763, by the Peace of Paris, which ended the Seven Years' War between England and France, she got from France the re-

mainder of Canada, what is now Prince Edward Island, Ontario, and Quebec, as well as important islands in the West Indies, and at the same time the supremacy of the British in India was confirmed. A little later she got the Falkland Islands not far east of the southern extremity of South America. Now, however, came the great disaster in the history of the British Empire: in 1775 the Thirteen Colonies on the mainland of North America rebelled, and by 1783 they had won the acknowledgment of their independence.

Further expansion

Increase of the British colonial empire soon proceeded again. In 1786 a beginning was made of obtaining the Straits Settlements, situated by the great trade routes which run past southeast Asia, near to the world's greatest supply of tin. In 1788 in New South Wales began the occupation of Australia. During the wars of the French Revolution and with Napoleon British control of the sea was at no time shaken, and in consequence new acquisitions were made, at the expense of France, or of Holland under French control. Thus it was that Ceylon, south of India, was taken in 1795, part of Guiana on the north coast of South America in 1803, and Cape Colony in 1806. They were all taken from the Dutch, and Britain kept them when the affairs of Europe were settled at the Congress of Vienna, Holland getting Belgium as compensation. In addition she got other West India Islands from France, Malta in the Mediterranean, Heligoland, once owned by Denmark, and Trinidad once held by Spain. Meanwhile the servants of the East India Company were extending the Company's sway over a vast territory and population in India, and in 1858, after the suppression of the Indian Mutiny, the Company's powers were transferred to the British Crown. During the first half of the nineteenth century also Great Britain extended her possessions in Canada to the Pacific, and, except for Alaska, got possession of all North America from the United States to the Arctic. In 1878, at the Congress

of Berlin, in return for support against Russia, Turkey ceded to Great Britain the island of Cyprus at the eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea.

Egypt

In the second half of the nineteenth century England got complete control of the eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea. A Frenchman, Ferdinand de Lesseps, organized a company partly French and partly shared in by the Egyptian government, to cut a ship canal through the isthmus which joins Africa and Asia. He afterward failed in a still greater undertaking at Panama, but in 1869 the Suez Canal was opened to traffic, and the route to the Far East, formerly around the Cape of Good Hope, was shortened by six thousand miles. Before the discovery of America the Mediterranean Sea had immense importance, but after the time of Columbus and Da Gama, changed conditions made its consequence less. Now the opening of the canal in Egypt made the Mediterranean the short water route between Europe and Asia, and the greatest sea way in the world. This route soon passed under British control. In 1875, the *khedive*, the ruler of Egypt, a spendthrift at the end of his resources, sold to the British government Egypt's shares for £5,000,000, and Great Britain, owning nearly half of the stock, became the principal shareholder in the company.

Egypt becomes a British protectorate

The condition of Egyptian finances soon became so involved that the European powers intervened, and a Dual Control of the country was established by Great Britain and France. In 1881 a nationalist movement under Arabi Pasha threatened the foreigners, and, France declining to participate, England suppressed the uprising and took possession of the country. France protested at this, but the British government declared that it was not establishing a protectorate, and would withdraw as soon as conditions allowed. Egypt under British guidance and control settled down to prosperity and order and the masses of the people were better off than they had been for ages.

But as the years went on British occupation continued. At length, in 1904, when Britain and France entered into the *Entente Cordiale*, France withdrew her opposition; and in 1914, early in the Great War, Egypt was made a protectorate of the British Empire. Under British control Egypt's domain was greatly extended. To the south lay the Sudan. Formerly it had been under Egyptian rule, but in 1881 under the *Mahdi* it became independent. Seventeen years later an English and Egyptian army under General Kitchener overthrew the Sudanese in the battle of Omdurman, and all the country was taken again.

The Sudan

Other African possessions

In 1884 a Conference was held in Berlin upon African affairs, and in 1890 agreements were made between Germany and Great Britain and France and Great Britain, by which rival claims were adjusted. British possessions were now extended south from the Sudan through Uganda to British East Africa which had been already obtained. In exchange for Heligoland, which she ceded to the German Empire, Britain got the island of Zanzibar just off the east African coast. Thus a splendid African empire had been built up from the mouths of the Nile to the Indian Ocean.

South Africa

To the south an empire equally magnificent had been constructed in the meantime. At the beginning of the century Cape Colony had been taken from the Dutch. Then the Boers, or Dutch farmers, went away to the interior and founded independent communities, the Orange Free State, Natal, and the Transvaal. In 1843 Natal was annexed by the British, and the Orange Free State and the Transvaal were taken for a while, but soon given independence again. In course of time British dominion was extended far to the north of these small states. In 1889 the British South Africa Company was chartered, and under the leadership of Cecil Rhodes acquired the vast country afterward known as Rhodesia. So British territory in Africa extended down from the Mediterranean to

German East Africa and up from the Cape of Good Hope to this same German possession. In 1899 the trouble which had long been growing between the British in South Africa and the Boer republics developed into a war, in which the small Dutch communities of hardy farmers, expert with rifle, well provided with artillery made in France, and taking advantage of the great distances of the country, proved themselves no poor match for Great Britain, obliged to carry on a difficult contest far from her base of operations. After skilful and heroic resistance, however, the Boers were completely conquered, and the two states annexed by Great Britain. As a result of all this one third of the continent had come into British hands.

The Boer War, 1899-1902

During the latter part of the nineteenth century the British continued to enlarge their dominions in Asia. It was they who in the "Opium War" in 1842 forced the Chinese government to open five "treaty" ports to foreign trade, and also to cede to the British the small island of Hong Kong off the south China coast which later became a huge emporium of trade with China. The "Opium War" itself was an exceedingly ugly affair, for irrespective of its larger results it was intervention by the British because of efforts of the Chinese government to suppress the opium traffic, and save its people from ruin of body and soul. For many years the Chinese government was unable to prevent the importation and use of opium; and while the despair and indignation of the enlightened people of China were ill-understood, yet after a while people in the western hemisphere came to realize the enormity and horror of the thing. Finally the British authorities themselves intervened to help to bring it to an end. From the opening of the Chinese ports an enormous and wealthy trade developed, of which the great world powers obtained an increasing share. Toward the end of the century some of the European powers began seizing upon "spheres of influence." In 1898, at a time when it seemed that Russia was

Possessions in China

The "Opium War"

Wei-hai-wei

about to get the greatest part of the spoils of the country, the British demanded and obtained the port of Wei-hai-wei, not far from Korea and Port Arthur, and far to the north of the old settlement at Hong Kong.

The approaches to India

India had from the first been the most important British possession in Asia. After the defeat of the French in the eighteenth century it had for a long while seemed far from possible enemies and safe from attack; but in the nineteenth century the constant expansion of Russia brought nearer the Muscovite power, until vigilance against Russia and the getting of a strong Indian frontier were of large moment in the foreign policy of Great Britain. With Afghanistan, to the northwest and leading to some of the great approaches down into India, two wars were fought, in 1838 and in 1878, as a result of which the country became in its foreign relations practically a protectorate of the British Empire, and a buffer state between India and Russia. In 1854 Baluchistan was made partly dependent, and later on a portion of it was made completely so, and the rest of it annexed. To the west of these two little-known countries lay the ancient state of Persia. By the end of the nineteenth century Russian expansion threatened to absorb it, and at last bring the Russian Empire out to the warm waters of the south, on the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea, over across from India. To counteract this, while the Russians were getting control of northern Persia the British tried to dominate the south, and a long contest was ended when Great Britain and Russia made their agreement of 1907 by which northern Persia became Russia's sphere of influence and the southern part a British sphere, with a neutral zone in between. To the east of India also British power was extended. In 1885 upper Burma, on the other side of the Bay of Bengal, was annexed. To the northeast the mountain states of Nepal and Bhutan were made dependent, and then after a while the British crossed through the vast mountains

which separate India from the Empire of China, and by 1914 had made of Tibet practically an outlying dependent state.

Extent and character of the British Empire

By this time Britain had beyond dispute the greatest colonial empire in the world. With the aggregate of her domain there was nothing to compare except the possessions of the United States, the vaster but less valuable territory of Russia, and the immense expanses of China. The empire had been built up easily because England's geographical position gave her advantages over the greatest of her rivals, and her control of the sea enabled her to add to it in peace and as the result of every great war in which she fought. The area of the British Isles was only 120,000 square miles, that of England less than half as much, and the population of the United Kingdom only about forty-five million souls. But England, which at the beginning of the sixteenth century, was one of the less important countries in Europe was now the greatest, and the empire of which she was the center embraced a fourth of the land surface of the earth. From this vast area came a large part of the world's tin, half of its gold, a third of its coal, a third of its wool, a fifth of its wheat, and other products without number. Its great weakness was that it was widely scattered, with the seas of the world separating its principal parts, and great land powers growing ever more powerful near them. It was held together by the thing which had built it up: the most powerful navy in the world. If ever the British navy were beaten or dispersed, then the empire would lie before the enemy like spoil to be taken at will.

Peoples of the Empire

The British Empire was, in some respects, a strange and conglomerate affair. Not only were its parts widely separate and distant, but it embraced peoples of every race and religion, in all stages of culture and political progress. Its elements were far more diverse than those which composed Russia or Austria-Hungary. Outside of the British

Isles there were in this empire some twelve million English people, and about three million more of the white race. These people were mostly in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. Of the remaining 365,000,000 all but 50,000,000 were in the vast aggregation of races in the Indian domain, while in Africa there were 40,000,000 negroes, and in the other lands some millions of Malays, Chinese, and others. A great part of all the Mohammedans of the world were under British rule, as were Brahmans, Buddhists and many others. In holding together these peoples the British showed themselves the ablest colonial administrators the world ever had seen.

British rule

In the empire the people of England and Scotland had obtained great wealth, and had made investments which rendered much of the world tributary to London; while the British mercantile marine, largely supported by trade between the parts, was the largest ever seen in the world. Some of the peoples in the empire, in India and Egypt, were held unwillingly and longed to obtain independence. None the less, considering all the difficulties involved, there had never been a great empire ruled so justly and well, and wherever British rule had come, in India, or the islands of the sea, better conditions had resulted for most of the people.

Self-government in parts of the Empire

To all the white peoples outside of the United Kingdom self-government had been granted: in Newfoundland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa. These self-governing dominions had such complete control of their own affairs that they were independent in all except name, ruling themselves through their own elected representatives. So loose was the connection, indeed, that a statesman declared that in August, 1914, the British Empire had come to an end. But at this very time it was abundantly shown that the bonds were never stronger, and that while the dominions were no longer

attached by any compulsion, they were strongly bound by ties of love and devotion.

Subject peoples

To the remaining 365,000,000 people of the empire self-government had not been given; but it could scarcely be doubted that the condition of the masses of India, bad as it was, had never before been so good, and that the *fellaheen* were attaining some prosperity and economic well-being for the first time in the history of Egypt. And there could be no doubt that most of the non-white population of the empire would not, if left to themselves, have evolved any representative, self-government, and were not yet fitted to make it work. The comparative liberality of British rule made it the more possible for some of the educated minority and the upper classes among these people to long for independence, and it was most proper that they should desire to have it. None the less, it is probable that in 1914 the greatest good of most of the people in the empire demanded the continuance of British rule, and that the British Empire was one of the most useful and beneficent organizations in the world.

The French colonial empire

Next in greatness was the colonial empire of France, her second empire, the work of the nineteenth century. After the Seven Years' War and the contests of the Revolution, and Napoleon's time, France's colonial domain had been reduced to a few trading posts in India, French Guiana on the north coast of South America, and a few islands, of which the most important were Martinique and Guadeloupe in the West Indies. In 1830 an expedition was despatched which captured Algiers and after a long and troublesome war Algeria was completely conquered (1857). In the period of the Second Empire an ambitious colonial policy was carried forward, some islands in the Pacific acquired, and, after a war with China, commercial concessions. In 1862 the French obtained part of Cochin China, and the rest of it five years later. In 1863 they established a protectorate over Cambodia. In 1867 a be-

ginning was made of the acquisition of French Somaliland in East Africa, commanding one side of the outlet of the Red Sea. Notwithstanding the fact that Napoleon failed to make a dependency of Mexico, France was by the end of his reign getting to be the second colonial power in the world. After the Franco-German War France sought compensation abroad, and Bismarck encouraged French statesmen to do this, glad to divert their attention. In 1885 after a war with China, a protectorate was established over Tonkin and Annam, states in southeastern Asia upon which the Chinese had long had some shadowy claim. All these acquisitions from Cambodia to the border of China became French Cochin-China, the chief Asiatic possession of France.

The French in Africa

The greatest expansion was in northern Africa, where the French extended their power out from Algeria and through the Sahara, until all the north part of the continent to the borders of Egypt and Tripoli was included. In 1881 Tunis, to the east of Algeria, was occupied and became a protectorate. In 1892 Dahomey, on the southern shore of the great north African bulge was conquered, and from there, and from the mouth of the Senegal River, which they had long held, expeditions were dispatched to the north. About the same time, farther south, French traders pushed inland and acquired the French Congo. From all these points, north and south, explorers, as enterprising and bold as Champlain and La Salle once had been, explored the country and took it for France, until nearly all of the Sahara and its oases and trade routes were acquired. In 1895 France established a protectorate over the island of Madagascar, off the southeast coast, once the haunt of pirates, a vast extent to which the French had laid claim since before the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1911 she established a protectorate over Morocco.

As a result of this expansion in Africa and Asia France had a magnificent colonial empire. Her possessions were

far less in area, population and resources than those of the British Empire, yet some of them, like Morocco and Algeria, lay in a position of great importance, they were a store-house of raw materials, and furnished the products for a lucrative trade. Algeria had been annexed directly to France, and sent representatives to the legislature in Paris, though only a small portion of the population might vote, and the people had little control over the officials who ruled them. In Algeria to a considerable extent, and in the other colonies entirely, the French were an upper and ruling class. To none of the French colonies had complete self-government been extended, largely, no doubt, because to none of them had many Frenchmen ever gone to live. The French had shown magnificent ability and skill in acquiring possessions, but they were not colonizers as the British were, for most Frenchmen were unwilling to live outside of France, and no high birth-rate produced a surplus population to send abroad. As in the British Empire so in the French, capitalists had large concessions and had made great investments from which large revenues came. Yet for the most part the advent of France into these distant places had brought better conditions for the people.

Extent and character of this empire

In the latter part of the nineteenth century the German Empire also acquired colonial possessions, but they were far inferior in size and in value to those of Great Britain or France. At a time when Great Britain had got vast possessions, and when France was gathering a new empire, the Germans were just achieving their national unity, and even after 1871 it seemed for some time to Bismarck and his contemporaries that colonies were of little importance. But to a younger generation they seemed indispensable, and about 1879 business men and merchants made the beginning of colonial development. In that year concessions were obtained in the Samoan Islands. In the next few years other trading posts were established in islands of

The German colonies

the Pacific and also in various places in Africa. In 1883 a German merchant, Lüderitz, laid the foundations of German Southwest Africa. A year later Togoland and Kamerun on the Gulf of Guinea were obtained by a German traveler. In the same year three other adventurous Germans acquired what was made into the most important of all Germany's colonial possessions, German East Africa, on the Indian Ocean. All these African holdings were got in the first place by travellers or merchants making treaties with native rulers. By this time the interest of Bismarck had been enlisted and the German government established protectorates in the new acquisitions.

The English and the Germans in Africa

Considerable efforts were made to extend German possessions, mostly without any success. British and German schemes soon came into conflict. It was the ambition of some Englishmen to get a broad strip of territory from the Cape of Good Hope to Cairo, and some Germans hoped that their country might acquire a stretch of territory straight across the southern portion of the continent from German Southwest Africa on the Atlantic to German East Africa on the Indian Ocean. In 1919, as a result of the Great War the British ambition was realized, but previously a compromise had been made. In 1890 an Anglo-German agreement was made which so established German East Africa that the British were unable to connect the northern and southern parts of their empire, and German Southwest Africa and Kamerun were enlarged.

The Germans in Asia and South America

In Asia the Germans had one temporary success. In 1897, to avenge as they said, the murder of two missionaries, the German authorities seized Kiao-chau Bay in the Chinese province of Shantung, and compelled the Chinese government to yield them a ninety-nine year lease of the place. Then they proceeded to fortify it and make of it a great naval base, which might later be the foundation of a German protectorate in China. In South America, especially in Southern Brazil, where many German emi-

grants had settled, it was believed that the German Empire hoped to get possessions, but the Monroe Doctrine of the United States stood in the way. The best opportunity that remained seemed to be in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, but here Germany encountered the opposition of Great Britain, until an agreement was made in 1914 just before the War broke out.

German colonial administration

Altogether the efforts of the Germans to found a colonial empire had met with scanty success. It might have been that in the future the best of her colonies could have been successfully developed, but meanwhile the Germans showed less skill than the British or the French. In attempting to impose their system and their organization upon the natives of their colonies they sometimes acted with great harshness and brutality, provoking the natives to rise and then carrying on wars of extermination against them. This conduct brought them an evil renown; but it is necessary to remember that the terrible climate of central Africa and the distance from the customs and civilization of white men, led other colonizers besides the Germans to do deeds which might well bring the blush of shame. Altogether, the German colonies afforded hope for the future rather than a present benefit, and entailed expense to German taxpayers greater than the revenue yielded by them.

Italian colonization

Italy, like Germany, entered the quest for colonies almost too late. Like the Germans the Italian people were long occupied in the mere effort to achieve national unity and make strong their position at home. When they turned to colonial expansion their first desire was to take Tunis, which lay directly across the Mediterranean and seemed to them the most natural field for enlargement. But France also wished to have Tunis, and, acting with greater promptness and decision, she took it, though the Italians continued to be more numerous there than the French. Some years before, an Italian steamship company had obtained a port at the southern end of the Red Sea, and after

1882 Italy built up from this the colony of Eritrea. Seven years later she obtained Italian Somaliland, some distance to the south, lying on the Indian Ocean. Between these two possessions lay the old mountainous Kingdom of Abyssinia, inhabited by hardy tribesmen who from ancient times had professed the Christian faith. Over Abyssinia the Italian government tried to establish a protectorate, but the inhabitants of the country would by no means submit, and in 1896 inflicted a terrible defeat on an invading Italian army at Adowa. Ten years after Italy joined with Great Britain and France in acknowledging the independence of the country.

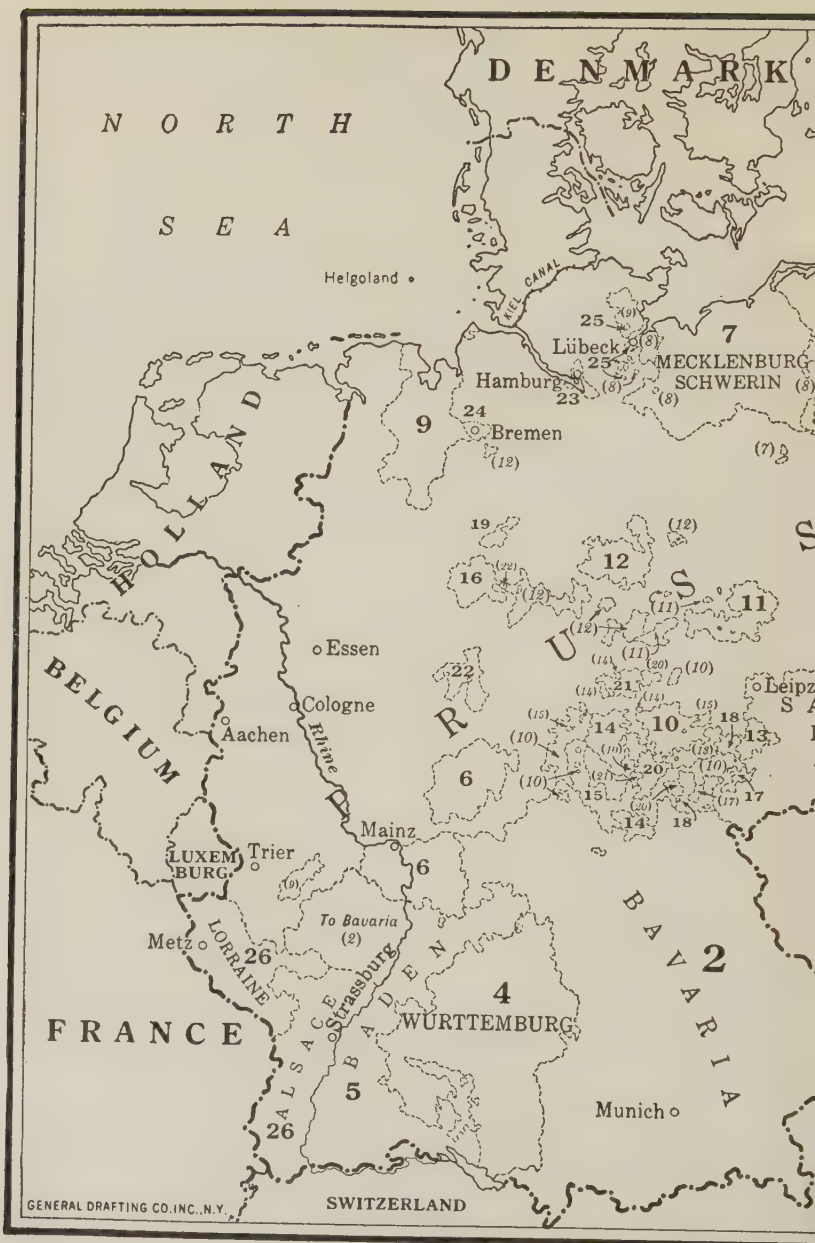
Defeat in Abyssinia

Tripoli

About this time the Italians turned their attention to North Africa once more. In 1901 the Italians and the French had settled their differences, and it was understood that France recognized the paramount interest of Italy in the country of Tripoli. Once all the north coast of Africa from Algeria to Suez had been subject to Constantinople, though often the authority was nominal only. But in the course of the nineteenth century Algeria and Tunis had been taken by France, and Egypt occupied by the British; now only Tripoli and Cyrenaica remained. In 1911 Italy suddenly demanded that the sultan yield these districts. When this was refused an army of invasion was sent, and after a year of fighting Turkey was forced to cede them. The natives of the interior, however, long continued a harassing conflict which cost the Italians dear in money and men.

Spain and Portugal

Some of the lesser powers like Spain, Portugal, and Holland, still retained important colonial dominions, the relics of what had been won in their great days of long before, while in the nineteenth century Belgium obtained a magnificent domain in Africa, rich in tropical resources. In 1898 Spain lost to the United States nearly all of what still remained of her colonies: Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippine Islands. Portugal had long since lost the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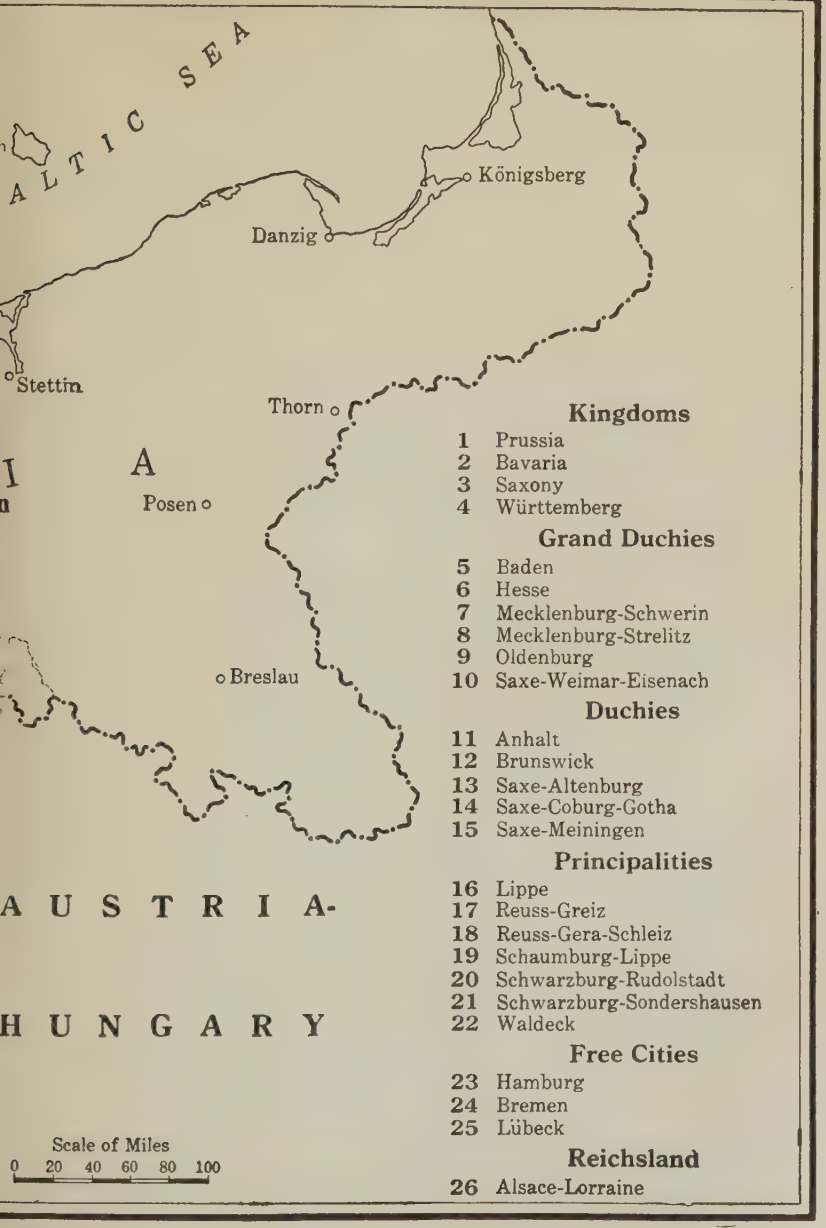

MPIRE IN 1914

best of her colonies to the Dutch, from whom some had been taken by the British, but she still retained, in addition to some islands and trading stations, two large possessions on the opposite coasts of southern Africa, Angola in the west, and Portuguese East Africa which included Mozambique.

The Dutch colonies

The Dutch had long since lost their important settlement at the mouth of the Hudson in North America, and in South America Brazil, both held only a short time, though in the northern part of South America they still retained Dutch Guiana. Of the other possessions which they had won long ago South Africa and Ceylon had been lost to the British, but they still held the great Spice Islands of the Malay Archipelago, off southeastern Asia, Java, Borneo, Sumatra, Celebes, and the western part of New Guinea, the largest island in the world, which they shared with the British and the Germans.

Dutch colonial administration

The Dutch colonial empire for a great while had yielded vast stores of raw materials and large revenue to Holland. It was far more valuable than the colonies of the German Empire and for a long time more valuable than what France had. It made Holland much more important than she would otherwise have been, and also constituted a mortgage upon her political actions. To Germans, who hoped for the later inclusion of Holland with their larger empire, the Dutch islands near Asia seemed a splendid addition to be made to the German colonies; while Holland, not a great naval power herself, could never afford to offend the powers who commanded the sea lest she lose her distant possessions. It should be said that generally these colonies were ruled primarily in the interests of Holland, with a view to furthering trade, and with no great efforts made for the interests or advancement of the natives.

The Belgian Congo

Belgium did not get independence until 1831, but within half a century she had obtained a magnificent African possession. Following the explorations of Liv-

ingstone and Stanley in central Africa and the revelations which they made of the possibilities and resources of this region, Leopold II of Belgium, after a conference of the powers held at Brussels, founded what he called the International Association of the Congo. He presently obtained the sanction of the Conference of Powers, which met at Berlin in 1884, to make of the Congo region an independent neutral jurisdiction, the Congo Free State, of which in the following year he became sovereign. He had invested large sums of money in this enterprise, but now taking for himself great tracts of the rubber country as a personal domain, he began to reap a huge fortune from it. This was accomplished partly by forcing the natives to labor, and such stories of cruel brutality began to spread around the world that the administration of the Congo became a great scandal. After much contention the rights of Leopold were purchased by the Belgian Government in 1908, the Congo Free State was annexed by Belgium, and reforms were introduced there.

Imperialism

Imperialism, the getting and holding of colonial empire, was probably an inevitable stage in the evolution of mankind. It resulted partly from the superior power of some of the European nations and their greater ambitions, which developed, partly from the changes that accompanied the Industrial Revolution. After the railroad and the steamship the world seemed smaller and its parts were brought closer together. As a consequence of the changes of the nineteenth century the population and the industries of Europe greatly expanded. The surplus population of England, Italy, and Germany went outside to other places. Australia, New Zealand, Canada, South Africa were all built up by such emigration, while the abler or the more adventurous went forth to such countries as India and Egypt to direct and govern the natives. Moreover, the expanding industrialism of countries like the German

Empire and Great Britain fostered an increasing population which could not be supported by domestic agriculture, and which could get its food only by selling manufactured products abroad. Often it seemed to imperialists that these manufactures could be best sold to colonial possessions, and it was true that the colonies of Britain and France purchased many things from them. Furthermore industrialism depended on a supply of raw products. A considerable portion of such raw materials was in the great colonial empires, especially of Great Britain, Holland, and France. After the old colonial system was ended in the earlier part of the nineteenth century Britain did not bar other countries from trading with her colonies, but some powers were not so liberal, and there was always the possibility that a state might attempt to monopolize its colonial products. So German imperialists believed it necessary for Germany's greatness that lands producing cotton, copper, rubber, and other materials should be taken and held.

Patriotism and colonies

Even when it was doubtful whether the mass of the people would be benefited by colonial acquisitions, and very doubtful whether colonies were wanted by them, individuals who hoped to get special privileges of great wealth, or who wanted protection for their investments, were often able to arouse the patriotism of the rest of the people and their love of greatness and glory for their country and lead them on to support colonial adventure. Just as small businesses were being consolidated into large corporations, so a great part of the resources of the earth were being assembled in possession of a few great powers; and it seemed to many that the future lay only with those powers, like Russia and the United States, which had vast territory in which to expand and enlarge, or with those like Great Britain and France, which had got colonies over the sea. The Germans' desire to get more territory or colonies while time still remained, was probably one of the major causes of the Great War.

Subject colonial populations

The subject populations were, probably, on the whole, better off than they would have been if left to themselves. That some of them were harshly and cruelly treated, that at best they had usually an inferior status, that they were often exploited, that they were ruled by aliens, that democracy and self-government were never extended to them, that they were denied many things which their European masters had, is most true. If all this be considered from the point of view of what European liberals wanted for themselves, it is very lamentable indeed. But it must be remembered that the people of Algeria, of India, of Egypt and of Burma had not been able to develop democracy or much well-being for the masses; that the negroes of Africa were far down in the scale of mankind and that those who could survive were being rapidly lifted up through whole stages of human progress. Whatever evils attended imperialism, and they were not few or small, it is probable that the peoples affected were benefited and prepared for things better to come. It is certain, also, that Americans and Englishmen and Frenchmen were coming to have greater concern for their responsibilities and ever greater desire to improve the condition of the peoples whom they ruled.

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CHAPTER XXI

TRIPLE ALLIANCE AND THE ENTENTES

. . . l'aigle provoqué prendra son vol, saisira l'ennemi dan ses serres acérées, et le rendra inoffensif. Nous nous souviendrons alors que les provinces de l'ancien empire allemand: Comté de Bourgogne et une belle part de la Lorraine, sont encore aux mains des Francs; que des milliers de frères allemands des provinces baltiques gémissent sous le joug slave. C'est une question nationale de rendre à l'Allemagne ce qu'elle a autrefois possédé.

Alleged secret German official report, communicated by the French Minister of War to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, April 2, 1913.

Immer enger werden die Maschen des Netzes, in die es der französischen Diplomatie gelingt, England zu verstricken. Schon in den ersten Phasen des Marokkokonflickts hat bekanntlich England an Frankreich Zusagen militärischer Natur gemacht. . . . Die Englische Flotte übernimmt den Schutz der Nordsee, des Kanals und des Atlantischen Ozeans. . . . Die Englische Regierung spielt ein gefährliches Spiel.

A report of 1913, published in the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, October 16, 1914.

Pre-eminence of the German Empire, 1871-1904

For a generation after the Franco-German War the German Empire enjoyed undisputed preëminence in Europe, not only because of its own enormous strength, but from the fact that it was the head of the Triple Alliance with Italy and Austria-Hungary. Even after the arrangement between France and Russia in 1893 the supremacy of Germany was not seriously disturbed. The Dual Alliance was regarded with suspicion not only by the rival alliance but by Great Britain as well. Therefore, down to 1901, at least, and actually for a few years after

that time, the German Empire continued to be what it had been during the later period of Bismarck, the dominant power on the Continent of Europe. And indeed it did more than hold its place, for, ambition increasing with the marvelous expansion of its power, it became year by year stronger and more magnificent to friends and admirers, more threatening and terrible to the others. It was this increase in power and ambition that brought about the large diplomatic changes that now came to pass.

Europe divided, 1904-14

Hitherto the weaker Dual Alliance had confronted the stronger Triple Alliance with Britain, on the outskirts of Europe, usually more friendly toward Germany than either Russia or France. But in 1904 England and France settled their differences and made an arrangement, the *Entente Cordiale*, which was not an alliance but in the end proved to be just as effective as one. And three years later, when England and Russia settled their differences also, in the Anglo-Russian Accord, Dual Alliance and *Entente Cordiale* coalesced in a vaster combination, the Triple Entente. Thereafter Europe was divided by two great combinations. And the Triple Entente was so strong that Germany's old position of easy superiority was gone. German leaders did try to get back to the old position and dictate their will to the others. Five times they attempted this, and each time a great crisis resulted.

The great crises

On two of these occasions, the Morocco Crisis of 1905, and the Affair of Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1908-9, Germany won signal triumph, and seemed to have mastery once more. Twice, in the Morocco Crisis of 1911 and the crisis which arose concerning the Balkans in 1912, discomfiture came. Each time, in the end, war was avoided. But the tension gradually became so great that more and more people believed another such difference would make it difficult to avoid war again. The fifth crisis came in 1914, after the Austrian ultimatum to Servia. Then the dread catastrophe came.

Great Britain and France

The origin of the *Entente Cordiale* may be traced to one great cause, fear of the German Empire. England and France had been rivals or enemies for ages, and so different were the character and ideals of the two that rarely had they been able to regard each other with much of sympathy and understanding. As late as 1898 England and France had been very near war. But France had once been under the German's heel and had never forgotten; for thirty years she had lived right beside a neighbor who had often been arrogant and sometimes threatening; Germany was growing in population and power so much more rapidly than France as to make Frenchmen see that in another war they could have little chance, and a new school of French leaders believed that some day such a conflict could not be avoided. Accordingly, after 1898, with the passing of Hanotaux, who disliked Britain and preferred German friendship, a new group came into power, among whom Théophile Delcassé shortly became most important. It was their belief that France had best seek the friendship of England.

The *Entente Cordiale*, 1904

The old school was passing in Great Britain also. Victoria's German husband had died long before, she herself died in 1901, and a year later the Marquis of Salisbury. The German naval laws of 1898 and 1900 were making the new generation of Englishmen have an apprehension of Germany that those before never had. It began to be said that Britain could no longer, such were the new conditions, afford to maintain her "splendid isolation;" that she must have her own friends to stand with if there were need. So, in 1904 France and England signed an agreement by which they amicably adjusted all their differences everywhere, France acquiescing in the British occupation of Egypt, against which she had often protested, and Britain promising to support France in her plan to get possession of Morocco: "The two governments agree to afford one another their diplomatic support." It was afterward

seen, on the publication of the secret articles in 1911, that the two powers, while not making an alliance, had given each other assurances of assistance, if that were needed. In 1904 an alliance was not, perhaps, desired, and would probably not have been tolerated by many people in either of the countries. Moreover, it was said then that Germany would have gone to war to prevent it.

The kaiser at Tangier

When the terms of the Entente were made known Germany seemed at first to make slight objection to it; but a little later she intervened with terrible brusqueness. March 31, 1905, the kaiser suddenly landed at Tangier, opposite Gibraltar, in Morocco, and told the sultan that he would uphold his sovereign power. To France this was as direct a challenge as could be made, for following the Entente agreement Frenchmen were making ready to end the anarchy which had long existed in Morocco, and round out their north African empire by taking Morocco themselves. After the kaiser's sudden assertion it was evident that France must, at Germany's behest, give up the enterprise or risk almost certain war.

France not able to resist Germany

The moment was well chosen for Germany's move. France herself was not in condition to fight a great war. It was by no means certain as yet how far Britain would support her, or, in view of political conditions in the British Isles, how far she could give support. Worst of all, no help could be expected from Russia. She was involved in a war with Japan, in which she had undergone repeated defeats, and just suffered the great disaster of Mukden. In the course of the struggle rebellion and disorder had arisen in her realm so that she was now distracted and weak, and her condition was such that years of recuperation were needed. Furthermore, the German emperor had been secretly intriguing with the tsar, over whose weak character his own obtained easy ascendancy. He was busily endeavoring to have Russia attach herself to Germany against England, who, he said, was the real

Secret treaty of Björkö, 1905

enemy, and have her bring France into a continental combination which Germany should lead. A few months after this time, indeed, in July, 1905, the kaiser and tsar met on board a vessel at Björkö in the Baltic, and there signed a secret treaty. This engagement was not accepted by the Russian government, but such negotiations temporarily weakened the Dual Alliance.

The first Morocco crisis, 1905

It was a terrible moment for France; but she was not prepared to fight, and so had to yield to a great humiliation. There was in Paris at this time a German, Count Haenckel von Donnersmarck, unofficial representative of the kaiser. To a French newspaper he gave out an interview the meaning of which was not to be mistaken: Delcassé's policy was dangerous to Germany and was leading to war; in such a war France might win, but if she did not the peace would be dictated in Paris; he meant his advice kindly—"Give up the minister." And this was done, for as late as 1905 Germany could still command and France obey. Delcassé was forced to resign, and France compelled not only to yield with respect to Morocco, but virtually forced to appear before a European conference, called to meet at Algeciras, over the bay from Gibraltar.

The Conference of Algeciras, 1906

Germany had gone too far, and at the conference less was gained than six months before. The French had diligently strengthened their military resources, and the English, who had perhaps been more willing to go to war than the French in 1905, continued resolute, while Russia was now at peace. The French presented their case much more skilfully than the Germans, who had relied too greatly on display of force, and France gained a large part of what she wanted; for to France and Spain jointly was given the task of preserving order in Morocco. The results of the affair were none the less a large triumph for Germany. She had not, indeed, succeeded in breaking up the *Entente Cordiale*, which she much desired to accomplish, and it was seen now that the agreement was stronger

than ever; nor had she imposed upon France as great a humiliation as seemed likely at first. But she had forbidden France to take Morocco; France had yielded, and at Germany's behest a French minister of foreign affairs had been driven from office. Apparently the position of Germany was as high as when France stood almost alone.

Great Britain and Russia

If fear of Germany and trend of diplomatic events had drawn France and Great Britain together, the same forces tended to draw together Russia and Great Britain, and in effect form a combination of Great Britain, Russia, and France. This was made easier because of the Russo-Japanese War. After 1905, Russia, defeated in Asia, seemed less dangerous to Britain than before, at the same time that she turned back to Europe, and, as was soon seen, entered into rivalry with the German Empire rather than Great Britain. This took place when British suspicion and dread of Germany were steadily increasing. It took place also at a time when France, the ally of Russia, was becoming ever more closely bound to England. The result of all these factors was that in 1907 the British and the Russian governments settled their differences in friendly and generous spirit, much as France and England had done shortly before. In this agreement Russia acknowledged controlling influence in Afghanistan and in Tibet by Britain, who thus got a secure frontier for India, and Persia was practically divided between the two of them. After 1907 there were, over against the Triple Alliance, the secret agreement between Russia and France, the *Entente Cordiale* of Great Britain and France, and the Anglo-Russian Accord of Great Britain and Russia. These three arrangements now came to be spoken of together as the Triple Entente, and for the next seven years men understood that Europe was dominated by the two rival combinations, Triple Alliance and Triple Entente.

The Anglo-Russian Accord, 1907

The Triple Entente, 1907-14

The Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis, 1908-9

But while this was destined to check Germany soon, it could not do so at once; and in the very next year in

company with her principal ally she secured another more signal triumph. This time it was in the east of Europe, and had to do with the greatest of Teutonic interests, control of the Balkans. In 1908 Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, in spite of a general European treaty, and in direct defiance of Russia.

The Dual Monarchy annexes Bosnia and Herzegovina

By the Treaty of Berlin the two Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina had been put under the control of Austria-Hungary, though sovereignty continued to be vested in Turkey. Actual connection with Turkey ceased, however, and the government of the Dual Monarchy set to work to bring order to the districts and make them thoroughly subservient to its rule. The people were largely debarred from professional and government positions and treated as inferior to Hungarians or Germans, but considerable material prosperity was brought about, and in many respects the condition of the South Slavs in these provinces was better than that of those who ruled themselves in Servia and Montenegro. As time went on, therefore, Austria-Hungary came to regard them as part of her dominion, and Turkish ownership as a fiction. Thus things continued until 1908. In that year occurred the so-called Young Turk revolution in the Ottoman Empire. Ignoring the Austrian possession of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Young Turks invited the population of the provinces to send representatives to an assembly in Constantinople. This seemed an attempt to prepare for Turkish possession of the country again later on. But complete mastery of the district was now necessary for the Teutonic scheme of controlling the way down to Turkey and the greater domain across the straits. Under no circumstances would either Germany or Austria see the loss of Bosnia and Herzegovina threatened, and so Austria acted at once. October 3d, the Dual Monarchy cast aside the Treaty of Berlin, without consulting the other parties to the treaty, and announced that the provinces were annexed.

Russia and Servia in the crisis

A dangerous crisis ensued. Turkey, most directly aggrieved, strongly protested, but could do nothing, and after a while accepted pecuniary compensation. Great Britain and France, who had signed the Treaty of Berlin, protested. To Russia—also a signatory, and much more greatly interested because of her position and ambition in the Balkans—the affront was far greater and she insisted that the matter be laid before a European congress. Most furious of all was Servia, the neighboring South Slavic state, who had long hoped that, on the breaking up of European Turkey, Bosnia and Herzegovina would be hers. If now the provinces were finally incorporated into Austria-Hungary, then the dream of future Servian greatness would never be realized. Accordingly, while Russia was prepared to oppose the action as strongly as she could, Servia was resolved to fight to the death, and could with difficulty be restrained from attacking her powerful neighbor.

Germany compels Russia to yield, 1909

Austria was willing that a European congress should be called, but the taking of Bosnia and Herzegovina must be regarded as a *fait accompli*. Russia resisted firmly, and was supported by her two partners in the Triple Entente. Servia, believing that she would be helped by Russia, made ready for war. With grave and anxious months the winter of 1908-9 passed slowly. Then suddenly the crisis was ended when Germany decisively intervened. She was apparently in the delicate position of having to offend one of her friends. She had enormous interests in Turkey; not less important was the alliance with the Dual Monarchy, whose position she would maintain at all costs. But her very able ambassador in Constantinople, Von Bieberstein, persuaded the Young Turks that it was best to accept the inevitable, and Turkey and Austria came to agreement. Meanwhile Germany gave full support to Austria against Russia and the *Entente*. German troops were massed in formidable array along the Russian fron-

"Shining armor"

tier, so that afterward the kaiser could say that he had stood forth beside his ally "in shining armor." A messenger was sent to the tsar, presumably to ask whether Austria's action were satisfactory. Russia was in no condition to fight, for she had recovered little as yet from the disasters of the war with Japan, and it was doubtful whether England, perhaps France, would be willing to fight because of the Balkans where they had no direct interest. So Russia yielded suddenly and completely. At the end of March the Russian government declared that it recognized the annexation as a *fait accompli*, and a few days later Servia, with bitterest humiliation signed a document declaring that she renounced her attitude of protest against the annexation, and would "live in future on good, neighborly terms" with Austria-Hungary.

Imposing position of Germany, 1909-11

Thus in 1909 Russia had been humiliated and rebuffed as France had been in 1905. In the east as in the west of Europe, when Germany spoke with hand on the sword, German word was law. The old successes of Bismarck were being revived and exceeded. In spite of the formation of the Triple Entente the colossal power of Germany was not shaken, and she stood dominant and terrifying as never before. She had given command to France, and Great Britain had not been able to save France from yielding; she had spoken to Russia in behalf of her ally, and Russia had yielded completely. Austria was now the principal power interested in the Balkans as Germany was in Turkey; and Servia, the little *protégé* of Russia, had been abandoned helpless, and forced to promise a friendship which she loathed. As if to complete the splendid success which she had gained, Germany now came to a separate understanding with the tsar. In November, 1910, the Russian ruler was the guest of the kaiser at Potsdam, and there an agreement was made by which Russia's position in Persia was acknowledged, and Russia withdrew opposition to the Bagdad Railway, which Germany wished

The Potsdam Accord, 1910

to complete. So, not only was the *Entente* shaken when Germany spoke, but one of its members even seemed to be drawing away.

International engagements weakened

This crisis had ended without disaster, but like the others it was ominous of woes soon to come. The cynical violation of the Treaty of Berlin by Austria-Hungary was fraught with consequences of evil. All through the nineteenth century, with the progress toward better things, there had been effort to have the sanctity of treaties held in reverence. "Contracting powers can rid themselves of their treaty engagements only by an understanding with their co-signatories," said the Declaration of London in 1871, to which Austria-Hungary had been a party. But among Germans there had been growing up of late the doctrine that treaties need not be kept if they were in opposition to the good of the state, and in the more terrible days of 1914 this doctrine was to be reaffirmed. The result of Austria's action in 1908 was to undermine public confidence in treaties and international engagements, and to make the more cautious believe that such engagements could be maintained only by force.

Increasing strength of the Triple Entente

This was the last great diplomatic triumph which Germany was destined to win. The opponents of Germany and the Triple Alliance were coming more closely together, and feeling that they could count on one another for support more certainly now. Especially was this the case with England and France; they were strengthening their forces, and they were, apparently, strengthening year by year their determination not always to yield at Germany's behest. In France there was going on steadily both a revival of courage and assurance and a splendid rebirth of national feeling. In Great Britain there was each year more apprehensiveness about the German Empire, determination to be on perpetual guard, and not let France alone confront German aggression or suffer her again to be crushed. The policy of Russia was more obscure, and depended, appar-

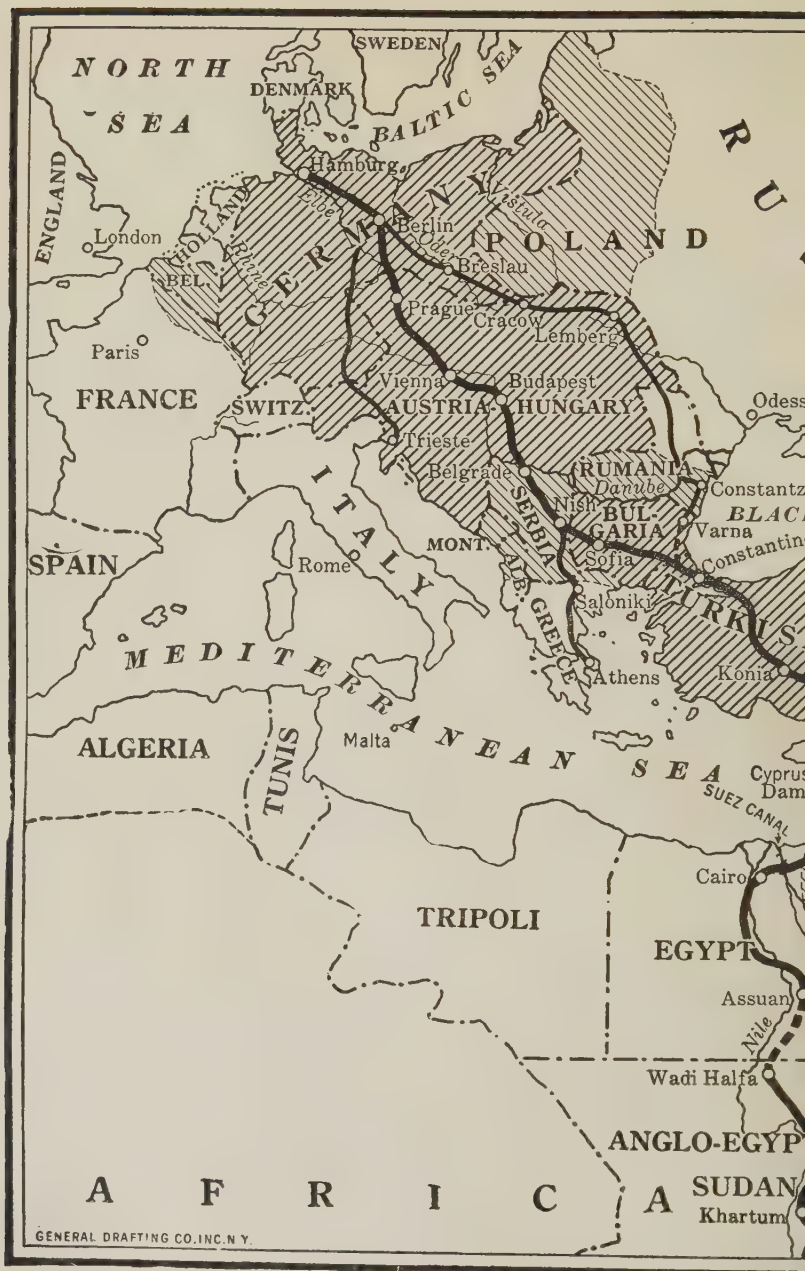
ently, more on the personal character of the ruler, who was known to be partly under the kaiser's influence and largely under that of his German wife. Yet, it was evident that Russia's great ambitions were now in the Balkans, so that she was thus brought again into direct rivalry with the Teutonic powers, and it was also certain that she was recovering the strength lost at Mukden and Tsushima. It was very evident also that the policy of Italy was now in conflict with that of the Austria-Hungary, at the same time that Italy had renewed her friendship with France, so that Italian support could no longer be counted on for Germany and Austria in any great war. All these factors had to do with the changes which now took place.

The second Morocco crisis, 1911

The third of the great disputes between the opposing combinations came in 1911, and again it had to do with Morocco. After the Conference of Algeciras, France went steadily on with the work which the powers had committed to her. She also tried to come to an understanding with Germany, and proceeded to get control of Morocco as far as she could. Under pretext of policing the distracted country she pushed an armed force farther and farther into the interior. It looked as though Morocco was about to become a French possession, whatever appearances were maintained, and Germany resolved that this should not be done without her consent and without a share of the country for herself.

Agadir

Without preliminary warning, July 1, 1911, it was announced that German commercial interests in Morocco were being threatened, and that hence a German warship had been sent to the harbor of Agadir, on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, to protect them. It was at once apparent that German interests were insignificant in the district, and that there was no unusual disorder. Evidently the Germans had intervened as before; and at once there came a crisis which brought the nations to the very verge of war.


NORTH SEA
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DENMARK
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HOLLAND
BEL.
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Rhine
GERMANY
Breslau
Prague
Cracow
Lemberg
Paris
FRANCE
SWITZ.
Vienna
Budapest
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
Trieste
Belgrade
RUMANIA
Danube
Constantz
Nish
SERBIA
BUL-GARIA
Varna
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Sofia
SPAIN
Rome
ITALY
ALB.
GREECE
Saloniki
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Konia
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
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TRIPOLI
EGYPT
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SUDAN
Khartum
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33. THE ALLE

Central Europe and its Annex, in the Near East
(Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, Turkey)
Territory occupied by Central Powers
Germany's Main Route to the East
(Berlin-Bagdad, Berlin-Hodeida, Berlin-Cairo-Cape)
Additional Routes
(Berlin-Trieste, Berlin-Saloniki-Athens, Berlin-Constantza-Constantinople)
Portions under construction
EMPIRE
CASPIAN SEA
PERSIA
AFGHANISTAN
INDIA
Bagdad
Persian Gulf
OMAN
ARABIA
Medina
Mecca
Hodeida
ARABIAN SEA

–GERMAN PLAN

Britain and France embarrassed

The moment had been well chosen. France was torn by socialist and industrial agitation. There had just been a great strike on the railroads, broken only when the government had mobilized the trainmen as soldiers to run the trains, and the anger at this was so great that the discontented were practising acts of *sabotage*, wrecking and destroying wherever they could. Ministries were following each other in quick and bewildering succession, and the government seemed weak and unstable. In Great Britain also there was widespread industrial discontent, and there had just been disorders in Liverpool and London greater than people living could remember. Moreover, the country was in the very midst of the great constitutional struggle over the power of the house of lords, and the people were divided by a contest more bitter than anything since the passage of the Reform Law in 1832. Russia had recently entered into the Potsdam agreement with Germany, and in any event Russia was little interested in Morocco, which concerned her directly not at all.

The diplomatic struggle

The question now resolved itself into another great contest between the *Entente* and the Alliance, more especially between Germany and Great Britain and France. Between the French and the German governments began a series of "conversations," while France sought to learn how far Britain would give her support. The French government, which had itself effectually set aside the Algeciras agreement, was yet able to maintain that Germany's action distinctly infringed the agreement; while Germany, it would seem, with more bluntness, declared that France had made the agreement of no force, and that, in the new order of things which had arisen, Germany must have a part of Morocco, or else, as she hinted, some compensation elsewhere.

Feeling in France and Great Britain

In France the German demands made profound impression on a people always sensitive, and then in the midst of a great revival of patriotic and national feeling. Ger-

many's action seemed harsh and unprovoked. Few people wanted war, and most Frenchmen dreaded it; but while there was from the first a spirit of conciliation and no outburst of popular wrath, there was also an unexpected firmness and a decision not to bow down again. In the midst of the negotiations France went steadily on arming and preparing for the worst. In Britain also political dissensions were hushed and put aside for the moment, as all parties stood close together. There was great popular sympathy for France and determination to support her. It was clearly realized that Germany, already dangerous to Great Britain on the seas, would be far more so if she got possession of part of Morocco, in the northwest corner of Africa, within easy striking distance of the Strait of Gibraltar, and lying right on the flank of the sea route to South Africa, constituting thus a menace both to Britain's short- and her long-water route to the East. For France the presence of Germany there would be no less a trouble and danger. Germany could thus make easy attack on the French Empire in northern Africa, and it would always be possible for her to stir up disaffection among the natives of Algeria and Tunis.

France refuses to yield

Accordingly, the two powers stood resolute and undaunted. All the French fleet was concentrated in the Mediterranean, and it was known that Britain's great fleet was ready in the Channel and in the North Sea. In the negotiations which were being carried on between Berlin and Paris, France, brought to bay, refused to let Germany have any share of Morocco. But if Germany would agree to give her a free hand there, she would from her other possessions grant compensation to Germany elsewhere.

Difficulties of Germany's position

The German government was soon in a difficult position, much, indeed, like that of the last days of July 1914. Germany had intervened with bold determination two times before; each time her weaker opponents had yielded, and there had been no trouble because they had yielded.

But now she had spoken commandingly again, and this time her word was not obeyed. It presently became apparent that, to enforce what she demanded, war might be necessary; but the socialists were bitterly opposed to such a war; most of the people did not feel that a vital interest of the nation was at stake; and it could not be pretended, as it was three years later, that Germany was being attacked by envious foes who were trying to effect her destruction. None the less, an important and influential part of the population, all those who had been striving for the creation of a greater German empire and for the expansion of German sea power, insisted that a part of Morocco must be got, or at the very least certain coaling-stations. France, supported by Great Britain, refused firmly to consider giving Germany any part of the country; if however the Imperial Government acknowledged her absolute political supremacy in Morocco, so that it would not in the future be called in question, then she would cede to Germany about a third of her Congo territory. From this offer she would not swerve.

The German Empire yields

Therefore, in the anxious weeks of August and September, 1911, it seemed that any day war might break out. The French people dreaded the prospect of such a war, for they realized, as they did so clearly in 1914, that this time defeat meant the definitive loss of their position as a great power. But, encouraged by England, they stood watchful and firm. They were, indeed, in a position far different from the earlier years when the *Kaiser* is reported to have said "I hold France in the hollow of my hand." The best judges believed that they were superior to the Germans in airplanes and field artillery, and there could be no doubt that the sea power of the *Entente* was overwhelmingly superior to the German. Brought to the time of decision the German government hesitated at last. It is said that the best advisers were consulted about whether the present opportunity was favorable for war,

and the answers were against it. Especially did the financiers oppose a conflict. The French had been conducting what they called a "financial mobilization." The vast and expanding industry of Germany had been built up largely on borrowed capital, much of it supplied by the French. If the money foundation of this structure were shaken, the whole edifice might topple down in a great industrial panic. The French were silently calling in their loans, and a colossal panic seemed imminent with widespread economic ruin. Accordingly the French proposals were accepted: there was no war; and the crisis ended.

The Morocco question settled

By the end of September the danger was past, and early in November an agreement was signed. Substantially France established her protectorate over Morocco, guaranteeing to all nations freedom and equality of trade; and she ceded to Germany part of her Congo. The arrangement was not completely satisfactory, since Frenchmen believed that Germany had been bribed to permit what she had no right to interfere in, and Germans were bitterly disappointed that they had obtained no part of Morocco. Germany had, it is true, been so confident of her strength that she had defied both England and France, and she had made good her contention that no important matter could be settled unless she were consulted; but she was no longer able to carry her point, and if she had hoped to drive England and France apart and break up the *Entente Cordiale*, it was apparent now that the understanding was closer than before and virtually a strong alliance.

German bitterness toward England

One of the principal results of this contest was increasing bitterness between Germany and Great Britain who had supported France stoutly. "We know now the enemy who loses no chance to bar our way." This bitterness resulted largely from comprehension that British support had made it possible for France to give to Germany the greatest diplomatic set-back that Germans had known since before the Franco-Prussian War. On all sides was

expressed the determination to see that, next time, the Fatherland would be so prepared that there would be no receding, and it was probable that if another crisis found Germany ready she would not again endure to be checked.

The Balkan crisis of 1912

But the next crisis did not arise through Germany's seeking, though it soon involved Austria's interests and her own. After the overwhelming defeat of Turkey in the first weeks of the First Balkan War, representatives of the Great Powers assembled in London (1912–13) to discuss the new problems just raised. Servia had not only conquered territory which she greatly desired, but she had now the chance of extending down through Albania and getting an outlet at last on the sea. To this Austria-Hungary was altogether opposed. Not only was Servia more hostile and dangerous to her than any other Balkan state, but a strong Servia resting on the sea would really block her hoped-for extension down toward the Ægean. Therefore she declared in effect that Servia must not reach to the sea and must not occupy Durazzo. Servia insisted upon getting the city, and in November Austria began to mobilize her troops. Germany declared that she would support her allies if they were attacked. Russia began to mobilize troops behind the screen of her Polish fortresses, and France announced that she would stand by her ally if needed. Italy, while opposed to Servia appearing on the Adriatic, was as much opposed to further extension of Austrian power down that sea coast. In Great Britain public opinion, so far as it was interested, was in favor of letting the small Balkan states keep the conquests they had won from the Turk, even though at the beginning the Great Powers had announced that these states would not be allowed to make conquests.

Servia yielded and withdrew her troops; and, in the treaty of peace which followed, an independent Albania was constituted, as Austria wished. The Montenegrins,

Servia and Montenegro yield to Austria-Hungary, 1912-13

however, continued to besiege Scutari, in northern Albania, and after a long investment, captured the fortress. Before the fall of the city the powers had notified Montenegro that Scutari was to belong to Albania, and then they blockaded the one little harbor which Montenegro possessed. When Scutari fell, Austria-Hungary demanded that it be given up at once, and went forward with the mobilization of troops. Again Russia made ready to support her Slavic kinsmen, but the crisis was passed when Montenegro yielded to the pressure of the powers and abandoned the city just taken at such cost.

The new situation in the Balkans, 1913

The result of the Second Balkan War, which soon followed, brought profound alteration in the balance of power and politics in Europe. Early in 1912, after long struggle between the Teutonic Powers and Russia for predominating influence in the Balkans, the result then was that Servia, small and unimportant, along with Montenegro, of little consequence, were friendly to Russia and to some extent dependent on her, while Greece, also unimportant, was bound by many ties to France. On the other hand, Rumania, the strongest and most progressive of the Balkan states, was bound by an agreement with the Central Powers and was an appendage of the Triple Alliance; Bulgaria, strong and successful, was very friendly to the Dual Monarchy; and Turkey, still believed to be more powerful than any of her neighbors, was bound by closest ties to the German Empire. But in 1913, after the Second Balkan War, not only was the strength of Turkey as a European power so weakened that she counted for little more than possessor of the incomparable site of Constantinople and territories in Asia, but Servia, the bitter enemy of Austria, had come out of both wars with increased power and territory and greatly increased prestige, and Rumania, former friend of the Central Powers, was no longer so closely bound to them, and had acted contrary to their wishes against their friend.

Altogether, the position of Germany and Austria-Hungary was much less good with respect to the Balkans than before. Austria greatly desired to settle at once her account with Servia, and reduce her permanently to a position in which she could never again be a source of apprehension. It was learned afterward that in August 1913 Austria-Hungary tried to get her partners in the Triple Alliance to join her in proceeding against Servia. But the Italian government refused to give sanction, and the matter was dropped until the next year. What action Germany then took is not certain, though most probably she also dissuaded her ally. During the conference of the powers at London, Germany acted along with Great Britain in trying to settle peaceably the matters at issue.

Austria desires to recover influence in the Balkans, 1913

Had she joined Great Britain in the next year as cordially, it is probable that the Great War would have been avoided. But whereas in 1914 she was ready for the great decision, it is known that in 1913 she did not consider her preparations complete. The changes in the Balkans seemed to diminish her military superiority, and in 1913 many Germans declared that the country could be safe from the growing menace of Russia and Pan-Slavism only if great sacrifices were made and the army largely increased. Accordingly, huge and extraordinary sums of money were voted for greater armaments, and the army was increased to 870,000 men. Immediately thereupon the French, feeling the greater danger from Germany, enlarged their army also. They could not with stationary population simply expand their standing army as the Germans did, but by keeping the troops with the colors for three years instead of two they made a substantial increase. It was recognized that this was literally the last effort of France in the race.

German preparations not complete

Pacifists and well-meaning people now began to believe that a great war never would come. But it had almost come in 1911, and as nearly in 1913. Both times the

great struggle was avoided. Next year, however, another crisis would arise; and then the utmost efforts of those who wished peace would not be sufficient to keep it.

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CHAPTER XXII

THE CAUSES OF THE GREAT WAR

> Gelegentlich der Übergabe der vorstehenden Note wollen Euer Hochwohlgeboren mündlich hinzufügen, dass Sie beauftragt seien —falls Ihnen nicht inzwischen eine vorbehaltlose zustimmende Antwort der königlichen Regierung zugekommen sein sollte—nach Ablauf der in der Note vorgesehenen, vom Tage und von der Stunde Ihrer Mitteilung an zu rechnenden 48 stündigen Frist, mit dem Personale der k. u. k. Gesandschaft Belgrad zu verlassen.
>
> Instruction of COUNT BERCHTOLD to Baron von Giesl, about presenting the Austrian Note at Belgrade, July 22, 1914.

Possibility of a great war

SUCH had been the development of the politics of Europe that now there were not wanting those who each year predicted a great war inevitable in the future. Yet this seemed such a travesty upon civilization and the progress of mankind, that many contended in these later years that no great war could again take place; that war never paid; that the dreadful losses certain to come would deter the great nations from fighting; that arbitration would be used more and more in the future, and the Hague Tribunal be able peaceably to settle disputes; that the whole tendency of politics recently had been to make governments more and more democratic, and that the mass of the people, now that they had power in governing themselves, would not permit any more wars or give them support; that commerce and finance now bound the nations closely together, and that economic forces were bringing war to an end. There was much truth in all of these contentions, and perhaps had mankind been more fortunate and wiser, no great war need have come; but as

one looks back and considers things as they were, not as men hoped they were, it is evident that certain great causes were tending very strongly to the awful catastrophe that came.

Europe divided into two armed camps

By 1914 the great nations of Europe were divided into two strong hostile combinations, the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente, armed to the teeth and constantly watching one another. In the nineteenth century there had been in Europe a development of armies and military preparations never seen before in the world. In former times there had been great military states, Assyria, Sparta, Rome, overawing all their neighbors; but now most men in the principal states of Europe had been trained as soldiers and were ready for the call. The "standing army" of Germany numbered 870,000, while 4,000,000 more trained soldiers could, if necessary, be called; in France 670,000 were in the camps, and it was thought that 3,000,000 could follow. By this time the soldiers of the Continental armies numbered millions, with millions more in reserve. There had never been anything like it before, and it was believed that another war would either be decided immediately in favor of that nation which could suddenly bring greatest forces to bear, or else all the contestants would soon be exhausted, because of the stupendous cost.

Equipment and preparation for war

Nor was this all. With these vast military establishments went the preparation of war-supplies in incredible quantities. Never before in the history of the world had there been so enormous an accumulation of rifles, cannon, machine guns, explosives, and death-dealing instruments of all kinds. The best brains and the greatest ingenuity in some of these countries went into the devising of more dreadful instruments of destruction. There were feverish activity and the most reckless expenditure to keep up in the race. Powerful weapons soon became obsolete and were replaced with others more terrible. To lag in the

race might some time mean destruction by a more active rival. Elaborate arrangements were prepared for sudden attack, and complete plans of campaign. Spies were sent out in time of peace, to collect information or disarrange plans. Railway systems were constructed for quickly moving troops, and "strategic railways" appeared, as along the Belgian frontier of Germany, where there were few passengers and little freight to be moved. And still more terrible, but as a natural consequence, powerful men who gave their careers to military service, thought about military effectiveness so much and tried so hard to perfect their armies, that they came to think of war as a good thing, and to hope that there might some day be a chance to use the weapons they so diligently prepared. In all of these things Germany took the lead and kept far ahead. When statesmen of other countries tried to bring about reduction of armament, and arrange plans for settling national disputes by peaceable means, Germany always opposed or refused.

Geographical factors

Because of mere geographical situation and the arrangement of outlets and frontiers some of the nations of Europe were at a disadvantage as compared with rivals, so that they earnestly desired to get things which they lacked, which could only be obtained by taking them away from others. Some countries were closed in from the sea by others, who could, whenever they wished, deny them outlet and strangle their economic life. Some nations had vast expanse of territory in which to increase their population and make themselves greater in the future; others had restricted areas and far less chance for growth.

Russia and Austria-Hungary

Russia had immense territory wanting good outlet. To the north she had ports in the Arctic district, remote and closed by ice during much of the year. Far to the east she had a good outlet at Vladivostok, which was likewise closed during winter, and at the mercy of Japan. In the west she had ports on the Baltic Sea, but they were not

only used with difficulty during some months in the winter, but the German Empire could close all Baltic trade if ever it wished. In the south there were excellent ports on the Black Sea, and to this sea came most of Russia's commerce, but the only exit from the Black Sea was through the Bosporus and the Dardanelles, narrow straits controlled absolutely by the Turks at Constantinople. It had been the age-long aspiration of Russians to get a good warm-water outlet, and it had long been their passionate desire to win Constantinople. But if Russia succeeded in this, then some of the greatest ambitions of Germany might come to nothing, and Austria-Hungary would be largely at Russia's mercy. Not only did Austria-Hungary desire to expand southward through the Balkans, but her great river, the Danube, emptied into the Black Sea, and much of her commerce went out past Constantinople. That is to say, if Russia succeeded in her ambition, then Austria-Hungary could be largely closed in and at Russia's mercy, while if Austria got what she desired, then Russia would be largely at her mercy in like manner.

The Adriatic, the Baltic, the Mediterranean

There were many circumstances similar. Austria's other outlet was into the Adriatic, at Trieste and Fiume, but the end of the Adriatic was getting entirely into Italy's control. Germany, who could close in Russia on the Baltic, saw her great trade routes in the North Sea and through the English Channel at the mercy of Great Britain, who could shut them off if she wished. And all the nations with ports on the Mediterranean, the most important sea and the greatest water short-line in the world, found the Mediterranean held at both ends, at Suez and Gibraltar, by Great Britain. It was not that these outlets were closed and nations strangled or made economically dependent, but the fact that in some great struggle they could be. Statesmen thought of the future, and were filled with distrust. In time of peace all the seas controlled by Britain were used by all the nations as much as they

wished, but during the Great War Britain's command of the sea at last brought Germany to her knees, just as already Russia had been destroyed largely because she had from the first been closed in by the German Empire and Turkey. Indeed, in 1911-12, during the Turco-Italian War, in which Russia had no part, Russia's grain fleet was completely stopped through the closing of the straits by Turkey.

Room for growth of population

Just as great to some seemed the disadvantage of not having room for expansion. The English-speaking peoples, the Russians, China and Japan, perhaps some of the South American states, had room in which to grow and increase their numbers. Even France, whose population was stationary, had a large colonial empire. But Germany's territory was small, and she had no good colonies in which might grow up a greater Germany over the seas. Germany's population was increasing, and some looked forward to the time when there would be 200,000,000 Germans in the empire, and then France would be at hopeless disadvantage. But when that time came, it seemed probable that the population of Russia might be 1,000,000,000; and then what chance would Germany have against her? Nor could this disparity be avoided, for Russia had immense territories only thinly peopled, able to support many more, while beyond a certain number it seemed impossible that Germany could support more in the limited area she possessed. Later on, accordingly, the destiny of the world would be in the hands of great contestants like Russia, the British Empire, perhaps the United States, with Germany relatively a minor power like France—unless before this evil day came, Germany struck and took from others the territory which they had and which she needed so badly.

Birth rate and increase of people

Connected with this were differences in birth rate and increase in population. In some countries the number of people was increasing more rapidly than in others, and,

other things being equal, superior numbers would be sure to give greater military strength and power. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the population of France was 27,000,000; in 1914 it was a little less than 40,000,000. In the early part of the nineteenth century there were in the countries which afterward made up the German Empire, 24,000,000 people, but when the Great War began the population was estimated at about 70,000,000. During this same period the population of Great Britain had grown from 10,500,000 to over 40,000,000, though during the same time Ireland had declined from 8,000,000 to 4,500,000. In France the standard of living was high, the birth rate was low. On the other hand, in Italy where the standard of living was low, the population increased so rapidly that numerous emigrants had to go forth from a country which could not support them; and in Russia, despite an appalling infant mortality, it increased more rapidly still. In Germany, where the standard was high, it also increased rapidly, so that a large part of the population could only be supported by making goods to be exchanged with other nations for food. It was Germany's dearest desire to have more good territory in which to expand and increase her numbers, while the rapid increase which she had constantly made her more powerful, and more able to be arrogant and threatening to her neighbors.

International relations

There were particular things which seemed to bode ill for the future, such as the feeling in France that gross injustice had been done by Germany in taking Alsace-Lorraine, though the desire of the French people for a war of revenge had largely passed away, and by 1914 it was very probable that France would never go to war solely to win the "lost provinces" back. Italy wished much for the lands in which Italians lived, which had not been given to her at the time when her unity was achieved, but it was not probable that she would go to war to get them, or be able to get them if she did. Far more important were the

rivalry between Teuton and Slav in eastern Europe, and the relations between Germany and England in the west.

Germany and Great Britain

The relations between Germany and England in earlier times had generally been good. But a great change came at the end of the century, when Germany, having built up the greatest military power in the world, seemed to desire naval supremacy also. In 1898 and in 1900 were passed two of the most important naval measures ever sanctioned in any country. Soon English leaders were alarmed, and in the years that followed the attention of people in Great Britain was given more and more to the growth and ambitions of Germany. Additional warships were built, and then, when for a while it seemed that Germany might still get ahead, vast appropriations were made and naval construction carried on with feverish haste. Many people believed that there was no danger, but many more thought that the British Empire was now threatened by the greatest danger that had ever confronted it. There were not wanting some who feared that the Germans might strike without any declaration of war, and evading the British fleet some misty night, suddenly throw into England a force which would destroy Great Britain without hope of redemption. It was necessary, then, to be perpetually on guard, to maintain overwhelming sea power, and perhaps raise a great army for defence. Some attempts were made to end this rivalry and suspicion, but though a temporary arrangement was arrived at, no real agreement could be reached. The British people desired to avoid a conflict, and the British government made a sincere effort to remove such differences as existed between the two nations, and in doing this made large and generous concessions, especially with respect to the Bagdad Railway scheme, but it cannot be known what good results might have come of this, since the agreement was reached only a little before the Great War broke out. Meanwhile the statesmen of Britain were constantly watching Germany's every move,

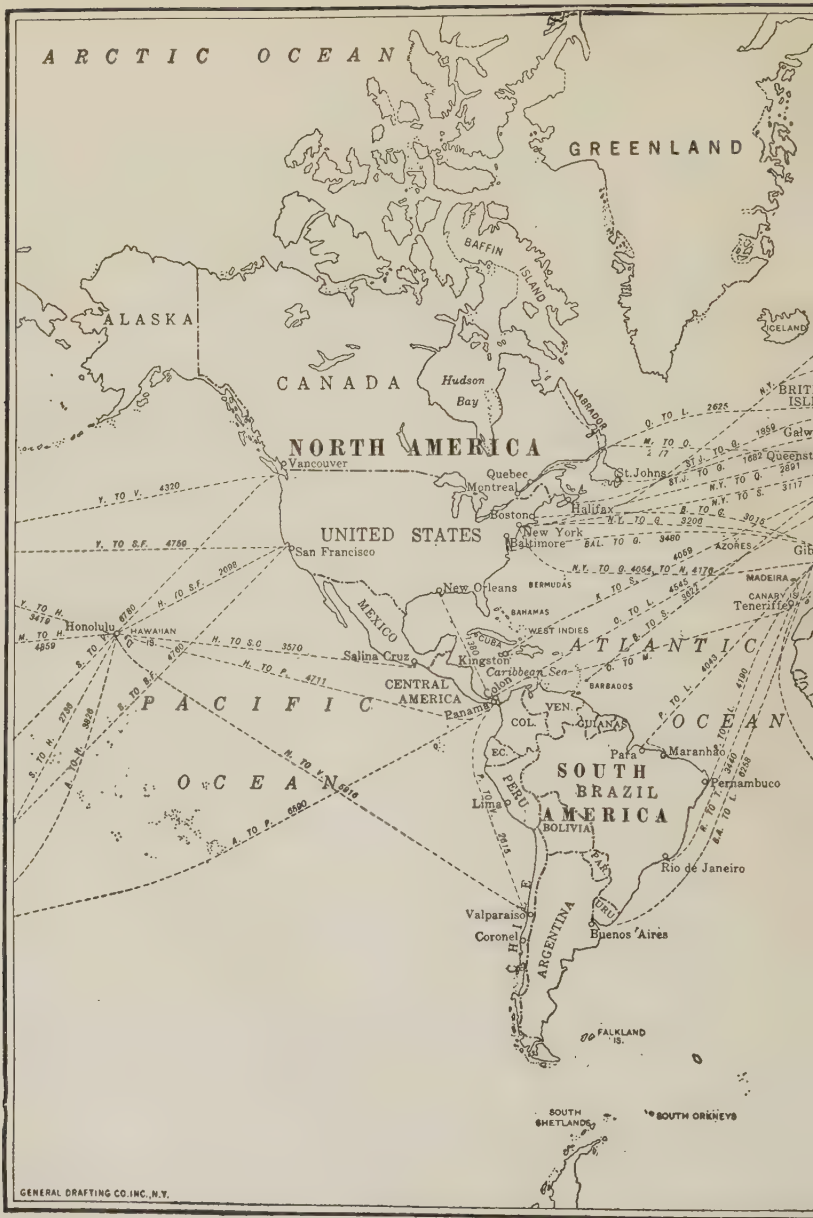
and it had become the cornerstone of her foreign policy that under no circumstances must she ever allow France, her best friend, to be crushed by German armies.

Teuton and Slav

Less acute and less evident, perhaps, was another and greater rivalry, between the Teutonic peoples, especially the Germans in central Europe, and the Slavic peoples, especially Russia in the east—a contest which principally concerned Constantinople and the Balkans. For ages this contest had lasted. Once the Slavs had pushed the Teutons almost to the Elbe and the Rhine. Then the tide turned, and the history of the Middle Ages in central Europe is to a considerable extent the story of the reconquest of lands by the Germans from the Slavs. In this way was eastern Prussia built up; in this way the power of Austria also was extended, and just before the war there continued to be more Slavs in Austria than there were Germans and more Slavs in Hungary than Magyars. Poland had once been the great Slavic champion, but she had disappeared, and her place of leadership had been taken by the enormous Empire of Russia. The rivalry now was concerned largely with the mastery of the Balkan Peninsula.

The South Slavs and Russia

In the days when the Eastern Roman Empire was decaying the Balkan Peninsula had been occupied largely by South Slavic peoples. In course of time they were overwhelmed and submerged by the Turks. In the nineteenth century they and the Greeks got their freedom once more. To this freedom they had all been helped by Russia to whom they looked as their protector and the great brother of their race. Russia desired to protect them or perhaps some day incorporate them in a great Pan-Russian domain, and she held these feelings not only because she was ambitious but because she felt the ties of religion and race; they were all of them Slavic in blood and they held the Greek Catholic faith. Also Russia greatly desired to have Constantinople and an outlet on the Mediterranean.



34. THE OCEANS OF THE WORLD—MERCATO
OF COMMUNICA

CTION: SHOWING THE PRINCIPAL SEA LINES
THE GREAT WAR

This would never be possible, perhaps, unless she controlled the Balkans.

Germany, the Balkans, Asiatic Turkey

But these ambitions of Russia conflicted directly with what had come to be the first ambition of the Germanic Powers, and their best chance for founding a greater empire. Germany began too late to try to build up a dominion in colonies or distant lands. There was no territory into which she could expand in Europe without taking it away from some neighbor as the result of a war; and by the time she attempted to get colonies, England and France had taken almost all of the best that were to be had. There did, indeed, seem to be some possibility of expansion in South America and in the Far East, but for the present the Monroe Doctrine debarred her from taking Latin American countries, and after the Russo-Japanese War European acquisitions in China came to an end, since they were now opposed by Japan. It might be that some day Germany could take away the colonial dominion of France or even the far-flung possessions of the British Empire; but if these things came they must be the result of a victorious war won by greater Germany in the future. One inviting field remained, and that was in the domain of Turkey, mostly in Asia Minor, which was thinly peopled and backward now under the rule of the Turk, but which had once been a seat of civilization, populous, important and wealthy. Under German rule it might be so again.

Mittel-Europa and the Bagdad Railway

Accordingly, the German government had cultivated good relations with the Turks, and had recently become so influential in the government of that country that Turkey was getting to be an appendage of the German alliance. But in order that the German Empire might control the Turkish dominions it seemed necessary that Austria-Hungary and Germany together should control the Balkan Peninsula which lay in between. This suited very well the schemes of the Dual Monarchy which desired to expand to the south. Gradually the plan took shape. The two

principal members of the Triple Alliance were to dominate the Balkans and thence get control of the Turkish lands and so build up across "Middle Europe" a great empire which would extend from the North Sea to the Persian Gulf. To hold it together, to carry on a great trade with profit, to defend it in time of war, a great railroad must bind all parts together. Already most of such a railroad existed. From the ports of the North Sea and the Baltic, lines ran to Berlin, then to Vienna and Buda-Pest, thence to Belgrade, and on to Constantinople. The Germans were extending this line of communication by building the "Bagdad Railway," which starting on the shore of the Bosporus opposite Constantinople would run across Asia Minor and across Mesopotamia to the city of Bagdad, so famed in the *Arabian Nights*, and thence on to the Persian Gulf, while a branch would go down along the Mediterranean past Egypt to the Arabian cities of Mohammed.

Rivalry in the Balkans

Realization of this scheme of "Middle Europe" would make it impossible to fulfil the ambitions of the Slavs; it was therefore strongly opposed by Russia. The field in which these conflicting ambitions most clashed was the Balkan Peninsula, the mastery of which was indispensable to success for either side. Hence the Balkans became the principal danger-spot of Europe. Twice did a great war almost break out because of disputes over this district. In 1908 Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina. Russia strongly objected, but yielded, suffering thus a diplomatic defeat. In 1912-13 another crisis developed when the small Balkan nations overthrew Turkey, took from her almost all of her territory in Europe, and then fought among themselves in dividing it up. On this occasion the Germans, and especially the Austrians, suffered loss, since the power of Turkey seemed to be destroyed, and Servia, Austria's bitterest foe, extended her territory and became more ambitious. It seemed now that Russia and the Triple Entente had the greater in-

fluence in the Balkans. The subject Slavic peoples in the Dual Monarchy became restless, and hoped that some day they could be independent or else join the Servian kingdom. Worst of all, if a hostile Servia remained independent, there might be no Middle Europe and no through railroad communication from Hamburg to Bagdad, since it was desirable that this railroad should run across Servia up the valley of the Morava River. This was, indeed, the cause that led directly to the war. The Teutonic Powers were determined that an independent Servia should not stand in their way. On the other hand, it was nearly certain that if Russia allowed Servia to be crushed, then her great hopes must come to an end. Hence there were endless plots and constant watching to see that neither side gained any advantage.

Servia

The last and one of the important causes of the war was Germany herself. The character, the ambitions, the ideals of her rulers and her people made a great war probable whatever other causes existed. No people had developed so greatly in so short a time. They had succeeded because of high intelligence, industry, and their excellent organization. But they had also succeeded by force and by fraud and by might. And as the years went on the character of many of them underwent great alteration. Spoiled by success, they became selfish, cynical, hard, worshipping materialism, believing themselves superior and high above others.

The Germans

Many peoples have thought themselves the greatest and the best in the world—the Greeks, and the Romans once, the British, the French, the Russians, the Japanese, and the people of the United States. But in recent times there has been no such extreme belief as that which was cherished by the Germans. "The Teutons are the aristocracy of humanity," said a well-known writer. "The Teutonic race is called to circle the earth with its rule, to exploit the treasures of nature and of human labor, and to

Belief in racial superiority

make the passive races servient elements in its cultural development." He declared that the great work of the world had been done by men of Teutonic race, that Leonardo da Vinci, Galileo, and Voltaire were actually of Teutonic strain, and that Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar were of the Teutonic type. "Whoever has the characteristics of the Teutonic race is superior." Such teachings were spread broadcast through the German Empire in popular form, and after a while generally believed in.

Glorification of war

Above all was it believed that the German people were superior in war. They had humbled all with whom they had fought. There were still other and greater foes, but the reckoning would come with them also. An accounting would come with Russia, and many people looked eagerly forward to "the day" when the British Empire was to be laid low by German valor. Long-continued militarism had accustomed the German people to martial ideas; great success in their recent wars, confident belief in their superiority and future success, caused many to believe that war was a good thing in itself. "Perpetual peace is a dream," wrote Field-Marshal von Moltke in 1880, "war is part of the eternal order instituted by God." Others declared that war was a part of the struggle for survival of the fittest, which, they said, was everywhere and always going on in the evolution of things. Through conflict the superior Germans would triumph over other nations. And as a result of the victories to come Germany would take away from the vanquished their possessions, which it was more fitting that she should have. It would be better for the world if Germans possessed France and parts of Russia and great domains everywhere, since then the greatest and the best of peoples would have chance for development larger and freer.

Arrogance and boundless ambition

As Germany became greater and stronger each year, as belief in glorious destiny was preached and taught in the schools and everywhere circulated in cheap and popular

writings, as Germans believed more in the goodness of war and in their invincible army and navy, their ambition and their arrogance were boundless. Not only military men but many others dreamed fondly of grand victories to come and books were published containing maps of the world with the best parts under German rule. All of this was well expressed in the writings of General von Bernhardi, especially in his *Germany and the Next War*, published in 1911. He maintained that war was a thing excellent in itself. Through great wars would Germany's future be assured. First "France must be so completely crushed that never again can she come across our path"; then would come the reckoning with England. The next war would be for *Weltmacht oder Untergang*, world-power or downfall;—and so in the end it was.

Old doctrines terrible once more

Along with this materialism, this ambition, this belief in the goodness of war, and the great plans that were cherished, went gradually an alteration in ethics and ideals that affected great numbers, but was for a while not understood by outsiders. Old maxims, often preached before and often abandoned as people improved, were revived now and strengthened. Since war was so good, force was the deciding factor, and might made right. Since the Germans were superior, and their aims for the good of the world, whatever they did to secure their ends was right; the end justified the means. Since the Germans were superior, a particular code existed for them: they were not bound by ordinary moral laws. The old teachings of Christ—that mercy and mildness should be shown, and that men should do unto others as they would have others do unto them—were openly scoffed at by teachers who proclaimed that Germans were *supermen* who should, by force or fraud or any means, obtain the mastery of inferior people. Cruelty, terror, hardness of heart might always be employed by Germans in a coolly scientific and deliberate way to get the success

which was theirs by right. Nor need promises be kept or treaties observed, if such observance hindered success.

Later sympathy for the Germans

Afterward among opponents widespread aversion and horror grew with obloquy and large condemnation. From enlargement and distortion of things said then reaction inevitably followed, reaction heightened by the pity that came with the defeat and suffering of the Germans. "The Allied and Associated Governments affirm," said the Treaty of Versailles made with Germany in 1919, "and Germany accepts the responsibility . . . of the war imposed . . . by the aggression of Germany and her Allies." The German plenipotentiary made passionate dissent: such confession would be a lie; Germany was not alone guilty; the underlying cause was the imperialism that had grown so greatly through Europe in the previous fifty years. "Let France Explain" was the title of a book that declares French diplomacy and machinations more culpable than German. Advocates affirm that the German people with good reason feared encirclement by enemies about them: France had stipulated that some of the money loaned to Russia should be used in constructing military railroads for invasion from Poland. In 1914 had been published captured documents purporting to show that previously British and Belgian military authorities conferred about possible future action. It was justly maintained, moreover, that militarism and extreme nationalism had flourished not solely in the German Empire; some Englishmen, some Americans, various Frenchmen, various Russians also represented what the world condemned in Bernhardi and Treitschke. It was well for this to be told to a great many people. Students of history, however, had known it all well enough. They had said no more than that during the years before 1914 belief in superiority of race, and of larger destiny in the future, arrogance, military ambition, reliance on military power, all of these things had been more conspicuous in Germany

Germany defended

Excessive condemnation and reaction both misleading

than in any other country whatever, and had, along with larger, underlying causes, led directly to the conflict.

Drifting toward a great war

Thus, many factors tended to bring on a struggle. Several times a great war nearly came to pass. By 1913 conditions had become such that it would be very difficult to avoid a great conflict if another occasion arose. The Teutonic Powers were now fully determined to secure certain things, especially in the Balkans. If they could, they would get them without war, but they were ready to fight if they must. By this time only a pretext was needed: one thing would do as well as another.

Sarajevo and the Austrian note, 1914

The immediate cause of the war developed from a single episode. June 28, 1914, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, and his wife were assassinated in Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia. The assassins were Bosnians, but the affair at once took on an ominous aspect when it was known that Austria-Hungary considered the crime to have been plotted in Servia with the knowledge of the government at Belgrade. The worst suspicions were confirmed when, about a month later, July 24, a note was addressed to the Servian government, declaring that it had acted in hostile way toward its neighbor, that it was a source of danger, and that evidently the infamous murder of the archduke had resulted largely therefrom. Accordingly, ten demands were presented which must be acceded to in full within forty-eight hours. One of these demands was that Servia remove officials "whose names and deeds the Austro-Hungarian government reserve to themselves the right of communicating"; while another was that Austro-Hungarian representatives be permitted to take part in court proceedings in Servia, and in measures undertaken there against those engaged in activities against the Dual Monarchy.

The independence of Servia at stake

At once it was the opinion of those who read the note that it had been so drafted as not to be acceptable. Sir Edward Grey, British secretary for foreign affairs, and

Opinion of Sir Edward Grey

one of the ablest and best diplomats in Europe, declared that he had never seen so formidable a document addressed to an independent state. If Servia yielded what was now asked she would forego her sovereignty and independence, and become in effect a dependency of the power to whom she yielded. If this took place, then Austria, and with her the German Empire, would secure in the Balkans the supremacy for which they had so long striven, especially the vital advantage of controlling Servia and a necessary part of the route of the railway to Constantinople. No state can retain its sovereignty and allow representatives of a foreign power to take part in the business of its law courts, and if any power promised unconditionally to dismiss such officials as were afterward to be named, not only would it submit to a demand subversive of its independence, but it might be possible for the foreign power to cause it to remodel its government in such manner as to render it entirely subservient.

Danger of a general conflict

At once Servia appealed to Russia for support. Servians could count on the sympathy of Russia, and it was probable that Russia would not stand aside and see Germany and Austria obtain immediate preponderance in the Balkans. Austria unaided would probably be no match for Russia, but she would certainly be supported by the German Empire. Men believed that such a note would never have been dispatched from Vienna without the knowledge and approval of Berlin. The German authorities announced that they approved the contents of the note, but declared that they had not known these contents beforehand.

German assistance promised to Austria-Hungary in advance

It is now known, however, that on July 5 the German government promised assistance to the Austrian government in whatever course it might see fit to take: "Austria must judge what is to be done to clear up her relation to Servia; whatever Austria's decision may turn out to be, Austria can count with certainty upon it, that Germany will stand behind her as an ally and friend." But bad as it

would be if Russia came to the help of Servia, and Germany to the support of Austria-Hungary, the mischief would not stop there. France was bound to support Russia by the terms of the military convention, and it was her primary interest not to abandon Russia, unless Russia was making wicked and wanton aggression. And if France were drawn in, it was most probable that before long England would come to her support. Then a great European war would have begun, and it was impossible to tell how far it might afterward extend. Accordingly, those statesmen who desired to avert such catastrophe bent all their efforts to quenching the fire which had started.

Austria makes war on Servia

In the terrible Twelve Days, July 24 to August 4, many efforts were made to settle the affair and keep peace. The British and French ministers in Belgrade urged Servia to give a satisfactory reply. The Servian government humbled itself and accepted most of the demands, not completely yielding to those which threatened its independence though offering to refer the decision about them to the Hague Tribunal. Austria refused to consider the reply, and declared war on Servia, July 28. At once an invasion began. The day before the tsar had declared "Russia will in no case disinterest herself in the fate of Servia."

Austria, Germany, and Russia

The other great powers now bent themselves to keeping the peace between Austria and Russia. Great Britain, France, and Italy tried to do it in one way; Germany tried it in another. In the first group England took the lead. Sir Edward Grey proposed that a conference of the four powers be held to mediate between Russia and Austria-Hungary and work for a satisfactory solution; but with such a scheme Germany would have nothing to do, saying that she could not take part in bringing her ally before a European tribunal. Germany had a plan very different. She attempted to terrify Russia by threats and so prevent her supporting Servia's cause. The dispute, she said, was an affair merely between Austria and Servia; no outside

Germany's plan: let Russia stand aside

party should intervene; any such intercession "would precipitate inconceivable consequences." The German emperor promised, indeed, to use his influence to bring about an understanding between Austria and Russia, but the German ambassador in St. Petersburg was instructed to say that Russian military measures would be answered by mobilizing the German army, and "mobilization means war." July 29, the German emperor telegraphed to the tsar that it was perfectly possible for Russia to "remain a spectator" in the Austro-Servian war. Next day he said the tsar must decide: "You have to bear the responsibility for war or peace." That is to say, Germany probably wished that a war be avoided, and preferred peace, so long as she and her ally got what they asked for; otherwise they were quite willing to fight. On the contrary, Great Britain and France earnestly wished to avoid war, and were trying hard to bring about a compromise and satisfactory arrangement. Austria and Germany would make no compromise whatever, nor would Russia yield.

The Great War begins

Meanwhile, Austrian armies continued their march into Servia. The protests of Russia effected nothing. Then on the night of July 29, almost at the same moment, Russian and Austrian armies were mobilized against each other. Face to face with the dread conflict Austria seemed to hesitate. Then Germany stepped forward, and settled the affair herself. Russia, more and more threatened by Germany, was now mobilizing all her forces. July 31, the German government demanded that Russia stop all mobilization within twelve hours, and France was asked what she would do if a Russo-German war were begun. Russia returned no answer. August 1, the German Empire declared war upon Russia.

Germany declares war on France

Neither England nor France had any direct interest in Balkan affairs, and both of them much desired peace. But the hour of fate was at hand for France. The German ambassador in Paris was instructed to insist on a reply to

The German demands

the German inquiry, and it is now known that he was also instructed, in case France left Russia to her fate, to demand that France hand over to the German authorities certain fortresses in pledge. But the reply was that "France would do that which her interests dictated." Two days later, August 3, Germany declared war upon France, falsely affirming that France had attacked her first. Actually the French, in their great desire to avoid war, had drawn their forces back some seven miles from the frontier. But also in this moment of destiny the French people stood up in unconquerable spirit before the greatest danger that had ever approached them.

Germany and Great Britain

The Continent was engulfed in the war now, and Great Britain was close to the brink. More than any other power had England striven for peace. Every resource had been tried. It was not improbable that France and Russia would be crushed, and British statesmen realized, what many people did not clearly see yet, that if France were destroyed, then Britain's associate would be gone, and Britain would be left, perhaps, to face alone a mightier Germany in the future. Yet the British people and parliament wanted to stay out of the war, and France could get no assurance that England would give her assistance. Almost certainly England would have helped France before the conflict was over, but her support might have been given too late. Meanwhile Germany was striving to keep Britain out of the war, and Sir Edward Grey had already declared that if Germany and Austria would make "any reasonable proposal" for keeping the peace and it became clear that France and Russia were not trying to keep it, then Great Britain "would have nothing more to do with the consequences."

Violation of the neutrality of Belgium

An event now occurred which caused Great Britain to enter the struggle at once. Germany violated the neutrality of Belgium. The plans of the German General Staff called for the immediate crushing of France and then

The German war plan

afterward attacking Russia alone. If this was to succeed, there must be no delay. But the frontier between Germany and France was so strongly fortified that it seemed probable that much time would be lost in getting through. Between Germany and France lay also the neutralized countries of Switzerland, Luxemburg, and Belgium. Both Luxemburg and Belgium afforded easy and admirable entrance into the most vital part of France. It was true, the inviolability of the territory of these small states was guaranteed by treaties which had long been regarded as sacred and as part of the public law of Europe, and it was true also that the German Empire was engaged to uphold them. Nevertheless Germany at once began pouring an enormous force through Luxemburg and demanded that the Belgian government allow free passage. Belgium, suddenly asked to forfeit her neutralization, and threatened with terrible fate if she refused, bravely called upon the German government to keep its promise, and then tried to resist the German armies, which struck at once. Belgium appealed to the other Great Powers: Great Britain, France, Russia promised all possible help.

Great Britain and the Belgian Netherlands

With Belgium in the hands of a strong power hostile to Great Britain, the very existence of Britain would be threatened. It was therefore a cardinal principle of British statesmanship that the neutrality and independence of Belgium must be maintained. August 4, the British ambassador in Berlin was instructed to present an ultimatum demanding that Germany withdraw her forces from Belgium at once. The chancellor of the empire, Von Bethmann-Hollweg refused, saying bitterly that England was going to war for Belgian neutrality, "just for a scrap of paper." So the highest official of Germany spoke of the treaty obligations of his government. Before the *reichstag* he admitted that Germany had done wrong—"necessity knows no law." "From this admission," said a German writer afterward, "neither God nor the devil will

"A scrap of paper"

ever set us free." At midnight of August 4, when the time of the ultimatum had expired, Great Britain entered the war.

Responsibility for beginning the war

During the war the Germans declared in turn that the Russians, the French, the British had brought on the conflict. Especially they maintained that mobilization of the Russian armies, in defiance of their own express warnings, had been the immediate cause. Afterward it was shown that this mobilization was continued by the Russian staff after the tsar himself had ordered it to cease. In Germany people believed on the whole that their government had led them in a war of defence against foes who forced the struggle upon them. Elsewhere, however, this was not generally the view, in spite of all the extenuation afterward made and all the additional diplomatic papers afterward published. Only the unreasoning and uninformed had ever contended that Germany was responsible entirely and solely. What historians had said was that the German government was directly the cause of the conflict and the principal immediate factor in bringing it to pass: that while it made some efforts to avert war, it did this only on its own terms, unwilling to compromise and grant concessions; that—after all had been said—the fighting began only when Austria declared war on Servia, and the greater conflict only when the German Empire declared war on Russia and on France. All this it was well for the scholar to continue to maintain when afterward idealists and partisans asserted that the Germans were mostly blameless and had been very greatly wronged.

Begun by Austria-Hungary and the German Empire

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CHAPTER XXIII
THE GREAT WAR

Sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt.
Aeneid, i. 462.

The Great War

The Great War began August 1, 1914 with the declaration by the German Empire against Russia, and against France two days later. This was followed by declarations, of Great Britain against Germany, of the powers of the *Entente* against Austria-Hungary, and of Japan against the German Empire. By the end of the summer all of Europe —with the exception of Spain, Holland, the Scandinavian countries, Italy, Switzerland, and some of the nations of the Balkans, the outlying and less important parts—was involved in the most destructive war in the history of modern times. Before it ended, it brought a great part of the civilized world to the brink of destruction, and more men were killed or maimed, it is said, than in all the wars preceding since the beginning of the Christian Era.

The opposing forces

It was evident at the beginning of the struggle that the Germans and their allies had great advantage from wonderful preparation and from striking suddenly at their chosen time; but it was widely believed that if only France and Russia could endure the assault a short while, the Allies of the *Entente*, because they had the greater resources in wealth and population, had the better chances to win. Actually this was not so. It is certainly true that the Germans expected a short war, an easy, overwhelming triumph; but when their first rush had been checked, in

the years that followed, there were times when their advantages and resources were so superior that time seemed entirely with them.

The German army

The Germans had the largest number of well-drilled, thoroughly trained, intelligent, and devoted soldiers possessed by any power in the world. France had as brave and as skilful soldiers, but not so great a population and not so large an army potentially or immediately available. Russia had great numbers of men, but scant facilities for training and equipping them as soldiers. Germany could put into the field in a short time 4,000,000 soldiers, without superiors anywhere. Military tradition and years of training were needed to make such fighting men as hers, and having them thus ready for a sudden stroke, it was extremely probable that her army could conquer any combination, while her enemies were trying to create more forces to fight her.

The German officers

If it required two or three years to make well trained soldiers, it took much longer to produce capable officers. Without skilled officers to lead the men no great war can be won, and without a great force of reserve officers no long conflict can be carried on with any success. One reason for the failure of the Russian armies after the first year, was that then most of the trained officers with whom Russia began the war were dead or in German prison camps. In 1914 Germany, of all the powers, had the largest number of trained officers, and by far the largest number of officers in reserve.

German commanders

Far more difficult than the getting of capable officers or well-trained soldiers was the building up of general military organization, creating a general staff, and finding commanders who could lead large numbers of men. All the Great Powers had attempted to do this, and some of them like Russia, and especially France, had achieved much success. But in Germany the prevalence of military atmosphere and the long-continued military tradition

and devotion to the science of war had given the largest number of higher commanders possessed by any nation. In the end it was seen that no German general had that sort of genius which would entitle him to be remembered among the first military captains of the world, none like Napoleon or Marlborough; but no other power had so many leaders of corps and divisions and armies, who had all the advantages given by patient study of military things. And in this, the result of generations of work, Germany had something which none of her enemies could create in a short time when the need came.

Material of war

Germany had at the beginning of the war the largest amount of military equipment in the world, and the greatest facilities for immediately adding to her stock. The bravest soldiers only give themselves up to slaughter if, without proper weapons, they fight against foes well equipped. Millions of Russians were to fall because the Russian armies were often half armed. Modern armaments are very different from those of earlier times. In the Middle Ages weapons were comparatively simple, easier to make, and less expensive. Many a man had his sword or bow then, and armies could be quickly raised because men would quickly get weapons and assemble together. But the scientific and industrial development of modern times, especially the latter part of the nineteenth century, introduced many strange, complicated and expensive devices, which were not generally in the possession of the men of the commonwealth, could not be quickly made, and were only to be got by skilled workmen laboring for a long time. Rifles, shells, cannon, explosives often required a year or two years to make. When the United States entered the war later on, her first year was largely spent in preliminary preparations and getting the necessary tools; and it was two years before Great Britain was able to have in France a large army provided with

rifles and cannon. Indeed, the great service of France was to be that in the west she would hold Germany back while England and later America made themselves ready to fight. In the east Russia, not similarly defended was almost completely destroyed in the first two years. It is clear now that a nation provided with the enormous and terrible death-dealing devices of the latest age can probably conquer all of its enemies unprepared before they have time to equip themselves with the implements necessary for defence. Hence the Great War was such a critical period in the history of Europe: if Germany had triumphed, she might have conquered all her rivals and then not allowed them to arm themselves, and so maintained her domination for ages. At all events, it seems that Germany had prepared for a contest so thoroughly that when she took the field she had more of the material of war than existed then in all the rest of the world. Where the Russians had one rifle for every three soldiers, Germany had weapons in ample supply. In heavy cannon she was beyond all others, and she had accumulated shells, barbed wire, and warlike apparatus in incredible amounts.

Railroads in war

Germany had the best system of military railroads in the world. Strategy is essentially the moving of armies. Once this had been done by the marching of infantry as quickly as possible over the best roads. But in the latter part of the nineteenth century it was evident that railroads would be of immense importance in the moving of armies, and this was indeed seen to be the case in the American Civil War (1861-5). Nowhere was this lesson taken to heart so well as in Germany, where more and more the railroads were laid out with respect to military considerations. By 1914 there was a magnificent system, controlled by the government and, when necessary, completely subject to the military authorities, radiating out from Berlin to all the important fortresses and points near the frontiers, while just within the boundaries, something like the rim

of a wheel, ran connecting lines along which bodies of men might be swiftly moved back and forth. Russia and France had their military railroad systems also, but not so well-developed as the German. It was by means of this system that Germany hurled at Belgium the mighty army which so nearly crushed France at the beginning of the war. Because of it her armies in East Prussia were repeatedly able to disconcert the Russians moving more slowly. And because of the advantages which her railroads gave her she was soon able to take from France and Russia the best of their railroads available for campaigns against her.

Spies

Germany had at the beginning of the war the most extensive system of spying and secret propaganda in the world—though all the great nations employed these devices and some had them highly developed. In Belgium the work of the armies had been prepared in advance. Artillery distances had been very accurately measured, and concrete foundations for great cannon had been put under tennis courts or factory buildings. In France, socialists were encouraged to prevent or confuse mobilization. In Egypt, Morocco, India, and Ireland malcontents had long been urged and were now encouraged to rise against England or France. In Russia, it is said, huge bribes were offered to commanders who would sell their fortresses, and it was afterward learned that most of the plans of the Russian armies were sold by traitors to German spies, who also paid bribes to keep munitions from being dispatched to the Russian armies.

Central position

The Central Powers had advantage of position. They were adjacent and could easily act together; the Allies were separated and for a long time acted separately. Moreover the Germans had the central position and the "inner lines," much as France had had in the War of the Spanish Succession. The Germans could move over short lines and strike in any direction quickly.

Allies' command of the sea

On the other hand, the Allies had certain advantages which often seemed too little to bring them success but which, in the end, gave complete triumph. Above all they had command of the sea, which they retained throughout the conflict. In this the vital and indispensable factor was the British navy.

Superior resources

They had greater resources. At the beginning of the war it looked as if Germany and Austria-Hungary were hopelessly outmatched in population and resources of materials and money. Germany was, however, ready for a sudden stroke and so successful at the start that by the end of the first year she had taken possession of districts in Belgium, France, and Russia which were of immense importance for carrying on a European war, and which gave to her for some time a decisive advantage. The resources which she then had under her control enabled her to make twice as much steel, and hence twice as much war material and munition as all her opponents combined. Accordingly, in 1916 and 1917 many of the best judges thought it impossible that Germany could ever be defeated. All this was changed by the entrance of the United States into the conflict, after which the Allies had once more decisive superiority in all resources.

Initiative and inventiveness

However many factors may have entered into the war, the conflict presently assumed the character of a contest between two different types of civilization and mind, in which the democratic systems of France, Britain, and America, with their large allowance of personal liberty and individual initiative, were matched against the superbly organized and efficient autocracies of central Europe. In the end it was found that the democratic peoples showed greater tenacity of purpose, higher intelligence, and far greater power of adaptability and invention. Every one of the frightful devices, such as poison gas, and submarines used against merchant ships, were met and checked, and in the end excelled by new devices more effective still.

Tenacity and moral courage

Such were German methods and German ideals that it seemed to many that a German victory would bring the destruction of the democratic and humanitarian system toward which men had so long been striving. The Allies seemed almost hopelessly defeated after two years of the war, but always the cause for which they were fighting nerved them to hold fast and fight longer. Backward Russia was the only one of the Great Powers to drop out on the Allied side. It seemed to them that the world would scarcely be a fit place to live in if what the Germans had done was sealed with success. And so they fought on. Always too they were supported by the sympathy of most of the neutral peoples, and by the fact that one after another the neutrals were joining to support their cause. The Germans had no such moral support as this. They believed their cause a good one, but in a different way. They were strong in their courage and confidence, in the midst of success, but when the war began to go against them decisively, they did not persist as France had done almost against all hope, but collapsed completely before the war even reached their frontiers.

The German plan of campaign

The German plan of campaign had been arranged long before the war. The armies of the empire could be mobilized so quickly that Germany could always strike before any of her foes. This, joined with the advantage of interior position, enabled her to strike at her enemies as she chose, and attempt to destroy them separately. She had planned to crush first the enemy most immediately dangerous, and afterward turn upon those who could not move so quickly, and destroy them also. The first attack, then, must be upon France, who had an army not so large as the German, but exceedingly good, and who could, perhaps, mobilize almost as rapidly as she. Therefore, the Germans designed to make an immediate and terrible thrust, hoping that France would be completely undone in less than two months, after which would come the turn

of the Russians, who would in any event be held by the Austrians while France was dealt with.

Entrance into France

But for the success of this plan the indispensable condition, it was thought, was that France should be overwhelmed without any delay; and it would not be easy to do this, since the short frontier between France and Germany was strongly fortified on both sides—by a line of fortresses from Verdun down to Belfort, and from Strassburg down to Neu Breisach. Here the French positions could probably be forced only after much delay and enormous losses. Accordingly, for some years it had seemed possible that when Germany next attacked France, her armies would march up the valley of the Meuse, the best of all entrances into France from Germany, even though this line of march lay across the territory of Belgium, whose neutralization had been guaranteed by the German Empire along with the other Great Powers. If Germany abided by her word, then France would not be struck in this quarter; otherwise she might be attacked either through Alsace-Lorraine or through the Meuse Valley. Unfortunately she could not know whether the Germans would keep their engagement. In any event at the beginning France could concentrate for defence only about half as many troops as Germany could use in the thrust against her, and, in accordance with well-known principles of strategy, it was wisest for her to keep most of them concentrated in one large body. So, the French determined to ignore the possibility of an attack through Belgium, concentrate against Alsace-Lorraine, and, following the best principles of military science, take the offensive, if they could. This they did, in the earliest days of the war, attacking through the Lost Provinces, and gaining some slight success; but they were soon repulsed in Alsace and badly defeated in Lorraine, this being due partly to mismanagement and very largely to German superiority in machine guns and heavy artillery.

The invasion of Belgium

But the Germans were merely holding their lines with comparatively small forces in the south. Their great effort was through Belgium, straight at the heart of France. Their line of march was barred by the strong fortresses of Liége and Namur, with Antwerp supposedly impregnable, threatening their flank from the north. Against the avalanche of German soldiers the brave little Belgian army could do nothing but fight retarding actions, but it was hoped that the fortresses would hold until assistance came from England and France. The Germans were indeed, checked at first at Liége, but immediately they revealed to the world one of the great surprises of the war. Against Liége they brought up quickly incredibly large cannon which they moved easily on great broad wheels up to positions prepared by secret agents in advance, and having ready at hand the exact distances dropped ten- and twelve-inch shells upon the forts reducing them at once. Then, bringing up their monstrous 42-centimeter guns, which fired sixteen-inch shells, they captured Namur. All the western world was appalled at the news that this fortress had fallen in one day, and that the road into France was open.

The British and the French defeated

Through Belgium by forced marches came such an army as the world had never seen before—gray-clad soldiers in unending stream, equipped to the last detail, and accompanied by the most fearful engines of destruction. The Belgian army was flung aside upon Antwerp, which was masked, and which the Germans took two months later when they had leisure to bring up their heavy cannon. Brussels fell without resistance, and when the campaign was over it was found that all of Belgium, except for one little section on the Channel, adjoining France, had been taken at a stroke. The British and the French did try to come to the rescue, but they could not send strong forces at once, and those which they sent came too late. The French were heavily defeated at Charleroi and the British

at Mons, narrowly escaping destruction as they retreated precipitately back into France.

France on the brink of destruction

For France the situation rapidly became almost hopeless. Her army, smaller than the German, was in the wrong place. Shifting a large number of soldiers is one of the most complicated and difficult tasks in the world, and it was very doubtful whether the French commanders could do it, with the Germans rushing down now upon Paris. In the course of three weeks, almost by a miracle, they accomplished the maneuver, but by the end of August, when this had been done, the French armies had undergone a succession of disastrous defeats. The French government moved from Paris to Bordeaux, and it was evident that one of the great crises in Europe's history was at hand. The Germans believed that they would soon have the French army cut off and surrounded, and would speedily capture Paris. It almost seemed that they would crush France in six weeks, as they boasted.

Retreat of the French army

The French people did not despair. They rose now to a height of grandeur which surprised their enemies and their friends, something that had before happened not seldom in the history of France. The frontier fortresses held from Belfort northward, above all the immensely important pivot position at Verdun. Between Verdun and the huge entrenched camp at Paris the retreating French armies were forced back until their line bulged far down in the center and threatened to burst asunder, while the Germans under Von Kluck threatened to outflank the end of the line near Paris. September 5, the matter at last came to issue. German horsemen had just ridden into the outskirts of Paris, but Von Kluck, confronting the fortress and a French army not yet destroyed, had turned aside from the capital, and thus left his own flank exposed. Joffre, commander of the French, unable to stand at first, had retreated steadily to positions which he considered

favorable for a battle. "The hour has come," he said now, in a famous order, "to hold at all costs and allow oneself to be slain rather than give way. . . . Everything depends on the result of to-morrow."

The Battle of the Marne

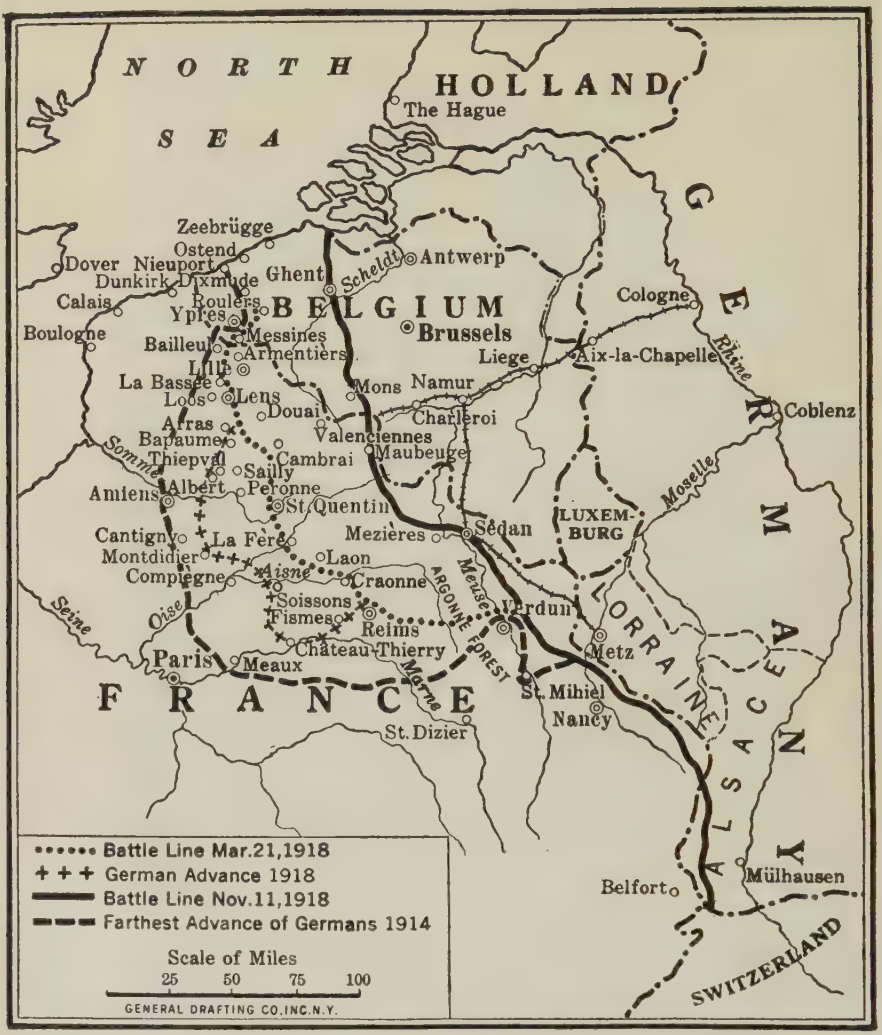
September 6 began the series of mortal combats extending for a great distance and fought between 1,500,000 Germans with 4,000 cannon besides their monstrous, heavy guns, and 1,000,000 Frenchmen with a small but excellent British force. From the river which flows through this part of the country the conflict is known as the Battle of the Marne. The Germans were superior in numbers and equipment and flushed with a mighty triumph. The French were numerically inferior and disheartened by disaster. But the Germans were now wearied from their rapid advance and far from their base, while the French were close to their own, in favorable positions. For four days the great battle raged. The Germans fought bravely and well, but the French soldiers, with backs to the wall, with everything now and in the future at stake, rose to prodigies of valor. Generally the French line held at all points, and the battle was decided by two great German reverses. Near Paris their line was defeated after a terrible combat, they were nearly outflanked, and saved themselves only by precipitate retreat, at times almost like a rout; and their backward movement gradually compelled other German armies near by to give ground and go back with them. Meanwhile, in the center the Germans nearly broke through, and threatened to cut the French line; but General Foch, four times attacking them in turn, and four times defeated, attacked once again, completely defeated the Prussian Guard, and broke through the German line. By September 10, the decision had come; and by the middle of the month the Germans had retreated from a large part of the conquests they had made, Paris was safe, and the French army was saved.

Immense importance of the battle

The Battle of the Marne was the most decisive incident in the Great War. It was the most decisive battle in the history of Europe since the battle of Blenheim (1704). Had the Germans won the battle, almost certainly the French army would have been destroyed, or at best driven south of the Loire, leaving Paris and all north and east France, including the principal railways and industrial regions, in the enemy's hands, completely cutting off what remained of France from good connection with England. Most probably the Germans could then have held their lines in the west with few troops, turned on Russia and soon destroyed her, as they did anyhow somewhat later, then have come back to the west, completed the destruction of France, and undertaken the conquest of England. If England and the British fleet had passed under their sway, no other nation could have resisted their aggression; and the "world power," which Bernhardi had spoken of, might conceivably have been theirs for a great while to come. So strong was the military power of the Germans in 1914 that they could have defeated all other powers, if those powers were not given time to prepare. The British Empire and the United States could defeat the Germans later on, but not without some years to raise their armies and equip them. They had the necessary time only because meanwhile the French held the lines in the west, and this would have been impossible except for the triumph on the Marne.

Great success of the Germans

But actually, at the time, it seemed to the Germans that they had been merely repulsed, not badly defeated; that later on they would return and not fail. Moreover, in the campaign they had had enormous success. They went back after their defeat from the vicinity of Paris, and evacuated a considerable portion of France; but they halted along the Aisne River and, there entrenched, defied every attack of the Allies. They had conquered and they held behind their lines the richest industrial district of



35. THE WESTERN FRONT IN THE GREAT WAR

36. THE EASTERN FRONT IN THE GREAT WAR

France and the principal source of France's supply of coal and iron ore. No longer, except for outside assistance, could the French make sufficient munitions. When, in the following year, in the east the Germans had taken from the Russians Poland and the districts near by, much the same was the case with the Russians, and by the autumn of 1915 the Germans seemed to have won the war on the Continent of Europe. Russia was not able to recover; but France, supplied from abroad with materials for war, continued the struggle. This was possible only because of the British fleet.

Struggle for the Channel Ports

The French and the British lacked the heavy artillery and the shells to drive the Germans back from the Aisne, but they wisely extended their own lines northward just in time to keep the Germans from occupying, as they might easily have done, the Channel ports, Calais and Dunkirk, the gateway to England. All too late the Germans realized the supreme importance of these places, and launched a series of mass attacks upon the British and the French in an effort to break through at all costs. At Ypres, where the British held against terrible odds, and along the Yser River, where the British, Belgians, and French were almost annihilated but held out until the country was flooded and warships at sea joined in the defence, the Germans were held back from their goal. The result of this action was almost as important as the victory of the Marne.

The line in the west

For a while, in the west the great movements came to an end. The Germans had won mighty triumphs, but they had failed to win the war quickly. Both sides now settled down in long fortified lines, which ran from Switzerland to the North Sea, which left to the French a small part of German Alsace, but left within the German lines northeastern France and almost all of Belgium. These lines were constantly made stronger on both sides, until at last it seemed impossible that they could ever be broken.

Meanwhile great things were happening in the east. While Germany hurled herself upon France, she left her eastern borders nearly unprotected, believing that the Russians could not immediately do much damage, and relying on the Austrians in the meantime to meet them. The Austrians did, indeed, begin an offensive into Russian Poland, but they were at once met by the advancing Russian armies, and hurled back in disastrous defeat. After a series of great battles the Russians overran nearly all of Galicia, the exposed part of Austria-Hungary, drove on the Austrian armies in precipitate rout, and captured all but one of the Galician fortresses. Austria had utterly failed to check the Russians, and in a short time was calling for assistance from the Germans.

Russia shatters the Austrian power

While the Austrians were being driven back from Poland another Russian army invaded Germany itself. In a short time part of East Prussia had been crossed. At once a strong force was sent across Germany, and this army under a new commander, Von Hindenburg, caught the Russians in the region of the Mazurian marshes and lakes, and there at the battle of Tannenberg, a force of 250,000 Russians was scattered or destroyed. Some escaped, many thousands were paraded in triumph through the Berlin streets, but a host of them were killed by the great shells or smothered in the mud of the marshes. It was as complete a triumph as the victory of Hannibal at Cannae; yet such were the proportions of the Great War that it was merely an episode in the struggle. East Prussia was cleared of the foe; but it is believed that the absence from the west front of the German soldiers who did this had some connection with the victory of the French at the Marne.

Russians defeated in East Prussia

In 1915 the Germans, holding the initiative as before, changed their general plan. They had intended to overwhelm France and then destroy Russia. In this they had failed. They now determined to hold France and Britain, standing on the defensive in their entrenchments in the

Struggle in the east, 1914-15

west, and turn their principal effort to destroying the Russians completely. During the winter of 1914-15 there was terrible and dreary fighting in the east as the Germans came to the aid of their demoralized Austrian allies. On the wintry plains of Poland, and farther north along the Russian border, great battles were fought, until presently the two sides settled down in lines of entrenchments longer but less strong than those in the west. In March, the Russians took the great fortress of Przemysl, the last stronghold in Galicia, together with a huge Austrian army. All through the winter they had been fighting in the heights of the Carpathian Mountains for possession of the passes; now they had all but the most important one of them, and threatened to pour down into Hungary in a torrent. They were also near to the great fortress of Cracow, the fall of which might open the way into the German Empire.

The Dunajec

But as spring began the Germans and Austrians were ready for a decisive blow. About the center of the long irregular line, not far from Cracow, an immense concentration of men and cannon was made. May 2, after a fearful bombardment—the like of which had never before been seen and which annihilated the Russians and completely obliterated their lines for a space of some miles—the Teutonic armies, launching a great attack, broke completely through the Russian position. This is one of the greatest disasters that can happen to an army, and often results in utter rout. The only hope is in rapid retreat until the parts disunited are rejoined. This the Russians tried to do, and in the main their backward movement was well carried out; it was never turned into rout, nor was their main force ever surrounded and captured. But the danger was very terrible. When the break-through occurred at the Dunajec River, the Russian forces in Galicia and in the Carpathians were in imminent danger of being cut off, and while they were being pressed by Teutonic armies under

Von Mackensen, farther north they were being attacked by the German armies of Von Hindenburg.

The Russian retreat

So began a great and disastrous retreat. The Russians fled from the Carpathian Mountains; they quickly abandoned nearly all of Galicia together with the great fortresses which they had captured after so much effort; and at the same time they were retreating back through Poland, fighting bitter rear-guard actions, but never really able to halt the pursuit. The outlying Polish fortresses were taken; then Warsaw, the capital; then the second-line fortresses; presently Brest-Litovsk, the center of the Russian system of defence, and even cities and strong points beyond. When at last the retreat came to an end, it was found that the Germans had, indeed, fallen short of entire success, for they had not completely destroyed the Russian armies, nor had they put Russia utterly out of the war. But Russia was virtually eliminated in this campaign. A vast number of her soldiers had been killed or disabled, and an equally great number taken prisoner by the Germans. Most of her trained officers were now captive or dead. Most of the war material was worn out or lost, and Russia was neither an industrial nation capable of making arms and ammunition on a great scale nor so situated that she could, like France, easily receive great supplies from outside. Moreover, her railroads best adapted for military purpose had fallen into the enemy's hands. Russia did continue to fight valiantly for some time, and she accomplished some great things in the following year; but as we see it now, she was definitely defeated in the campaign which began on the Dunajec.

Conquest of Servia

Thus, in the course of little more than a year—for Brest-Litovsk fell in August and Vilna in September, 1915—Germany had greatly, though not completely succeeded in the west, and far more greatly succeeded in the east. In the autumn she turned her attention to the south, and soon accomplished the task for which she had begun the war:

the getting control of the Balkans. Thus far the Serbs had been able to defend themselves. Twice had the Austrians, occupied as they were by their contest with Russia, sent expeditions over the Danube; twice had they been driven back in shameful defeat and disaster. But now a third invasion was undertaken by the Germans, at a time when Russia could give no more help, and, worse still, as the little country was struck in the flank by Bulgaria, who now entered the war on the side of the Central Powers. The exhausted Serbs were ground to pieces by the Teutons from the north and the vengeful Bulgarians from the east; their country was completely subjugated; and only a part of the Servian army and a few of the people escaped over the mountains in a horrible retreat, to be taken to islands off the coast by Allied warships.

Gallipoli

Meanwhile the Allies had suffered a great defeat. In November 1914, Turkey had entered the war on the side of Germany and Austria. This more than balanced the decision of Italy not to assist the Central Powers, for it almost completely cut off Russia from her western partners, making it very difficult for them to obtain her wheat, which they badly needed, and just as hard for her to receive from them the war supplies without which she could not long do much. It was of the greatest importance that communications be opened up again by forcing the Dardanelles and afterward taking Constantinople. Moreover, this would not only assist Russia, but it would be a momentous success in itself, and bring to an end, perhaps, the German dream of mastery in the Balkans and Asiatic Turkey. Therefore, in February, 1915, British and French warships attempted to force the Strait of the Dardanelles. After severe losses they desisted, though it is said that victory was within reach if they had attacked again the next day. A great expedition was now sent out to take the positions which guarded the entrance, and in April a landing was effected on the Gallipoli Peninsula.

In all the war there was no more glorious and disastrous enterprise than this attempt to scale the barren, rocky mountains that guarded the strait. Even the drinking water had to be brought from a long distance, and numbers went insane from thirst. Many a heroic attempt was made, and the fighting went on all through the time when

The Allies fail

37. GALLIPOLI

the Russians were being defeated to the north. One day Allied soldiers won to the top of the mountains and saw the blue waters of Marmora in the distance; but they were soon driven out. The Turks fought with stubborn courage until the Germans, having put Russia out of the way and destroyed Servia, were coming to relieve them. Gallipoli was evacuated, and the troops thus withdrawn were

Turkish resistance

taken to the Greek city of Salonica, the most important position on the Ægean, to which they had been invited by the Greek government, though the invitation was withdrawn by the king of Greece.

Triumph of the Teutonic Powers

If the Germans could only hold what they had seized, they would come out of the struggle incomparably the greatest power in the world. Accordingly, they chose this moment to let it be known that they would listen to proposals for peace. But however great the disasters which had come to the Allies in the war, the consequences of such a peace as Germany would be willing to make seemed too terrible, and the German suggestions were not even considered. Besides, it still seemed to many that the future lay with the Allies; that they had been taken unprepared, and that soon they would be able to wage the war on equal terms, and get victory shortly after.

The Allies keep control of the sea

One great success they had: Germany had been swept from the seas. All her ocean commerce had vanished; and her warships stayed close to the fortifications of Heligoland and the Kiel Canal. German submarines did some execution against British warships at first, but this soon came to an end. German cruisers made daring raids, but only for a while. At first much damage was done to Allied shipping by German raiders; one by one, however, they were hunted down, and this also ceased. In November, 1914, in the Far East the German naval base of Tsingtao had been taken by the Japanese. A German fleet did destroy an inferior British fleet off the coast of Chile, but shortly after it was completely destroyed by a superior British force off the Falkland Islands. Meanwhile the British and the French fleets had complete control of the oceans, over which their commerce flowed in unceasing stream. Only once was there a great battle on the sea.

The Battle of Jutland, 1916

May 31, 1916, the German fleet cruising off the coast of Denmark was overtaken by a part of the British Grand Fleet. The powerful but lightly armored British battle

cruisers engaged the enemy, hoping to hold them until the remainder of the British fleet arrived. The Germans fought with great skill and superior equipment, inflicting heavy losses. As the rest of the British ships arrived the Germans withdrew, and in the failing light of the evening made good their escape. They had inflicted more damage than they suffered, and they proclaimed a great victory won. After a few days, however, it was seen that the action was essentially a British victory, for Britain's hold on the seas continued unshaken. The German battleships had withdrawn to their haven, and the spirit of the crews was broken. They did not again come forth to fight for control of the waters. When they next emerged it was only to yield themselves in surrender.

The German fleet escapes

The French fleet and later the Italian fleet, in the Mediterranean, and in the latter part of the war the powerful American fleet, contributed materially to maintaining the Allied mastery of the seas. But this command of the waters was owing primarily to the ships of the British Empire. Silently, and with little said about what was being done, in the fair weather of summer and in the storms and sleet and cold of the North Sea winters, unfaltering and with vigilance unceasing, the prolonged watch was kept. Always there was danger from the mines which Germans strewed in the sea; always the submarines were lurking to send in their deadly torpedoes. There was the blockade to maintain, by which Germany was slowly weakened and reduced; there were the all-important lines of communication across to France to keep open; there were the sea routes to be kept safe between the parts of the widely scattered empire and to the other countries from which came indispensable supplies; the German warships were watched lest they raid the coasts of England or lest some of them dash out into the open sea to prey upon Allied commerce; and above all the High Seas Fleet of the German Empire was to be waited for and met if ever it

The British Grand Fleet

Ceaseless vigil

dared to come out. And on this faithful watch and ward the whole Allied cause depended. If ever the Grand Fleet were destroyed or beaten, in a short time the British Empire would be starved into complete surrender, and then triumphant Germany could dictate to the rest of the world such conditions as pleased her. After the war was over, the work of the British seaman stood out in its true proportions and grandeur.

Slow progress of the Allies on land

For some time it seemed that Germany could win the war in spite of the naval superiority of the Allies. It was evident that the Central Powers could not soon be starved into submission by blockade, but must be beaten also on land. At first it was hoped that this could be done when the powers of the *Entente* were more fully prepared. Britain was arming, and would presently be ready; and in May, 1915, Italy—partly through real sympathy with the western powers and aversion from German methods, and partly through desire of getting from Austria-Hungary *Italia Irredenta* and power in the Adriatic—declared war on the Dual Monarchy. But Italy was at once halted by the terrible obstacle of the Alps and made scarcely any progress; and it required more than a year for Britain to put a great army in France. So, in 1915, while Russia was being defeated and Servia destroyed, the Allies accomplished little in the west. The British made some slight progress at Neuve Chapelle; but immediately the Germans, using for the first time their terrible poison gas, attacked near by at Ypres, and nearly broke through to the ports of the Channel. That they failed to do this was because the Canadians, who had thrown themselves heart and soul into the war along with Great Britain, closed the gap and held the line. In September the French, attacking in the Champagne, after tremendous artillery preparation, tried to break the German lines as the Germans had broken the Russian; but after some success in the beginning they were brought to a halt, with nothing of impor-

Second Battle of Ypres

tance accomplished. In all respects 1915 was a year of Allied failure and German success.

Verdun, 1916

Slow as it seemed, Britain was really assembling a great army in northern France, well drilled and fully equipped. Some time in 1916 she would be ready for her first great effort. But again Germany was ready to take the initiative, and she resolved to make a second thrust at France, to destroy her before England could throw in her might. Therefore, near to the key fortress of Verdun very secretly an enormous concentration of artillery was made. Suddenly toward the end of February, 1916, a terrible bombardment was begun from thousands of cannon, followed by an attack, which at once carried all the eastern environs of the fortress. So quickly was this accomplished that it seemed for a moment that the Germans would take Verdun as they had taken Antwerp and Warsaw. The railroad communications with the fortress were largely cut, and there was no small danger that a French army with all its stores and cannon might be trapped. It is said that the French military authorities resolved to abandon the position, but for sentimental reasons it was finally decided to hold on. Supplies were brought in by a wonderful system of motor transport hastily arranged, and the new German methods of attack were countered by new ways of defence. The Germans attacked with the utmost courage, but were met with an unconquerable valor. Other strong positions were taken, but the German progress now was very slow.

Terrible struggles

Month after month through the spring and into the summer the fighting went on. There were savage struggles in underground passages, and scenes of slaughter too horrible to describe. Every little hill in the neighborhood was fought over and soaked with blood. Half a million Germans were killed and wounded, and the number of Frenchmen was perhaps even greater. In July the Germans were forced to slacken their efforts because of danger threatening elsewhere. Later on, after superb artillery

preparation, the French retook in two days all the important positions for which the Germans had struggled so long. In all respects the attack on Verdun was a great German failure.

The Battle of the Somme, 1916

The Germans had been forced to desist because at last the British were about ready, to the north. July 1, the British and the French, making the kind of artillery preparation which now preceded all great attacks, began an offensive to break through the German lines. For days the bombardment continued, and the distant thunder of the cannon could be heard over the Channel, in England. The attack was in the region of the River Somme, and was directed at the towns of Bapaume and Péronne and the more important centers of St. Quentin, Cambrai, and Laon behind them. If these places were taken, almost certainly the Germans would have to retreat out of France. The German positions were immensely strong. There were many little trenches and strong little forts for machine gunners, protected in front by tangles of thick barbed wire. Behind them were deep underground places of refuge, extending down several stories, in which armies could be sheltered while the great shells were falling. Unless these defences were largely obliterated beforehand, the attacking infantry would be mown down by machine guns as they came forward. When the infantry did advance, the French at once reached the outskirts of Péronne, but the British, more strongly opposed, made almost no progress.

The Germans hold their lines

Thereafter, all through the summer, the armies were locked in a death struggle, the Allies slowly advancing a little, but suffering fearful losses, and the Germans losing perhaps as many. The autumn rains and the deep mud put an end to the offensive, and it seemed that the Allies had won almost nothing. They had taken no important town, and the German lines were nowhere broken. Actually, however, the Germans did make a considerable retreat in the following spring, and they now knew that

England and France were not ready to abandon the contest, but that a terrible struggle must continue, wearing down the strength of both sides until one or the other gave up through exhaustion.

Italy, Russia, Rumania, 1916

During the course of this summer the hopes of the Allies ran high for a time. In May, the Austrians attacked the Italians from the Trentino, but after some success they were forced to desist. Later the Italians captured Gorizia, and made great progress through the mountain barrier and on the way to Trieste. The Austrians had drawn back because in June the Russians under General Brusilov, making their last great effort, completely shattered the Austrian lines in the east, took a vast number of captives, and pressed on so far that only strong German assistance, at a time when it was difficult for Germany to detach any troops, saved the Austrians from destruction. The Russians were finally halted, but the position of the Central Powers now seemed so dangerous that in the last days of August Rumania joined the Allies. Germany, however, was still enormously strong. The Somme offensive was soon to come to an end, and the Russians had not only exhausted their strength but were now a prey to traitors and revolutionists, and were soon to drop out of the war. Accordingly, Rumania, attacked from the side of Bulgaria and from the north by a powerful German army, was mostly overrun, and crushed almost as completely as Servia had been in the year before.

A contest of exhaustion

The war had for some time resolved itself into a deadlock between Germany, flushed with success and gorged with conquests, and the Allies hoping to defeat her and wrest away what she had taken. It was evidently to be a contest of resources, a contest in which time and attrition would make the weaker succumb. The best judges now thought that Germany could never be defeated by England and France without further aid, and that at best the war must end in a draw. But the Germans now under-

took to win the war thoroughly and quickly by means of another device. With it, they came near to success, but in the end it brought about their own ruin.

Submarines

They undertook to cut the communications of the Allies and starve England out, sinking all ships by means of submarines. The communications of the Germans were on land. If ever they were cut, as they were about to be when the war ended, Germany would be defeated. The most vital communications of the Allies were by sea. France depended on Great Britain, and the people of the British Isles could not continue the war, nay, they could only feed themselves a few weeks, when they were no longer able to bring over the seas their food and their raw materials. Had the Germans ever been able to defeat the British fleet, they would have quickly won the war, and won it completely; but this they were never able to do. Early in 1915, however, the Germans began using their submarines not only to sink warships, which usage allowed, but to destroy unarmed vessels as well; and in May of that year the giant liner *Lusitania* was sunk and great numbers of passengers, including many Americans, were drowned. The Germans maintained that since the British were trying by the blockade to starve them, especially their women and children, and force them to submit, it was very proper for them to retaliate, and try to blockade England, starve her into submission, and so end a hideous war.

Sinking of merchant ships

This contention was accepted by few outside Germany, since in accordance with recognized principles it was proper for Britain, in command of the seas, to blockade Germany, as it would have been for Germany to cut off England if Germany's warships had got command of the seas. On the other hand, it had gradually come to be one of the fundamental maxims of procedure at sea that no ship should be sunk without saving the crew, in case they were willing to surrender; but it was soon seen that usually

submarines sank the ships without warning, and that they could not, because of their small size, save the crews if they would. Germans declared that the submarine was a new weapon, and that new rules were applicable to it; but all over the world public sentiment ran strongly against the use of a weapon which could not, from its nature, be used in accordance with customary principles of humanity and mercy.

Intensification of submarine attack

None the less the Germans used this device increasingly, hampered somewhat by the protests of neutrals and somewhat more by various devices which the Allied navies employed. But they paid little attention to protests and largely avoided the devices. Presently the menace became very grave. Great Britain went into the war with an enormous shipping tonnage, but month after month vessels carrying supplies were sunk by submarines, until not only the great loss of money and materials was felt severely, but presently it was necessary to restrict imports, since the war greatly increased the demands upon her merchant marine at the same time that the underwater boats were sinking so many ships. Germany still hesitated to put forth her full effort in this manner, but by the end of 1916, when the strain of the contest had begun to tell terribly on both sides, it was evident that if the sinking of Allied vessels continued at the rate that then prevailed, Great Britain must after some time be forced out of the war, and that if the rate of destruction could be greatly increased, the end might come very quickly. The principal obstacle was that the people and government of the United States were strongly opposed, and might conceivably be brought into the war against the German Empire. After much hesitation the choice was made, and January 31, 1917, the Imperial Government announced that it would begin unrestricted submarine warfare. The German people believed that Britain would be starved within a few months.

Unrestricted submarine warfare, 1917

A year of disaster, 1917

This year, 1917, was for the Allies a year of despair and disaster. When the weather permitted, the British and the French began another offensive, to try again to break asunder the German lines. The Allies were hampered by the German retreat which had left an area of terrible desolation over which an attack could not well be made; but in April the British took the immensely strong position of Vimy and in June, with a huge explosive charge, they blew up the supposedly impregnable position of Messines. Farther north they desperately strove to break down into the plain of Flanders and compel the evacuation of the seaports of Belgium whence the submarines constantly issued. They seemed to have good chance of success; but they fought with a fatal ill fortune, and when the season came to an end they had endured fearful losses and taken from the Germans nothing that compelled an important retreat. During the summer the French made another effort to shatter the German lines. Near Laon they broke through the Chemin des Dames positions, and gained a brilliant local victory; but because of terrible losses, gave up the effort before anything decisive was accomplished. Later events were to show that this was the last great offensive effort the French could make by themselves. They had long borne the brunt of the war, and their losses had been so appalling that they were now almost at the point of despair. That they did not falter and accept a German peace, as some Frenchmen urged, was due to the efforts of their premier, M. Clemenceau, and most of all to their own unconquerable spirit.

The British fail

The French exhausted

The collapse of Russia

If there was failure in the west, there was complete downfall in the east. Russia now dropped out of the war. A great agricultural state, with comparatively few railroads and scanty industrial development, her people, however brave, were not able unaided to carry on for a long time a great modern war. The Russian soldiers fought with a courage that should be remembered for a long time.

Great services of Russia

At first they won great victories, and, it may be, saved the Allied cause; but presently their trained officers were mostly gone and they had no reserve, while worst of all, most of their equipment was lost or worn out, and they could no longer get enough of the machine guns and wire, cannon and shells, without which no war can now be conducted. Their government was inefficient and corrupt; constantly military plans were betrayed to the German spies. And yet the Russians fought on beyond expectation. Again and again the simple peasants laid down their lives in hopeless attacks. Without artillery preparation they went forth against the enemy lines, torn by heavy shells from a distance, then scattered by the light artillery, riddled by machine-gun fire nearer at hand, and played upon with liquid fire as they attacked the entrenchments. Meanwhile the entire industrial and economic life of the country was disorganized. It was as if an entire nation, long suffering some grievous malady, had suffered near to the extreme of endurance, and was approaching to dissolution. The end came now. The government, an autocracy, efficient formerly in holding down its people, was overthrown. For a while it was hoped that under a new and liberal government Russia might become strong again, and take an important part in the war. But actually the people would endure no more, and they fell a prey to visionaries and radicals, who wished to establish in the distracted country new systems which had never before existed except in the minds of theorists and writers. Under the *Bolsheviki*, Russia withdrew from the war. In March of the following year they were forced to sign the Peace of Brest-Litovsk, by which Russia was dismembered and cut off from the sea. They now applied themselves to the establishment of the extremest socialism, seeming to care little for the fact that Russia had lost by the treaty what her great leaders had striven for ages to gain. At last the Germans were completely free in the east, and

Fearful losses

The Russian Revolution, 1917

The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, 1918

could devote all of their strength to one more crushing blow in the west.

The Battle of Caporetto, 1917

In October, 1917, there was a foretaste of what they could do when Italy was struck and almost destroyed at a blow. The Italians had had considerable success, in spite of diffi-

38. AUSTRO–ITALIAN FRONTIER

The Austro-Italian frontier

culties incredible and elsewhere scarce understood. Most of Italy's territory adjoining Austria-Hungary ended at the very foothills of the Alps. Immediately beyond, held by the enemy and strongly fortified in advance, rose tier on tier of giant mountains, until the ramparts at last were high above the snow and the clouds. To the south, at the head of the Adriatic Sea, was the Carso Plateau, littered with rocks, honeycombed with caves, treeless, without water, blazing under the sun. Through all these

defences the Italians with undaunted courage had slowly battered their way. They had mastered the Carso and now were near to Trieste. They had captured Monte Santo, and might soon strike through to open country at Laibach, and then march on toward Vienna. But the Austrians, reinforced by Germans, now massed against them, and, corrupting some of the discontented soldiers and thus making a weak point in the line, suddenly attacked with overwhelming numbers and with the fearful "mustard gas." They burst completely through, utterly defeating the Italians. The result of this Battle of Caporetto was that a large part of the Italian army was captured and half of their artillery. The Teutonic armies did not stop until they were nearly in sight of Venice; but then the Italians rallied with the courage of despair, and by efforts almost too late saved their country by standing along the little river Piave. None the less, Italy was now thoroughly discouraged, and almost persuaded to abandon the struggle.

Earlier successes of the Italians

But more terrible than any of these things was the havoc wrought by submarines. In February, 1917, 800,000 tons of shipping were destroyed, and the Mediterranean and the waters about the British Isles became a veritable graveyard of ships. If destruction at this rate could be continued, then there was no doubt that the cause of the Allies was doomed. Their cause was absolutely dependent upon maintenance of communication across the seas. Not only was uninterrupted intercourse between Great Britain and the others indispensable, but all of them were waging the war now largely by means of supplies of food and material obtained from abroad. If such destruction by the submarines continued there must first be ever-increasing deficiency of munitions and equipment on the battle-fronts, then the British must be starved into abject surrender. In the British Isles already people had only half as much to eat as in happier days. Now many always

Destruction of shipping

Undernourishment and exhaustion

had with them the gnawing of hunger only partly appeased. Exhaustion, weariness, depression were remorselessly working their will.

The United States joins the Allies

Against all this was to be set one great factor, that the United States had entered the conflict against Germany and her partners. When the Great War broke out most Americans understood little about the causes or issues of the struggle, and nearly all of them dreaded foreign complications and hated the thought of a war. But in less than three years the great majority had changed profoundly, and by the beginning of 1917 willingly followed their leader into the contest. There were several reasons for this. From the beginning people were struck with horror at the methods which such a war involved. In Servia, in Poland, in Belgium, and in France, Germans did harsh and terrible things. Civilians, including even women and children, were shot down, hostages were seized, ruinous fines were imposed for small offences, while there were such plundering and such excess on the part of German soldiers that evidently much of it was being done with the idea of organizing terror and striking into the hearts of the people unreasoning fear. Many of the deeds perpetrated seemed so contrary to principles of humanity and to the spirit of ordinary times that at first the reports concerning them were not believed; but soon evidence accumulated in such manner that it was no longer possible to doubt them. For an alleged offence, never proved and probably not committed, the ancient town of Louvain was fired and a large part of it burned to the ground. The German Ambassador in Constantinople declared that if necessary the entire French nation would be held as hostage and starved to death in order to make England abandon the war. In Belgium the Germans methodically seized all the resources of the country, callously leaving the people to starve; and before long the Belgians would most probably have died of hunger had

German methods in war

Louvain

they not been fed by the charity of the British, the French, and the people of the United States. To Poland outside relief could not come, and it was not long before the appalling conditions there had caused the death of numerous old people and many of the children. This was commenced not when the Germans themselves were starving, but almost at the beginning of the war.

Frightfulness in war

The Cathedral of Rheims, one of the supreme examples of Gothic architecture and religious art, something which had been loved and admired for centuries, which could not be replaced, was not far from the line of battle. Because, as they said, it was used by the French as an observation post, the Germans deliberately ruined it with shells from their cannon. From the very beginning the great German airships, the Zeppelins, sailed over the cities of England and France, dropping high explosives with fearful effect. Some military advantage was procured, but the nature of these air raids was such that the bombs were more apt to drop upon civilians than upon fortifications. In the same way German warships dashed out when they could and bombarded defenceless coast towns. The aversion with which all this was regarded was enhanced by terrible stories which came back of the way prisoners in Germany were starved and abused; while the spectacle, constantly more frequent, of men, and even women and children, being drowned at sea, increased sympathy for the Allies and horror and repulsion for Germany. Finally, nothing did more to prejudice neutral opinion from the start than the callous manner in which the rights of Belgium were treated as "a scrap of paper," and that unhappy country trampled in the dust.

Danger to American ideals

These were the things which gradually swayed the feelings of the mass of the people in the United States and elsewhere. But with the leaders there were considerations still more important. It was felt instinctively, and it was

realized more and more clearly, that the people of France and England stood for much the same things that Americans did, and that the Germans represented a different system. Evidently there was now going on in Europe a death struggle between the two. If the ideals of democracy, individualism, and personal liberty went down to destruction across the Atlantic, they would afterward most probably be in grave danger in the United States. In the opinion of many, the American people would later on in that case have to fight against German encroachment even as the people of France and England now were doing.

Dangerous for America to remain out of the war

By the beginning of 1917 it began to seem that Allied victory was not to be hoped for. Therefore, every consideration of prudence seemed to dictate that Americans join in the war and fight along with their friends, rather than later on fight alone against a mightier, triumphant German Empire. These feelings became constantly stronger, and at last many people felt that it was not only shameful but very dangerous for the United States to be neutral any longer. Early in 1917, when the German ambassador delivered his note announcing unrestricted submarine warfare, President Wilson advised that relations be severed with Germany and that assistance be given to the Allies with all of America's resources. April 6, 1917, the United States declared war. It was one of the most momentous events in the history of the American people, and it was destined to determine the issue of the struggle.

America's time of preparation

America, and America alone, could, indeed supply the mighty resources needed to defeat the Germans. The Germans had not only the advantage of position and the shorter lines, but greater resources in iron and coal, and hence in munitions of war. But with the accession of the United States the Allies again became definitely superior in these basic resources, and if only there was still enough time and if only they did not lose heart and give up the struggle, victory would almost certainly be theirs. At

first, however, it seemed that there might not be time for the United States to assemble her resources and bring them to bear in Europe; that she had, indeed, entered the struggle too late. It had taken England two years to bring her great strength to bear; it would probably take the Americans as long. They did begin with an energy and immensity of effort that left no doubt that they had resolved to give themselves utterly to the task, but throughout 1917, while the Allies were meeting with such disaster in Europe, the work of the United States was almost entirely preparation. Great armies were raised by compulsory service, the making of rifles, cannon, shells, and ships was begun on an unheard-of scale, but nothing would be ready for some time. Meanwhile the Germans hoped to win the war by means of their submarines or else by one more great stroke in the west.

The submarines checked

By the beginning of 1918 they had pretty definitely failed in the first. No one device was ever found for disposing of the submarines, but gradually they were subdued. The protection of warships had long since been effected by putting around them a screen of fast moving destroyers. As soon as the United States entered the war her navy joined in the work. The naval superiority of the Allies was for the first time beyond all question, and the addition of the American destroyers made it possible to protect "convoys" of merchant ships also. The rate of destruction was now much diminished. Moreover, a new and terrible device was employed with increasing success: the depth bomb, which exploded beneath the water with fearful effect. Furthermore a vast *barrage* of mines was laid in the North Sea, hindering the exit of the German submarines; and in 1918 the British, in daring raids, succeeded in partly blocking the Belgian harbors out of which the submarines came. Altogether the submarines became less and less effective, and while they continued to be a serious menace until the end of the war, yet by the

beginning of 1918 the Germans could no longer hope to win solely by them.

Exhaustion near

Thus the Allies would have time, and time was now on their side. There might still be a long and costly war, if the Germans stood on the defensive and fought with the protection of their fortified lines; though if the attack were pushed resolutely their ultimate defeat was certain. On the other hand, if they could strike on the west front before American aid arrived, it might be that victory would still be theirs. This chance they resolved to take, and all through the winter of 1917-18 there was a constant movement of troops and guns from the east to the west. Russia was completely broken, and only such forces were left there as were needed to guard the conquests and get such supplies as that ruined land could furnish. In truth the war had reached the stage where all the contestants were nearly exhausted. Italy was recovering from the defeat of Caporetto, but she was profoundly discouraged. France had lost a great part of all her young men, and Frenchmen, though unwilling to yield, were beginning to despair of ever defeating the foe. Britain also was nearly sunk beneath the burdens which she bore, and the fearful fighting of 1917 had greatly depleted her armies in France. On the other side, Austria was at her last gasp and able to do little more. Germany, with all her immense strength organized for the war, might fight on for some time, perhaps, and by a sudden blow might even conquer, but if she struck the blow and failed, then, as after-events were to show, all her power would go down at once into ruin.

Great German attack, 1918

As Napoleon had once done, her leaders resolved to stake all on one last stroke. In the spring of 1918 she took the offensive and struck out with a blow like unloosing the forces of hell. March 21, the Germans attacked from St. Quentin, at a point where the British had recently taken over the lines from the French. A heavy mist enabled the enemy to surprise them. Shells from the great guns fell

far behind the front lines, while light cannon and countless machine guns were brought forward by the attackers. The British were beaten as never before during the war, and for the first time on the western front fortified lines were broken completely through. The German plan had been to separate the French from the British, and drive the British back upon the Channel where they could have been destroyed; but to the north, about Arras, the lines held so fast that this failed. None the less, the Germans had broken clear through, and when at last their advance was arrested, they had gone more than thirty miles, up to the outskirts of the all-important railroad center of Amiens. Scarcely had the fighting died down when another fearful blow was struck farther north. The lines were raked with shells and every position drenched with gasses. In Armentières the streets ran with the liquid of mustard gas. An overwhelming force was thrown against the British again, and they were driven back so far that their commander told them they were fighting with "backs to the wall." But they fought as the British usually do fight, and with some aid from the French held on and barred the way to the Channel. This was in April. In May came the third phase of the German offensive, this time against the French lines. In one great rush they went through the position of Chemin des Dames, and, piercing far through the lines, rushed on until once more they came to the Marne. It was evident that the crisis of the war had come. If the Germans could, from the positions which they had taken, strike out again with the same success, they might next time get as far as Paris. Under stress of the fearful peril all the Allied armies were at last put under one command, under the great French General Foch, and cries went out to the United States to hasten her succor.

The Battle of Picardy

The Americans had made giant strides in their preparations, but the best judges abroad did not expect them to be ready yet. Now, however, the need was so great

America answers the call

that they were asked to send across armies not entirely ready. This was done. The British furnished most of the shipping from their own diminished stock, and protected by warships from the submarines, there now began across the ocean a movement of men such as had never been seen before in the world. Early in July there were a million American soldiers in France, and they were now coming at the rate of more than a quarter of a million each month. And more than that, as they were tried, at first in very small operations, they bore themselves so well as to give much hope for the future. Evidently there was not much more time for the Germans before the weight of America would be felt. Twice more did the Germans strike, with less success than before. Then, July 14, their last offensive was undertaken. Between Rheims and Château-Thierry the attack was made and an effort made to cross the Marne and open the road to Paris. But the German plans had become known, and the French, giving ground a little, smothered the abandoned positions in a whirlwind of fire. After terrible losses the Germans were brought completely to a stand.

Last effort of the Germans: Second Battle of the Marne

Four days later, July 18, Marshal Foch began a great Allied offensive. The assistance from the United States had enabled him to establish a reserve and again assemble an "army of maneuver." The Germans had driven three salients into his line, and in these salients they had the inner position and the short lines, but between the two greater salients, in the region from Montdidier to Soissons, the Allies had the same advantage. Accordingly it was from this part of the line that the Allied offensive began. A sudden attack by French troops and some Americans nearly captured Soissons, and threatened with gravest peril the German forces under the Crown Prince. After many days of desperate fighting these forces were extricated, but with heavy losses and after abandoning what they had taken in the successful stroke that had brought

Allies begin an offensive

them down to the Marne. Meanwhile, August 8, the British struck out at Montdidier, at the side of the salient to the north, and, capturing many prisoners and many important places, retook what they had lost in the disaster of March. During the same time the Germans abandoned, without fighting, the blood-soaked positions captured at such terrible cost when they tried to break through to the Channel. By the end of August, therefore, the great danger was past, and the Germans had definitely lost the offensive.

Great assault on the German lines

Marshal Foch resolved to continue the attack, and the fighting went on without any cessation. September 13, in their first large operation, the Americans wiped out the St. Mihiel salient which the Germans had driven to the south of Verdun in the early weeks of the war. A fortnight later a large American army began fighting to clear the Argonne Forest, which was the great buttress of the German positions in the south, and which protected one of their all-important lines of rail communication. In the center the French did not press the attack upon the impregnable positions about Laon, but in the north the British with some Americans and some Belgians, tried to smash through the Hindenburg Line in one place and break down into Flanders in another. It was the Germans who were now with their backs to the wall.

Germany's allies surrender

The failing German fortunes were accompanied by collapse everywhere else. The army which in October 1915 had landed at Salonica had never accomplished anything, largely because it could not be strongly reinforced and because the submarines constantly harassed its communication line. But now, in September 1918, it suddenly fell upon the Bulgars, broke through their positions, and in a few days the Servians were back once more in their country, and the Allies were threatening the Bulgarian plain. By the end of the month Bulgaria had signed an armistice equivalent to complete surrender. Turkey, long since

exhausted, and just defeated in Asia by the British, was now in a hopeless position, and her surrender soon followed. This brought to an end the German dream of domination in the Balkans and the founding of a great "Middle Europe." In October the Austrians, urged on by the Germans but with almost no power left, attacked the Italians, failed completely, and then, struck by the Italian armies, suffered the greatest disaster of the war. The entire Austrian forces surrendered or fled as disorganized rabble, abandoning their stores and cannon; and in a few days the Italians were through the mountains at last, at Trieste, in the Trentino, and on the march for Vienna. November 4, Austria-Hungary surrendered, and gave up the war.

Austria collapses

The Germans completely defeated

While these disasters were ruining the German cause, they were fighting the last of their battles. Steadily through the tangled thickets, the rocks, and the mazes of barbed wire of the Argonne, the new American army was striking the inferior German force, and though their losses were very heavy, they advanced steadily, capturing positions deemed impregnable hitherto, and presently getting the main railway line, the vital line of German communications, under the fire of their great guns. If this line were cut, a large part of the German army might be forced to surrender. To the north the British and their comrades, with as splendid dash as was ever seen during the war, broke at last all through the Hindenburg Line, with its wide trenches, its deep underground fortifications, its labyrinths of barbed wire, and its thousands of machine-gun emplacements. Here the courage of the British soldier was aided by the "tanks" or small moving fortresses, which the British had first used in the Somme offensive of 1916, and which at last solved the problem of breaking the systems of entrenchments. Moreover, they now broke through in Belgium, and occupied the coast with its submarine bases. Then turning south they began to threaten

The British break the Hindenburg Line

the other great artery of German rail communications, the trunk line from Paris to Berlin, which goes through the valley of the Meuse, by Namur and Liége. If this were cut, and if the Americans cut the other line in the south, then the Germans might be forced to surrender on the field or else save themselves only by a flight like that of the Austrian armies.

German communications threatened

The German soldiers, so wonderful in the days of success, began to waver now, and disaffection and despair increased among the German people. They had been slowly starved by the blockade. For a long time they sustained the struggle with wonderful perseverance and courage. Food had been insufficient. By necessary government regulation they had been systematically underfed, until at last many people had only one third enough to eat. Finally the old, the infirm were dropping dead from hunger. Now, after staking all, they had lost. The men of the navy, ordered to dash out for a last effort, mutinied. The end was at hand; the authorities asked for an armistice. When the conditions were announced, they were terrible enough: not only must the Germans at once evacuate France, Belgium, and their other conquests, but they must abandon Alsace-Lorraine, and withdraw behind the Rhine, yielding up the bridgehead fortresses, and leaving exposed their richest industrial district. They must surrender their fleet and their submarines, disband their army, and give up most of their military equipment. It was evident at once that the acceptance of such terms would mean the end of the war. November 9, the German emperor abdicated his throne and fled to Holland. Two days later, November 11, German emissaries signed the armistice terms.

Germany asks for an armistice

End of the German Empire

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CHAPTER XXIV

THE SETTLEMENT OF 1920

The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty.
Address of the President to the Congress of the United States, April 2, 1917.

The idea that action should be taken after this war to secure an enduring peace in the future. . . .
Viscount Bryce, *Essays and Addresses in War Time* (1918), p. 176.

Not since Rome punished Carthage for Punic faith has such a treaty been written.
New York *Tribune*, May 8, 1919.

The settlement after the War

When the Germans, with weariness and despair at home and their armies crumbling under the blows of the Allies at the front, surrendered by accepting the armistice, it was evident that an old era in the history of the western world had come to an end, and that the leaders of the nations must assemble and settle the affairs of the age which had been and prepare for the new order which was coming. Several times had this happened before in the history of Europe: in 1648, at the end of the dreadful Thirty Years' War; in 1713 and 1714, after the long War of the Spanish Succession; in 1814 and 1815, after Napoleon and the French Revolution. So now in 1919 the greatest of all the peace conferences was opened in Paris.

Public interest and expectations

Never had a peace congress assembled in the midst of such great and unreasoning expectations. In 1648 and 1713 the great mass of the people had no voice in government and little interest in what the government did. So

it was in 1814, though then many people believed that a new and better era was at hand. But in 1919 the people of the victorious states had considerable control of their governments; most of the population could read and write, and had followed the events of the struggle with enormous interest. Moreover, whatever the original aims of the contestants may have been, as the war progressed and became a contest of endurance and exhaustion, so that it was necessary to have the fullest support of the body of the people, they were asked to throw themselves into the struggle so that the world might be made "safe for democracy," and war might be brought to an end. Everywhere the masses of the people, the simple minded, the liberal, the idealists, yearned for these things and believed that they would shortly be brought to pass, that a new and better world was about to be brought into being.

President Wilson

At the head of these people was President Wilson of the United States, the greatest idealist of his time. There was difference of opinion about the wisdom of some things which he did before America entered the war, and also afterward, but there could be no doubt about the loftiness and purity of his motives, or that he had the good of mankind at heart. His speeches and his communications seemed to great numbers of people in the Allied countries, and perhaps even in Germany and Austria, to express the yearnings of their hearts for better things. So it came about that at the end of the war he had for a short while unparalleled influence among multitudes of people who trusted with pathetic confidence that he would in some way bring about the great reforms which he had spoken of so finely. Few seemed to have thought of the difficulty of achieving the immense improvements now suddenly to be made, or to realize that some of these things were old problems that had baffled mankind for ages.

In January 1918, President Wilson had outlined "Fourteen Conditions" of what he regarded as a proper peace.

The "Fourteen Points"

Russia should be evacuated, Belgium, France, Rumania, Servia, and Montenegro evacuated and restored; Alsace-Lorraine should be returned to France; the Italian frontier rectified; a free Poland should be established; the subject peoples of Turkey and Austria-Hungary be given a chance for autonomous development; and impartial adjustment of colonial claims should be made with consideration for the populations involved. He then entered upon larger and more difficult matters: there must be "open covenants of peace, openly arrived at"; no more private international understandings; "absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas"; removal of economic barriers; guarantees for the reduction of armaments; and "a general association of nations" under specific covenants for the purpose of maintaining peace. Some of these provisions were at once criticised as vague or impossible of fulfillment, but they were accepted by multitudes who believed them practicable and necessary for the good of the world.

Control of foreign affairs

Some of the matters proclaimed did present enormous difficulty. To make treaties openly, or bring diplomacy within control of representatives of the people had been much desired by reformers for a long time and many efforts had been made to obtain it. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the English house of commons had repeatedly tried to get control of foreign affairs, and when the first American government was instituted such control was given to congress; but in both countries it was presently obvious that secrecy was necessary for the proper conduct of foreign relations, and that such business could only be transacted effectively if left to the management of a small number of men experienced and expert.

"Freedom of the Seas"

"Freedom of the seas" was a cry raised by the Germans during the war, and from them taken up by idealists everywhere who believed that there ought not to be any militarism or force, on sea or on land. The application of such a doctrine would principally affect Great Britain and

the British Empire. Britain had won her wars and become great through power on the sea. But it was generally admitted that she had not abused this power, and in time of peace had not for a long while interfered with other nations on the waters. In time of war she had not seldom exerted her sea power with decisive effect; but it was owing to this that the Allies had been able to resist the German armies. It was certain that the British people would regard any attempt to deprive them of it as a thrust at their very existence.

The League of Nations

With respect to what was being called a "League of Nations," a long line of men, from Henry IV of France and William Penn to Tsar Alexander I and Tsar Nicholas II, had hoped for such a thing; and many a plan had been suggested for it; but so far the complexity of the problem had baffled all who attempted to solve it.

The Congress of Paris, 1919

The Congress of Paris, which assembled January 18, 1919, began its work in the midst of prodigious popular interest and expectations which no assembly could have fulfilled. Idealists, pacifists, humanitarians, and a great number of others who were enthusiastic but ill-informed, expected such a settlement of the affairs of the world that all the damage done by the war would be amended, yet nothing taken from Austria-Hungary and the German Empire; that the Allies would be made content, yet the Central Powers not offended; that reparation should be made, yet no indemnities taken; that self-determination of peoples would be recognized, yet Germany and Austria not be shorn of their possessions; that open diplomacy would be established, democracy and the welfare of the masses; that there would be freedom of the seas, no more war, and a league of nations with good feeling and the brotherhood of man. On the other hand a smaller number, though not a few, with better knowledge of affairs and of what had been done in the past, predicted that some of the proposals current were irreconcilable and others im-

possible of accomplishment; and that with respect to the grander and more general schemes the utmost possible was for the best men to try earnestly and in good faith to solve some part of the difficulties which had remained insoluble so long.

Work of the congress

From the countries which had participated in the war against the Central Powers came delegates to the Conference at Paris. Neither Germany nor her allies were to take part in the discussion or the framing of the treaties, which, when ready, were to be submitted merely for approval or rejection.

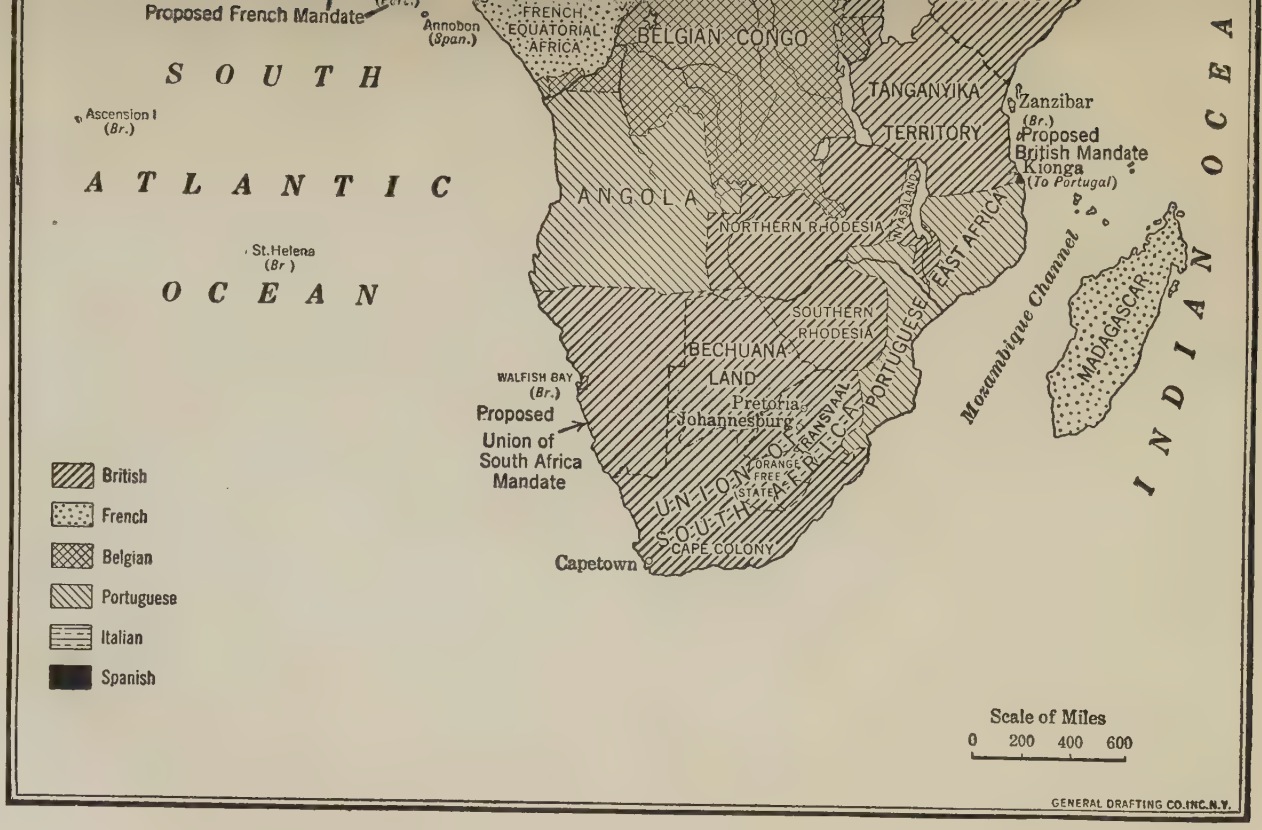
Procedure

The great decisions were not arrived at openly or with the knowledge of all of the conference. Important affairs were first decided by the representatives of the four greatest powers, the British Empire, France, Italy and the United States, and sometimes Japan; after which they were made known to the other members of the congress. Actually the principal work was always in the hands of Mr. Lloyd George, M. Clemenceau, and Signor Orlando—prime ministers respectively of the United Kingdom, France, and Italy—and of President Wilson. The question of the freedom of the seas was soon dropped, and wisely, as competent critics had hoped and predicted beforehand. With respect to the reduction of armaments little was done; the defeated powers were to be compelled to diminish theirs, and it was hoped that the others would be able to do it later. Numerous questions remained to be settled, all the more difficult because the makers of the treaty would face the difficulties and try to settle them, not evade them by some specious solution.

Treatment of the conquered powers

Some, who professed to be the prophets of a new era, declared that a peace of vengeance would only lead to new wars, and that mild treatment, which would not offend Germany and her friends, was the only way to spare succeeding generations from the horrors which had blasted the present. Some proclaimed that there must be no

London
EUROPE
Paris
Vienna
Sea of Aral
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
Rome
Constantinople
Madrid
Lisbon
Algeciras
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ASIA
Gibraltar
Tangier
Algiers
Tunis
Madeira Is. (Port.)
Fez
MOROCCO
Morocco
ALGERIA
Tripoli
Alexandria
SUEZ CANAL
Agadir
Ifni
Canary Is. (Span.)
Cairo
Port Said
TRIPOLI
EGYPT
Persian Gulf
RIO DE ORO
SAHARA
RED SEA
ARABIA
FRENCH WEST AFRICA
Omdurman
Khartum
ANGLO-EGYPTIAN
SENEGAL
GAMBIA
Lake Tchad
SUDAN
ERITREA
Gulf of Aden
Socotra (Br.)
PORT. GUINEA
FRENCH GUINEA
Fashoda
SIERRA LEONE
NIGERIA
BRIT. SOMALILAND
LIBERIA
IVORY COAST
ASHANTI
NORTHERN TERR.
TOGOLAND
DAHOMEY



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annexations and no indemnities; Germany and Austria must repair the devastation they had done in the invaded countries, but that was all. Not a few asserted that the people of the Teutonic countries were little, if any, more to be blamed than the others, since it was the greed of imperialists and capitalists, and the rashness of diplomats working in secret, which had brought on the war. On the other hand a great many declared that Germany and her allies must be stripped to the uttermost to pay for the infinite misery they had caused; that it was vain to try to conciliate such people by mild treatment; that an enduring peace could be obtained, if at all, only by so reducing Germany's power that she could make no unprovoked attacks in the future. Some of these advocates proposed that France should be given German territory down to the Rhine, and Germany be compelled to pay for all the expenses of the war. This last was obviously impossible since while the war had cost the Allies more than $120,000,000,000, the total wealth remaining to the Germans was apparently not half that much.

The German colonies

The question of the German colonies attracted less attention. Some declared that they ought not to be taken away, since the Germans had great need of colonial possessions and had never had their fair share. On the other hand it was asserted that they had cruelly misused the native populations, and were unworthy to be entrusted with ruling them longer.

Alsace-Lorraine

The question of Alsace-Lorraine was not really before the conference, since the French had already occupied it, and were not willing to discuss the matter further. But the whole question was very complicated, and had already been a great deal discussed. A portion of the people in Lorraine were French, but most of the rest were Germans. The districts had long been attached to the Holy Roman Empire, from which they were taken, mostly by force, by the French, under Louis XIV and Louis XV. On the

other hand, this territory had originally been part of a middle Kingdom between Germany and France, which had presently fallen to pieces. After their incorporation into the Kingdom of France the people of the provinces became strongly attached to the French government, took prominent part in the French Revolution, and thoroughly shared in the development of French nationality, so that in 1871 they were most unwilling to be taken by Germany from France. The question was further complicated because of the great strategic importance of the country, in the hands either of Germany or France, and because in Lorraine lay the most valuable iron deposits in Europe.

The Italian frontier

The question of the Italian frontier seemed relatively simple, though it proved to be particularly difficult in the end. It was generally conceded that *Italia Irredenta* should be taken from the broken Dual Monarchy, but its extent proved not easy to settle. There was no doubt about the Trentino, nor about Trieste, though that port was Austria's sole outlet to the sea; but all down the Dalmatian coast, on the eastern side of the Adriatic, were old Italian towns and a fringe of Italian population, while the great mass of the people, in the country behind, were South Slavs. The islands and the seaport towns were, indeed, largely unredeemed Italian land, but if they were all given to Italy then an outlying fringe of Italians would shut off from the sea a far greater number of Jugo-Slavs. As a matter of fact, because of the broad untracked Dinaric Alps, just back from the coast, the South Slavic people would be effectually shut off from the sea if they were not given Fiume.

The Czecho-Slovaks

The question of the Czecho-Slovaks became prominent just before peace was made. Bohemia and Moravia, which had been independent kingdoms in the Middle Ages, then joined under one ruler, were united with Austria in 1526, the same year that part of Hungary was joined with Austria also. The people were mostly West Slavs,

and a body of their near kinsmen, the Slovaks, lived just to the east in Hungary. The Slovaks had remained a backward people, but the Czechs and Moravians had an old culture of which they were proud, and during the nineteenth century they had revived a strong national feeling.

Poland

The tragic fate of the Polish people had for some generations aroused the deepest sympathy among the statesmen of western Europe and among liberals all over the world. To reëstablish Poland had long seemed a much desired act of international justice, but the difficulties in the way of it were so insuperable that a new Polish state was outside the calculations of practical statesmen. Now by the strangest of coincidences all three of the powers which had once divided Poland were ruined by the war. There was little difference of opinion about the reconstitution of Poland, but much difficulty in determining what the boundaries should be. In former times Poland had greatly extended her borders so that Polish population was widely scattered and mixed in with other peoples. Therefore it was not possible to make boundaries which would include all the Poles and not many Germans, Lithuanians, and others, or such boundaries as would include only Poles without leaving a great many of them outside the new state. Moreover, Poland had formerly extended to the Baltic. If now she were given her outlet to the sea at Danzig, then Prussia would be divided in two parts.

The Jugo-Slavs

The question of the South Slavs presented no fundamental difficulty. It was generally agreed that the people of the provinces of Carniola, Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina should be given their freedom; and there was already a movement on foot to have them all unite with their kinsmen of Montenegro and Servia in a large Jugo-Slavic state. It would undoubtedly be difficult to hold in one union these people, of the same race, indeed, but differing much in culture and religion.

The immediate difficulty, however, was to reconcile conflicting ambitions of Italians and South Slavs on the Adriatic coast, and assure the new federation an outlet to the sea.

Constantinople and Turkey

The question of Constantinople and the Turkish Empire presented such enormous difficulties, that for the most part it was postponed as long as could be. Many thought it well to take from the Turks all their possessions except Anatolia in Asia Minor, their real home, and then free the subjects whom they had so misruled or distribute the territories among Britain, France, Italy, and Greece. But Constantinople, as always, was so mighty a prize that there was no agreement about who should have it, and some thought the best solution was to let the Turks still remain.

Business at the congress

Since the proceedings of the inner council of the Congress of Paris were largely secret, the greatest matters being settled, as at Vienna, in private meetings between the great men, the motives and procedure that prevailed are not yet entirely clear, despite many published accounts. At the opposite extremes were President Wilson and Premier Clemenceau. The American statesman stood for the high ideals and the liberal ideas which the long struggle had awakened in the hearts of the best people, but he seems to have been without great knowledge of European statesmanship and conditions and often hampered by insufficient information. He stood first of all for justice; he believed that an enduring peace could best be obtained by liberal terms; and he desired above all that the present opportunity should not be allowed to pass for establishing a league of nations, so that the governments might thereafter settle their differences by reason and justice, not war. The aged French premier was wise with the wisdom of long experience and service. Apparently he had none too great faith in a league of nations, but was willing to assist in establish-

ing such a thing provided he was able to assure the safety of France for the future. Twice in his life had France been invaded by the Germans and terribly ravaged, and now he was resolved that such stern measures should be taken that it would not probably happen again. In between were the Italian premier, with no very striking policy aside from Italy's interests, it would seem, and Mr. Lloyd George, one of the great liberal leaders of the world, who had been very near to the horror and tragedy of the conflict, who now used his matchless skill in reconciling the views of Clemenceau and Wilson.

The Treaty of Versailles, 1919

May 7, the treaty having been drawn up was presented to the German representatives at Versailles, where their leader made a dramatic declaration, not without eloquence and pathos, acknowledging Germany's defeat, but declaring that not the German people but the old system of European imperialism was responsible for the coming of the war. June 28, the treaty was signed. In a document as long as an ordinary book the affairs of Germany, Europe, and the world were settled.

The Covenant

At the beginning of the Treaty of Versailles, and a part of it, was the Covenant or agreement, of the League of Nations designed "to promote international coöperation, peace and security, through open, just and honorable international relations." The members at first were to be the powers which had won the war and were now signing the treaty, while the remaining South American states and the neutral countries of Europe were invited to join. The seat of the league was to be Geneva, and it was to act through an assembly in which each member was to have one vote, and a council consisting of members representing the greater powers. The particular business of the council was to be planning a reduction of armaments "to the lowest point consistent with safety," and especially the taking of measures for preventing war. If there were any dispute which threatened war, it must be submitted

to arbitration or inquiry by the council, and in no case should there be resort to war until three months after decision, which must be rendered within a reasonable time. If a member of the league resorted to war in defiance of these provisions, he was to be regarded as committing an act of war against all the members of the league, who should sever relations with him and take measures to enforce the covenants. It was further provided that members should abrogate all treaties inconsistent with the provisions of the league, and that all other treaties and engagements should be made public. Article X provided that "The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League." This was afterward the object of much criticism as a provision to keep things as they were, and make impossible necessary revolution and change, much as the "Holy Alliance" had tried to do a century before; but it was difficult to see how such a provision could be dispensed with, and it was hoped that proper changes would be brought about, when necessary, by voluntary action of the league or its members. Another article of vast possibilities for good, but complicated also with great difficulties, proclaimed that the members should secure fair and humane labor conditions everywhere, control traffic in women and children, in opium and other drugs, in arms and ammunition, and give just treatment to native populations. That this covenant contained defects was not to be doubted, and a large number of objections were easily raised. But it was evident that numerous objections might always be made with respect to any great constructive effort involving changes, as had been the case with the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, the great reforms of the French Revolution, the passing of the British Electoral Reform Laws, and the emancipation of the serfs in Russia.

Article X

Provisions of the Treaty of Versailles

This Covenant of the League of Nations was the first section of the treaty with Germany. By other provisions Alsace-Lorraine was ceded to France, a small district to Belgium, and to Poland a small portion of Silesia and the greater part of Posen and West Prussia. She was to renounce her agreements with Belgium and Luxemburg; she was to cede to France the coal mines of the Saar Basin, on the French frontier, in compensation for the stern and terrible destruction of the French coal mines about Lens, the district to be administered by the League of Nations for fifteen years, the people of the district to determine after that time whether they would continue under the league, or be united with Germany, or with France. Altogether Germany lost thus more than 35,000 square miles, a sixth of her former area, and perhaps 7,000,000 of her population. Whereas in 1914 she had an area of 207,000 square miles and a population of 70,000,000 by the Treaty of Versailles she was reduced to about 170,000 square miles and about 63,000,000 of people. Furthermore, East Prussia was now left separated from the remainder of Germany by a "corridor" of Polish territory running down to the Baltic Sea, while Danzig was made a free city under the guarantee of the League of Nations. In the districts surrendered to Poland and to France lay a considerable part of the coal and iron ore upon which Germany's industrial greatness had been founded, and also her military strength. It was possible thus that for generations her strength and her greatness had passed away.

Destruction of German military power

She was required to abrogate the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, which she had forced on Russia; she was to recognize the independence of Austria, of Czecho-Slovakia, and Poland, the new states which were being established; leave the fate of the Danish country once taken from Denmark to be decided by the people themselves; and destroy the fortifications of the fortress of Heligoland.

Outside of Europe she was to renounce all her possessions, her colonies, her rights in China, Siam, Liberia, and Morocco, cede her rights in Shantung to Japan, and recognize the British protectorate over Egypt. She was to abolish conscription, and limit her army to 100,000 men, her navy to a few small ships, with no submarines, her warships being surrendered to the Allies, and she was to have no airplanes for purposes of war. She was also forbidden to keep any fortresses within a zone of territory extending from her western frontier to fifty kilometers east of the Rhine.

The indemnity

The treaty declared that the war had been forced upon the Allies by German aggression. To repair the damage and losses caused to them, Germany was to pay an indemnity of which the amount was to be fixed later on, in accordance with Germany's ability to pay, and which was later fixed at various amounts. She was to replace ton for ton the merchant ships destroyed in the war, and she was to undertake the restoration of the areas devastated by her armies of invasion. The Kiel Canal and certain rivers of Germany were to be opened to free navigation.

Character of the treaty

This treaty, which according to some was fearful and impossibly severe, was viewed with dismay by others as not sufficiently binding Germany as to make impossible another aggression, and by no means giving compensation for the evil and suffering she had caused. There was no doubt that the provisions of the settlement reduced Germany to poverty and weakness; but there was also no doubt that the people of England, Italy, and France, despite all indemnities that Germany could pay, would for generations remain crushed under burdens of taxation such as they had never known before, necessary from expenditures caused by the war. The indemnities required were not plunder, but merely to make good the ruin which Germans had wrought, and the reparation thus made was very incomplete. The terms of disarmament imposed

made the beginning, it was to be hoped, of general reduction of armaments, which the people of the democratic countries had long much desired. The populations surrendered were largely Polish or Danish and partly French, and the territories now to be given up had all previously been taken away from Poland, or Denmark, or France.

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The results of the war being what they were, and the evil conditions which had come from the war being as great as they were, the peace was probably as good a one as under the circumstances was to be made. All in all, it had not been made in a spirit of hatred or revenge, nor with desire to destroy the German people.

With the allies of Germany separate treaties were made. As a result of the war Austria-Hungary had fallen to pieces. From the ruins had arisen Czecho-Slovakia, and the state

Treaty of St. Germain with Austria, 1919

of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, whose independence the Allies had acknowledged. Accordingly the Dual Monarchy had ceased to exist. With Austria and with Hungary arrangements were made which stipulated that the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk should be renounced and also rights in Egypt, Morocco, Siam, and China; the navy should be surrendered, and an indemnity paid. No states suffered more fearful fate than Austria and Hungary. Austria—once the leading state in Europe, and long the principal power in the Dual Monarchy, which in 1914 had a population of 51,000,000 and an area of 260,000 square miles—was now reduced to the petty inland state of German Austria, with 40,000 square miles and a population of 9,000,000. The splendid old capital, Vienna, was left with too little territory to support its greatness and soon became a sad, deserted, famine-stricken place, while the Austrian population, largely because of the destruction and ravages of the war, were soon in such terrible straits that they had no recourse but the charity of the world. By a later treaty Hungary likewise was bereft of much of her territory and all of her alien populations. She also was left a minor, inland state of 35,000 square miles, containing 8,000,000 people; and she was soon overrun and plundered by Rumanian armies who now took vengeance for the miseries put upon themselves two years before. With Bulgaria a treaty was made which imposed upon her an indemnity, and took from her the territories which she had seized from Servia, Rumania, and Greece, during the war, while the disposition of the territory giving her access to the Ægean was to be decided by plebiscite of the local population. Bulgaria was left, therefore, the least important of the Balkan states, in the midst of rivals who had grown great by the war. By a treaty agreed upon after much difficulty and delay, Turkey was stripped of most of her possessions. Constantinople was left nominally to the sultan, but the

Treaty of Trianon, with Hungary, 1920

Treaty of Neuilly, with Bulgaria, 1919

Treaty of Sèvres, with Turkey, 1920

41. THE BALKANS IN 1920

straits were internationalized, the European territory of the Porte was given mostly to Greece, and the Ottoman dominions in Asia were largely divided among Great Britain, France, Italy, and Greece.

Ratification of the Treaty of Versailles, 1919-20

The more important part of the work done at Paris, and submitted at Versailles, was the treaty with Germany embodying the Covenant of the League of Nations. It was signed at Versailles June 28. A few days later it was ratified by the German Republic. At the end of July it was ratified by Great Britain and by Poland; in the following month, by Belgium; and in October by the British dominions, by Italy, and by France; and at the end of December by Japan. Meanwhile the surrendered German fleet, which had been interned at Scapa Flow, north of Scotland, having been sunk by the German crews, the Supreme Council issued a protocol containing provisions for making good their loss by surrender of additional German shipping, about the acceptance of which there was considerable negotiation and some delay; but January 10, 1920, the protocol having been accepted by the German government, ratifications were exchanged at Versailles and the treaty put into effect. On this day, then, formally, the Great War came to an end.

The United States fails to ratify

In that great event the United States took no part. She had exerted enormous, if not decisive, power in the later stages of the war, and during the negotiations of Paris her president had taken a prominent part. It was due particularly to his efforts that a league of nations had been planned and the covenant embodied in the treaty. But he had been unable to secure its ratification in the United States. The assent of two thirds of the senate was necessary for the acceptance of any treaty. A considerable number of senators refused to accept the covenant without amendments which the president was unwilling to have made, and the covenant was not accepted and the treaty with Germany not sanctioned.

The war and the settlement at Paris made immense changes in European relations and altered the map of the world more than it had ever been changed at one time before. In Europe itself France became again what she had once been for such a long time: first of the Continental powers. A great number of her best men had been killed and her resources so drained that she was thoroughly exhausted, but she had now acquired such resources and such position, that if she recovered at all she would most probably have a splendid future before her, and her colonial empire remained intact. Italy had at last got the unredeemed lands, the head of the Adriatic at Trieste, and also the end of the Adriatic by establishing a protectorate over Albania. For the time, at least, this sea was entirely under her domination. Across on the other side was the new Jugo-Slavic state. The age-long enemy, Austria, had been removed from all rivalry in the future. Belgium, slightly enlarged, and enormously enhanced in prestige, at once began to recover from the disaster that had fallen upon her.

The new era: France

Italy

In central Europe the changes were still greater. The German Empire had fallen with the great disasters to its armies in eastern France. Just before the Germans surrendered there were outbreaks in many places; the *kaiser* and some of the lesser rulers fled from the country, socialist republics were hastily set up, and in Berlin and especially in Munich there were communist disorders much like those of Paris in 1871. For a moment it seemed that Germany was about to split into pieces and sink down into the chaos of ruin and disorder into which Russia had just gone before her. But the strong and solid qualities of the German people reasserted themselves; the disorders were suppressed; the separatist movements were checked; and in place of the German Empire there presently appeared a federation of republics much like the United States of America, except that constitution and

End of the German Empire, 1918

organization were socialized, less, indeed, than in Russia, but more thoroughly than anywhere else in the world. In the midst of national disorganization and disaster, liable for an indemnity of vast and indefinite amount, this government maintained itself with increasing difficulty. It probably had the support of most of the German people for the time, but it was constantly threatened on the one side by reactionaries and *junkers*, who hoped to see the older forms soon restored, and on the other by radicals and "Spartacides," or extreme communists, who wanted a complete revolution, more like the one in Russia.

Position of the German Republic

The German state was greatly reduced in power and reputation; its old industrial prosperity was gone, its commerce had vanished, its colonies were completely lost. Most of its territory it still retained, but its immensely important districts on the upper Rhine and in Posen were gone, and with them vast stores of iron ore and coal. If the parts of the Republic remained together through the lean and hard years to come, there was the hope that Germany later on might recover and grow great once more, and, next to France, be the greatest Continental power; but it would be a generation before one could be sure of this.

Austria and Hungary

For the old Dual Monarchy there was no hope of a better day. In what had been the realm of Austria-Hungary the servants of other days had become masters, and set up for themselves. In the north was Czecho-Slovakia, with its capital at Prague, apparently with a great industrial future before it. To the east a new Poland had appeared, which might later be one of the great European states if only it could live now through the period of death-like weakness in which war and famine had left it. To the south on the western side was the state of the once-despised South Slavs, with Italy holding the Adriatic; while to the south on the eastern side was the greater Rumania, which statesmen had so often dreamed of,

doubled in size by having taken Transylvania from the Magyars. In the midst of these newcomers were Hungary, poor, and surrounded, without access to the sea, and with uncertain future, and Austria, poor and weak, and similarly cut off, having, perhaps, as her greatest hope, future incorporation with Germany.

42. JUGO-SLAVIA

Changes in eastern Europe: Russia

The greatest changes of all had taken place in eastern Europe. Not only had Russia broken to pieces, but she had gone down in a revolution fundamental and sweeping. For the time she ceased to be one of the great powers of the world. All the outlying parts had dropped off: Finland, the Baltic Provinces, Poland, Bessarabia, the Ukraine, the Caucasus, and a great part of Siberia. It might be that all of these countries would later on be brought together in a great federation; but it might

also be that the powerful Russia of the days before the war was not to appear again.

The Slavs

None the less, the standing of the Slavic peoples in Europe had been for the time improved. If on the one hand the Russian Empire had broken to pieces, yet the fragments had set up autonomous governments, and on the other hand the Slavs of central Europe, so long held by German masters, had got their freedom at last. Whether Poland, lying between bolshevist Russia, and a vengeful Germany, could maintain herself, remained to be seen. The fate of Czecho-Slovakia also lay hidden in the future. The new state of the South Slavs would certainly encounter most difficult problems in holding together such elements as the Serbs, the Croats, and the Slovenes. None the less Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, and also Rumania were now established as considerable states, and the prospects of the West and the South Slavs were brighter than they had been for five hundred years.

Africa and Asia

Africa had fallen practically into the hands of Britain and France. In Asia all the northern part still belonged to the Russians, but the far more important southern part, all of it from Arabia to Malaysia, was now under the control of Great Britain. In the East almost all the important strategic positions and approaches to China were in the hands of Japan.

The dominant powers

For a chance to be one of the great world empires Germany had struck in 1914, and her defeat in 1918 had for the present definitively taken from her the possibility of obtaining it. Russia, if she recovered, might be one of the greatest, as might Japan if she continued her wonderful expansion and success, and succeeded in her aggressions on the mainland. But the two powers which now seemed to hold first place were the British Empire and the United States. In her large population, intelligent and prosperous, in her infinite wealth, her immense re-

sources, the United States held unrivalled position. But more imposing, though intrinsically less strong, was the position of the British Empire. She controlled most of Africa, and a great part of Asia; her colonies, her naval stations, her strategic positions were everywhere; she was mistress of the seas, and held the approaches to the best routes, the entrance to the Mediterranean and all the environs of Suez. Together the British Empire and the United States held assured control of the seas, and had in their keeping so great a part of all the world's wealth and resources, so large a part of all of the earth's coal and iron, tin and copper and gold, so much of its meat and wheat and corn, that for the present to a great extent the destiny of the world was in their keeping. Fortunate it might seem that such unparalleled greatness and wealth had come to the peoples which, notwithstanding many errors and mistakes, had most cherished democracy, humanity, and free development. The best of the English-speaking peoples might well be humble in contemplation of the mighty prospect before them. So it appeared in 1920.

Crushing debt

But however bright might seem the future of the most fortunate, the outlook of most of the European nations, even their present, was dark indeed. Seldom had there been so much desolation and waste, so much misery and woe. The total cost of the war, variously estimated, had been, perhaps, at least $200,000,000,000, of which nearly two thirds had been the cost to the Allies. Such vast expenditures in four years' time could in no wise be met out of income, and the funds had been raised only in small part through taxation. Great Britain and afterward the United States had raised through taxes the greatest sums ever so obtained in the history of mankind; but France and Italy, Austria-Hungary, and especially the German Empire, had issued repeated loans, hoping to make the defeated enemy pay sufficient indemnity to cover them

later on. Had the war been short, it is possible that the victor might have been able to do this, but when the long struggle was over it was evident that the ruined Central Powers had not remaining sufficient substance to make good the damage they had wrought and then reimburse to the victors the expenditures entailed by the war. Hence the present generation found itself burdened with a terrible, crushing mortgage which might be repudiated, which might be paid off after a great many years of economy and toil, which might remain indefinitely as a veritable millstone about the necks of weaker peoples in the future. In 1914 the national debt of France was about six billion dollars; after the war it was about thirty-three billion, or more than half of her national wealth. The debt of Great Britain had risen from more than three billion dollars to about forty billion. The financial position of Germany and of Austria was so utterly desperate that their future salvation could be hoped for rather than understood. Hard work, meager living, crushing taxes alone could get rid of these debts.

Heritage of woe

More terrible than the waste and the heritage of debt was the loss of life and happiness and health which the war had brought. The number of men killed was estimated at 7,500,000, and the total casualties of the struggle at 33,000,000. Horrible had been the losses of Germany and Russia, and the very flower of the manhood of France was gone. For a generation it would be a question whether France or Servia or Poland could ever recover, and during all this time from the Highlands of Scotland to the great plain of Russia travellers would see mutilated or weakened men dragging out the course of their lives. Millions of children were orphans, millions of women widows. To other millions of women it would seem that a curse was upon the earth in the time that they lived, for many could never expect to marry or hope to be mothers of children.

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CHAPTER XXV

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

. . . in the most advanced countries the following will be pretty generally applicable: 1. Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes. . . . 3. Abolition of all right of inheritance. . . . 6. Centralisation of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the State . . . 8. Equal liability of all to labour. . . .

KARL MARX and FRIEDRICH ENGELS, *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (1848).

Je suis un partisan convaincu de l'*égalité économique et sociale* . . . je pense que l'égalité doit s'établir dans le monde par l'organisation spontanée du travail et de la propriété collective des associations productrices librement organisées et fédéralisées dans les communes, et par la fédération tout aussi spontanée des communes, mais non par l'action suprême et tutélaire de l'État.

MIKHAIL BAKUNIN, *Préambule pour la Seconde Livraison de L'Empire Knouto-Germanique* (1871).

We are about to ask how it is possible to conceive the transformation of the men of to-day into the free producers of to-morrow working in manufactories where there are no masters. . . *violence enlightened by the idea of the general strike* . . . .

GEORGES SOREL, *Reflections on Violence* (trans. 1914.)

Russia is declared to be a Republic of Soviets of Workmen's, Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies. All the power in the centre and in the provinces belongs to these Soviets.

. . . private ownership of land is abolished, and the whole land fund is declared common national property and transferred to the laborers without compensation. Inheritance, whether by law or by will, is abolished.

Decrees of the Soviet Government of Russia, 1917.

Progress of socialism in Europe

AFTER the middle of the nineteenth century the progress of socialism in Europe was increasingly rapid. It was spread abroad by the powerful writings of Karl Marx,

by the teachings of his associate Engels, and by the labors of disciples, notable among whom was the brilliant Ferdinand Lassalle in Germany. In 1871 it received a setback in the overthrow of the *Commune* of Paris, which Marx had hoped would succeed. Moreover, the socialists, in the presence of their own vast doctrines, began to split up into different creeds, and by the beginning of the twentieth century it was often difficult for outsiders and even for adherents to determine just what socialism meant. None the less, meanwhile it continued to go forward, especially in Germany and in France.

Failure of the Paris Commune

Other social doctrines: anarchism

In the course of this time other social doctrines had been preached, of which the more important made much progress. Some of them developed alongside of socialism or even in opposition to it; others were the outgrowth or extension of socialism itself. About the time when Marx began doing his work a Frenchman, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, revived and extended the teachings of predecessors in France, that government interfered with the liberties and thwarted the happiness of most of the people, and that property was acquired by plundering the mass of the people. His most famous work, *Qu'est-ce que la Propriété ?* (What is Property?), published in 1840, declared that property was theft. He believed that man's happiness could best be obtained under anarchism, absence of government and governmental interference. Like many others who have taught extreme and subversive doctrines, Proudhon was a theorist, kindly and humane; but his doctrines were taken up by bolder and more violent persons, who undertook to accomplish great reforms by getting rid of existing governments, and who strove to destroy governments by murdering their principal officials. Under Mikhail Bakunin, a Russian, and his followers, anarchism spread horror and dread throughout Europe. In the course of a single generation a tsar of Russia, an empress of Austria, a king of Italy, a president

Mikhail Bakunin

of France, a premier of Spain, and even a president of the United States, fell victims to anarchist assassins.

Anarchism and socialism

Marx was almost from the first bitterly opposed to the teachings of Proudhon; and socialism and anarchism have continued to be widely separate, embodying very different theories of organization. The anarchists would destroy all authority above, so as to establish complete and extreme individual freedom. The ideal of the socialists was that the state, reorganized, should control all collectively or for the common welfare of all the people. Upon the great body of men anarchism never had more effect than to excite wondering curiosity or terror; and it never did much to affect socialist theories or methods.

Discontent with the progress of socialism

But socialism was affected by a radical movement from within. In the course of the half century that passed after the time when Louis Blanc and Karl Marx began teaching, socialism gained in greatness and importance, and many of the more moderate reforms advocated by its adherents were slowly obtained. Great and obvious evils remained, however, some of which were not remedied because it was not known how to amend them. During this period many of the more moderate and practical socialists abandoned their extremer theories and took part in the politics of the states where they lived, hoping thus to better conditions by sustained and constructive effort. But it was obvious that after two generations many of the things foretold by socialist leaders had not come to pass, and slight prospect was seen of bringing them about as things for the most part were then going. Accordingly, as is ever the case, the bolder, the rasher, the more fiery and impatient, proclaimed that existing methods never could effect fundamental betterment, and that the important changes which socialists desired must be obtained by very different devices.

Syndicalism

In France, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, appeared leaders who proclaimed that the great goal of

"Direct action" by trade unions

socialism was to be reached not through slow, patient work and persuasion but through violence and force; not through efforts in legislatures, which were the creations of the middle classes, who always controlled them, but through direct action of the workers themselves. As parliaments had been devised by the middle class, so had the working people created an institution peculiarly their own, the trade union, which they really controlled, and which was their particular means of bringing desired changes to pass. The new movement was soon known as *syndicalism*, from *syndicat* (trade union). It spread rapidly into other countries, and across the ocean into Canada and the United States, where its adherents styled themselves Industrial Workers of the World (I. W. W.).

Objects of syndicalism

Syndicalists proposed to render the workingmen's unions more powerful by making them larger and more comprehensive. They would organize into one big union all the workers employed in a single industry, and then make powerful alliance of the large groups. In time of need workers who resisted their employers could be supported by their brethren in gigantic strikes, or even general strikes, which would paralyze the transportation and industrial life of the nation. It was in France that these ideas were most strikingly carried out, though they were tried also in Russia and England. In the years 1906–9 several efforts, only partly successful, were made by French workers to paralyze opposition by means of great strikes, and in 1910 an effort was made to stop all railway traffic. But the railway strike failed when the government mobilized the strikers for military service on the railways, thus putting them in effect under martial law; and on other occasions not all the workingmen joined, and many citizen volunteers took the place of the strikers.

Unceasing industrial warfare

Syndicalist workmen were taught that there must be no real peace even in the time when no strikes were going on, but that capitalism must be damaged and diminished by

secret, continual destruction; that laborers must do less work than they were paid for, and that they must injure the product and hurt the machinery whenever they could. Since on one occasion, it is said, certain French workmen beginning a strike had thrown their wooden shoes (*sabots*) into the machinery to ruin it, this destruction was known as *sabotage*.

Socialism and syndicalism

The extreme views and often the violence of the syndicalists not only awakened great apprehension wherever they made themselves known, but aroused suspicion among some of the socialists themselves. Syndicalism really proposed to bring about some of the most important reforms which socialists had originally taught; but syndicalist methods and the results they strove for were very different from what many of the socialists now supported. In the early years of the twentieth century the syndicalist leaders in Liverpool, in Dublin, in Paris, in Barcelona, and elsewhere, hoped to bring about the suppression of capitalism and the taking over by workmen of property and the means of production, so that the railways, factories, and mines should be owned and managed by the laborers for their own profit and advantage. Some of them hoped for a new organization of the state, which should be but a group of industries or unions of workers, controlled completely by the laborers within them. All this, if necessary, should be done by revolution and force.

Socialism in the German Empire

In Germany socialism had been carried forward by Ferdinand Lassalle, disciple of Marx and son of a wealthy Jewish merchant. Lacking the profound mind and intellectual reach of his master, he nevertheless possessed such brilliancy and charm that he made friends of officials like Bismarck and attracted a large following among the workmen of his country. In 1863 he founded the General Workingmen's Association. Before much came of it he was killed in a duel, but in 1869 the Social Democratic Party was founded by Wilhelm Liebknecht and August

Bebel. Socialists were regarded with suspicion and dislike by the government of the new German Empire, stern laws were passed against them, and presently some of the things they demanded were done by the state itself with the hope of lessening their influence and weakening their power. Nevertheless, their numbers grew rapidly until at last they had the largest following of any party in the country, though many who were not socialists, but merely liberals and moderates, voted with them. Shortly after the Social Democratic Party was founded it received more than 100,000 votes; in 1912 it had more than 4,000,000. The party was ably led by Bebel, who displayed great skill in the *reichstag*, and became one of the striking orators of his age. For a long time it could do no more than be a party of opposition and protest; but after the fall of the German Empire at the end of the Great War a German republic was established, partly upon a socialist plan.

In Austria-Hungary

In Austria-Hungary also socialism made some progress; but not till the beginning of the twentieth century did a socialist political party attain any importance there. This was partly because Austria and Hungary, with respect to industrial development, lagged behind their neighbors to the north and the west, and partly because in no other great state was the population less homogeneous, more divided by race and religion.

In France

In France also socialism had had rapid growth, though with more violent upheavals, which were followed by reaction and repression, so that development was greatly retarded. A socialist movement in 1848 had led to a fierce uprising in Paris, which was quelled after terrible fighting. The capture of Paris by the Germans in 1871 was almost immediately followed by the establishment there of a *commune*, which, had it been maintained, would have been a socialist community only loosely connected with the rest of France. But against it the conservative people and the peasants of the rural districts rose, and

Overthrow of the *Commune*, 1871

Paris was again captured after a siege more terrible than that endured at the hands of the Germans. There was much destruction of property and life, followed by great and merciless vengeance. For a time the socialists were completely crushed, and socialism was entirely discredited in the eyes of most of the people of France. But after a while communists who had been sent into exile were allowed to return, and gradually socialism gained strength again. For some time French socialists were divided into parties, especially under Jules Guesde, who in Germany had studied the Social Democratic organization, and who was a follower of Marx, and under Jean Jaurès, the greatest and most accomplished orator of his time, who advocated gradually socializing the means of production. In 1904 the different factions were united, and ten years later the French Socialist Party received 1,500,000 votes. In France socialism was supplemented and extended by the syndicalist doctrines, which spread outward to neighboring countries, especially to Spain, to Italy, to Great Britain, and to Ireland. In Belgium, Italy, and in Spain socialist and syndicalist doctrines had considerable effect and got much attention.

In Great Britain

In Great Britain, where the Industrial Revolution had begun and attained greatest growth, where Robert Owen and his associates had taught some of the first of the socialist doctrines, and where Marx had spent the best of the years of his life, socialism developed more slowly than in Germany or France. This was due very largely to the temperament of the British people, long accustomed to slow change and improvement, and always distrustful of the usefulness of theories and general ideas. For more than a generation in the British Isles socialism made scarcely any progress. In 1880 William Morris, the poet, and H. M. Hyndman, followers of the teachings of Marx, organized the Social Democratic Federation, which drew no large following, however. Three years later the Fabian

The Fabian Society

Society was founded by a group of intellectual leaders, including the well-known writers on economic history, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, the Anglo-Irish dramatist, G. B. Shaw, and the prolific minor novelist, H. G. Wells. They proposed to follow the "Fabian" policy of gradually getting political parties to accept and carry through social reforms. Presently socialism began to affect the labor organizations, and in 1893 a trade-union leader organized the Independent Labor Party, whose members hoped that socialism might be brought to prevail in their country. By 1914 British socialists, increasingly numerous and active, were advocating as a matter of course the abolition of capitalism and wages, the taking over by the state of the great industries, like mining and transportation, and the control of the lesser ones by the workers themselves. During the time of the Great War, confronted with the immense danger that threatened the destruction of Great Britain and the British Empire, these doctrines, though much talked of and written about, were by most of the workingmen of Britain thrust away into the background.

Growth of British socialism after 1918

But after the victory, when the enemy was powerless, in the midst of the want and discontent that followed the destructive conflict, socialism and syndicalism seemed to take possession of a greater part of the population than ever before. Accordingly, some observers declared that the Labor Party would in the future get control of the government and attempt to reform the state by the application of socialistic ideas. And there were not wanting those who affirmed that what was called bolshevism had much more chance of being established in Great Britain, where the majority of the inhabitants were an industrial proletariat, than in a country like Russia, where almost all the people were peasants, uneducated and not progressive. It was very probable, however, that here as elsewhere, what seemed like powerful tendency toward sweeping social changes was to a considerable

extent merely the unrest and the ferment following inevitably in the wake of the war.

In Russia

In Russia, likewise, socialist doctrines had been taught, but for a long time they had seemed to be of slight importance there, since in Russia there was little industrialism. Even after the Russian industrial revolution had done its work, the overwhelming body of the people continued to be agricultural workers, isolated, uneducated, conservative, and moved only by desire to obtain a larger share of the agricultural lands. Nevertheless, it was in Russia that the most complete and thorough-going experiment in socialism was tried. During the misery and confusion which overwhelmed that country in the latter part of the Great War, the old system completely collapsed. In 1917, after a revolution had overthrown the old government, certain socialists, led by Nicolai Lenin and Leon Trotzky, forming a group called the *Bolsheviki*, seized power and maintained themselves. They then decreed some of the sweeping changes which Marx had long before hoped would come to pass. Private property and inheritance were abolished; land, capital, transportation were nationalized; and it was decreed that all people should work. By this time all over the world radical leaders were loudly proclaiming that socialism was the hope of the future, and that bolshevism was destined shortly to overthrow what they called the outworn systems. For the moment it appeared to many that the Russian Revolution was the most striking event since 1793, and that bolshevism held untold possibilities for good or for evil in the future. But it is probable that this revolution in Russia was less the result of the advance and the power of socialism than of the destruction, the uncertainty, and the general unrest, which proceeded from the War of the Nations.

Application of the doctrines of Marx in Russia

Unrest of the period of the war

Perhaps no great struggle ever produced such mighty results in so short a time as the war which began in 1914. The conflict lasted little more than four years, but in that

Destruction resulting from the Great War

time the most powerful state in Europe, the German Empire, was overthrown, Austria-Hungary was broken to pieces beyond all hope of redemption, and the Russian Empire not only broke into pieces, but was the scene of a revolution more striking than any since that which long before had transformed France and Europe. The consequences and changes of the cataclysm are not to be estimated yet. But nowhere else in Europe was the old order so completely altered as in Russia.

Russia and the Great War

At the beginning of the Great War the Russian armies had much success, utterly defeating the Austrians; but their own losses were heavy, especially against the Germans; and after a while, as their military material was exhausted, they were forced to carry on the struggle with prodigal and hideous sacrifice of their men. In 1915 the Teutonic allies defeated them completely, drove them from the territory which they had occupied, and conquering Poland and part of the Baltic Provinces, drove deep into Russia itself. From this disaster the Russians never recovered. It was now seen that a great agricultural state, not well organized, could sustain no long conflict with an industrial state well organized for war and well equipped. Russian war supplies were exhausted; the transportation system was breaking down; vast numbers of men had been killed or wounded; the country was filled with miserable refugees from provinces taken by the foe. It is true that a great national enthusiasm had been aroused at the beginning of the conflict. Russians desired to help their kinsmen in Servia, and there was an outburst against all things German, the old name of the capital, St. Petersburg, being changed to Petrograd, the Slavic equivalent. But many of the officials and reactionaries had no desire to continue the war, and plotted to make peace with Germany as soon as they could. They feared that a continuance of the disastrous conflict would destroy their old privileges and position, and not a few of them

Reactionaries plan to withdraw from the war

were of German sympathy or extraction. But the liberals in the *duma* steadily supported the war, believing that only with its triumphant conclusion could they obtain the changes which they hoped for; and the local *zemstvos* did excellent work in relieving distress and providing material of war. In 1916 the Russians made a last great effort with much success, but at enormous cost; and after this they could do no more. By the end of the year the nation was almost completely exhausted; the inefficient government had nearly broken down, and thought only of making peace in time to save itself; and the people had suffered almost to the limit of endurance.

Russian liberals

The end came with a suddenness that surprised the world. The poorer people in Petrograd were starving, and hunger now drove them to revolution, as once it had driven the rabble of Paris. Early in March, 1917, bread riots began, which increased until the whole city was filled with fighting and confusion, during which the troops deserted the government and went over to the mobs. The opposition in the *duma* was plotting to overthrow the government at this very time; and the *duma* was now suspended. The tsar acted with much weakness and indecision and the capital was lost. The other great cities of the empire joined the revolution, and a part of the *duma* now instituted a provisional government of the country. The abdication of the tsar was demanded. March 15, Nicholas II, "Emperor of all the Russias," laid down his power, and the dynasty of the Romanovs came to an end.

Beginning of the Russian Revolution, 1917

As after events were to show this was one of the momentous events in the history of Europe. For ages autocracy had maintained itself in eastern Europe. For a thousand years at Constantinople the Byzantine emperors had ruled absolutely, heads of church and state, and from their empire some civilization had gone up through the Balkans, and also into south Russia. Of this civilization the Russians had been principal heirs, and their government and

Fall of the tsardom

A backward government and a lowly people

their religion had in the course of centuries been spread over half of Europe. Under the Russian tsars lived a fourth part of all the white people in the world. While most of the other white people in Europe and the Americas had developed self-government and gone forward in material civilization, the Slavs had lagged far behind. Now, after supporting the old system for a long time or else passively enduring its evils, they suddenly overthrew it, and, as was evidenced very soon, they overthrew it completely. Everywhere was the Russian Revolution of 1917 hailed as a great advancement for democracy, and rash expectations were cherished of the benefits immediately to follow.

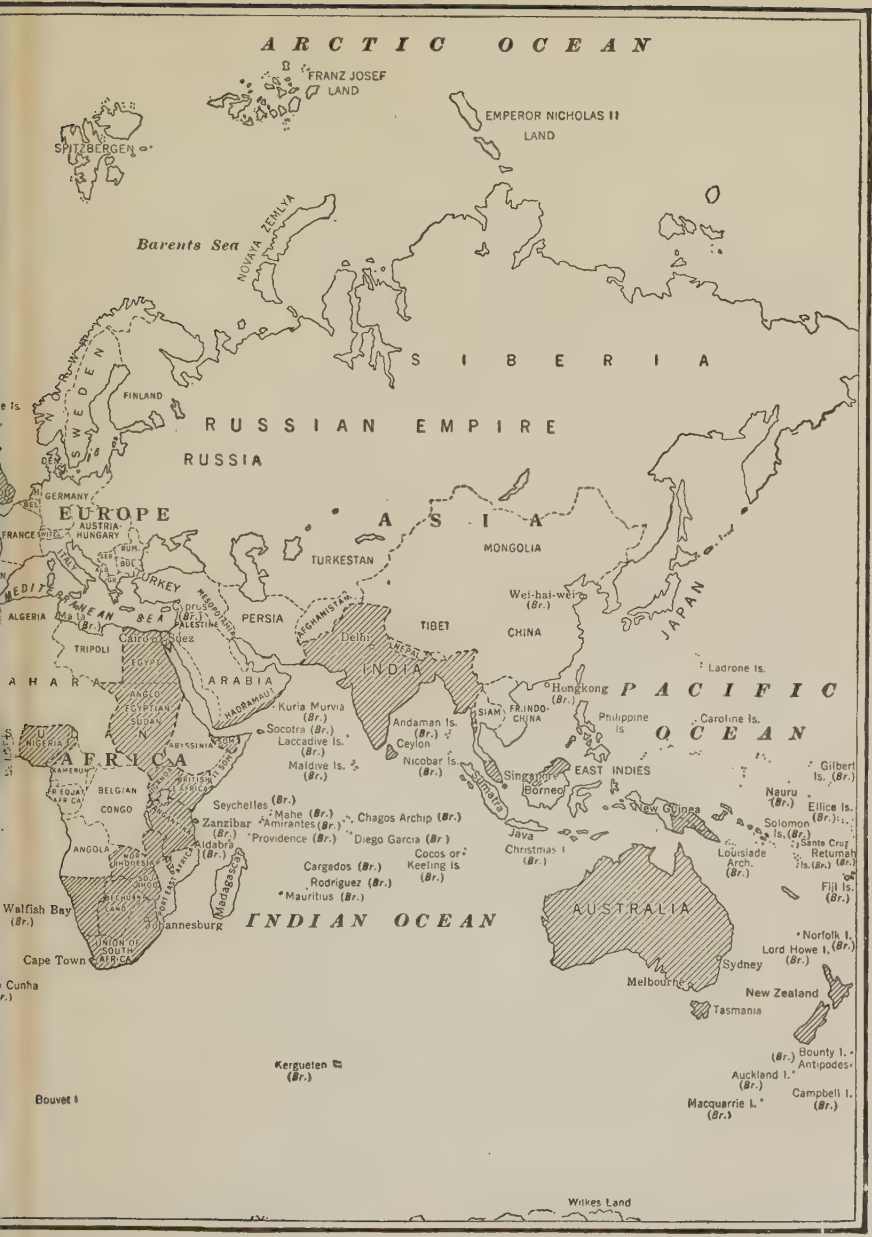
First stage: attempted moderate reforms

The provisional government attempted to effect liberal reform, set up a constitutional government after the model of the states of western Europe, restore order, and continue a vigorous prosecution of the war. This government was in the hands of the Constitutional Democrats led by Prince Lvov, and by Miliukov, assisted by Kerensky, a moderate socialist leader. An assembly was to be called to draw up a new constitution. Meanwhile, a general amnesty was proclaimed for political offenders, and freedom of speech was announced, and universal suffrage, for both men and women.

Extreme Russian socialists: the *Bolsheviki*

But the liberal leaders were by no means able to control the revolution now started. The extremists and radicals in both city and country joined forces, and soon proved to be the most powerful and aggressive body in the country. They began to be known as the *Bolsheviki*. Twelve years before, at the time of the earlier revolution, the Social Democratic Party of the industrial workers had split into two parts, a moderate minority, the *Mensheviki* (Russian *menshe*, less) and the majority of radicals, led by Lenin, the *Bolsheviki* (Russian *bolshe*, more). Now in 1917 the more radical peasants of the Social Revolutionary Party combined with the radical socialists of the cities,

ARCTIC OCEAN
Crocker Land
Grant Land
Baffin Bay
GREENLAND
Labrador
ALASKA
Hudson Bay
DOMINION OF CANADA
NORTH AMERICA
Esquimalt
Ottawa
St. Johns
Halifax
UNITED STATES
ATLANTIC
PACIFIC
Bermudas (Br.)
Gulf of Mexico
Bahamas
Calcos Is. (Br.)
WEST INDIES
Cuba
Jamaica
Barbuda
Antigua
Dominica
St. Lucia
Barbados
Trinidad
Mexico
CARIBBEAN SEA
Cape Verde Is
CENTRAL AMERICA
Georgetown
Hawaiian Is.
Washington I. (Br.)
Fanning I. (Br.)
Christmas I. (Br.)
Phoenix Is.
Jarvis I. (Br.)
Starbuck I. (Br.)
Tokelau or Union Is. (Br.)
Dudoza I. (Br.)
Penrhyn I. (Br.)
Marquesas Is.
Danger I. (Br.)
Nassau I. (Br.)
Rokahanga I. (Br.)
Caroline I. (Br.)
Manihiki Is. (Br.)
Suwarow I. (Br.)
Samoa or Navigator Is.
Society Is. (Br.)
Tuamotu or Low Archipelago
Savage I. (Br.)
Hervey or Y.
Tonga or Friendly Is. (Br.)
Rarotonga (Br.)
Cook Is.
Tubual or Austral Is (Br.)
Ducie I. (Br.)
Oparo I. (Br.)
Pitcairn I. (Br.)
Sala-y-Gomez
Easter I.
Galapagos Is. (Br.)
SOUTH AMERICA
OCEAN
Chatham Is. (Br.)
Falkland Is (Br.)
South Ge
Dougherty
South Shetlands (Br.)
South Orkneys (Br.)
Graham Land
(Br.) British Empire
GENERAL DRAFTING CO INC. N Y



H EMPIRE IN 1920

desiring a far more complete revolution than they thought had yet been attained, and caring less for mere political change than thorough social alteration. To bring this about they wished to end the war at once. Their leaders taught that the Great War had been brought about by capitalists and imperialists of all the countries alike, all of whom had as their chief interest the exploitation of the masses. Everywhere the proletariat and the mass of the people must compel the making of peace, after which the people must overthrow the upper class and the selfish *bourgeoisie* and capitalists, then usher in the great reforms of the socialists, which would bring real freedom to the masses of the world.

Social and economic alteration desired

Such were the *Bolsheviki*. Their teachings were not new, but to many of the hungry, disheartened, suffering people of Russia, most of whom had no political experience whatever, these doctrines came as a great new message or else made no difference whatever. All over the world the dislocation caused by the war had produced a stirring and unrest, and a willingness of men to hearken to strange revolutionary doctrines. The teachings of the *Bolsheviki* began to spread over the country, everywhere undermining the existing order. The Germans soon understood how greatly Russia would be weakened by this. So they helped some of the Russian extremists to return to their country, and assisted them as much as they could. The Russian soldiers holding the east front against the Germans were told that they need not obey their officers, and all discipline was soon at an end. They were likewise told that the land was being divided up among the people, and they, deserting to get their share, the Russian armies melted away. The socialists demanded a "democratic" peace with "no annexations and no indemnities." German soldiers fraternized with the Russians, declaring that they also desired this, and military operations in the east came nearly to an end.

The Germans and the *Bolsheviki*

"No annexations and no indemnities"

Second stage: the *Bolsheviki* get control

Meanwhile, a provisional government of liberals was trying to rule the country and continue the war. In many places, however, the radicals took affairs into their own hands, the people choosing *soviets* (councils) of delegates of the soldiers, sailors, or workingmen. The most powerful and important was the *soviet* at Petrograd, which regarded itself as representing, in effect, the radicals of the country. In every way possible it opposed the provisional government, and was determined to get control of the government itself. It was not long before Miliukov and Prince Lvov lost power and Kerensky became the head of affairs; but he, who had formerly seemed a radical, was soon left far behind in the violent progress of the revolution. He strove valiantly to restore the armies, but the Germans completely routed the Russians and in September they captured Riga. Lenin, the bolshevik leader, was now in the country, as was Trotzky who had also taken part in the Revolution of 1905. Boldly and with great energy and skill they urged the workmen to overthrow the old system completely. More and more did disorder and anarchy increase as the old system went down in ruin, as Kerensky and other moderates lost hold, and as the *Bolsheviki* took their place. In November the garrison of Petrograd went over to them and Kerensky fled from the city. He strove to recover his power but was defeated, and fled from the country. Meanwhile, the *Bolsheviki* gained Moscow, Kiev, and other places, fighting fiercely, and putting down their enemies with iron hand.

Lenin and Trotzky

The *Bolsheviki* accept the Peace of Brest-Litovsk

The Russian Revolution now entered upon another phase. The *Bolsheviki* abandoned the Allies, and began negotiations for a separate peace. The Germans, who had no more to gain by pretended friendship, threw off the mask, and at Brest-Litovsk, in March, 1918, compelled the Russian leaders to agree to a treaty of peace, which undid the work of Russian expansion and development for the past two hundred years, and broke the Russian Empire

into fragments. Finland, Poland, the Baltic Provinces, the Ukraine, were to be abandoned along with other territory, and Russia, paying a large indemnity, was to be left cut off almost entirely from the sea, in economic subservience to the German Empire. Germany now was completely victorious in the east. Lenin and Trotzky regarded all this without great concern. They had no desire for unwilling peoples to be held subject by Russia, and they believed that bolshevism among the German masses would soon overthrow German autocracy also. They turned with greater interest to domestic problems, which always they had most at heart.

The Russian Empire in fragments

They attempted to set up a political organization different from what existed in other countries. Lenin wished Russia to be a republic in which political power would be vested in *soviets* or councils of workmen, soldiers, or peasants. The state was to be socialized, taking over banks, railways, industrial enterprises, and land, to nationalize them and make them the property of all of the people. A series of decrees was issued to effect these designs, and to abolish inheritance and private ownership of property. Actually, while many changes were made, some of them in theory at least having much merit, a great part of the programme soon broke down. The peasants had already seized most of the land and divided it, and were little disposed to see it taken away and made the property of the nation. The new order in Russia was regarded with much suspicion elsewhere. The bolshevists announced their intention of overthrowing capitalism and the *bourgeoisie* in all countries; hence the Allies were hostile. Disorders broke out and numerous counter-revolutionary movements, in the course of which there were great cruelty and slaughter, and much destruction of property. Apparently Russia sank lower and lower in economic demoralization and confusion, but Lenin and Trotzky, who paid little heed now to most of the *soviets*,

The bolshevist system in Russia

Disorder and destruction

ruthlessly crushed all resistance. Great numbers of the upper classes and more intelligent people were slaughtered, and in 1918 the tsar was murdered miserably at Ekaterinburg in the Ural Mountains.

Counter-revolutionary movements

In the autumn of 1918 Germany and Austria, exhausted by the length of the struggle, weakened by the influence of bolshevism in the east, and overwhelmed by their foes in the west, abandoned the contest and surrendered. But the end of the Great War brought no peace for Russia. By most of the people in the rest of the world the bolshevists were regarded with fear and suspicion, and Russia was not permitted to have communication with other countries. In the next two years several great counter-revolutionary movements were organized. In Siberia Admiral Kolchak, in south Russia General Denikin, along the Baltic General Yudenitch, all prepared to march upon the center of the country and overthrow bolshevist rule. At one time they all seemed near to considerable success, but by the end of 1919 Lenin and Trotzky were completely triumphant. Somewhat later the Poles, who believed that their new state was gravely threatened by bolshevist activities, suddenly invaded Russia and drove on until their armies captured Kiev. But the Russian people, whatever their attitude toward bolshevism and a socialist government might be, were filled with strong national feeling against their old enemies the Poles. They rallied to the support of Lenin's government, drove the invader out of Russia, pressed on across Polish territory and were stopped only at the gates of Warsaw. There they were held and defeated. While the tide of war was flowing and ebbing across this wasted country, and while Poland and Russia were both being reduced to the last stages of exhaustion, the relics of Denikin's forces, assisted by the British and the French, took refuge in the Crimea, and, under the leadership of General Wrangel, rapidly gained new strength. During such time as the Poles and the

War with Poland

bolshevist armies were engaged in fighting each other Wrangel's forces moved north from their stronghold and for a moment seemed to have some chance of success. But no sooner had the Poles and the Russians made peace than the *soviet* forces were marched to the south, the narrow neck of the Crimean Peninsula was forced, and before the end of 1920 the counter-revolutionary movement had been everywhere utterly crushed.

All opposition crushed

Much obscurity continued to surround these events. It would seem that the efforts of Kolchak and Denikin, which were supported by the Allied governments, were in Russia regarded to some extent as outside aggression; and that the Russian people, with national spirit aroused, rallied to support the government in power, even though many of them had as little love for Lenin and his system in 1919 as some Frenchmen in 1793 had for Robespierre and a French republic. It is probable, moreover, that some of the strongest supporters of the counter-revolutionary leaders were members of the upper classes and dispossessed landowners, who hoped that the overthrow of bolshevism would make possible a return of the privileges and possessions they had lost. Accordingly, a great number of Russian peasants rallied under the *Bolsheviki* to defeat reaction. In 1920, therefore, it seemed that bolshevism had established itself firmly, for the time being, in Russia.

Causes of the success of the *Bolsheviki*

No event for a hundred years had aroused such strong feeling as this Russian Revolution, and such diverse opinions arose concerning it and such conflicting information that it was almost impossible to find out the truth. It would appear that the *Bolsheviki* were only a small minority, perhaps not more than 600,000 in a population of 150,000,000. They succeeded because they acted with the most vigor and determination in a time of distress and confusion. They were supported partly by Russian national spirit and partly by those who dreaded

The Russian people desire agrarian reform

reaction. Furthermore, they maintained themselves by means of a reign of terror, and also because they held the chief cities and such railway facilities as remained. But it seemed probable that their extreme socialistic programme was a failure, and that they were doomed to fall. Most of the Russian peasants had no knowledge of socialism and no desire for it, and in most of the country bolshevism never took root. Nevertheless, it was certain that the old Russia was gone, even as the old France was gone by 1795. Perhaps later on, after exceeding misery and exhaustion, the Russians, without autocracy and with the lands in possession of the people, would go forward in the construction of a new and better state, more nearly on the model of the great democracies elsewhere.

Prospect of the future

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CHAPTER XXVI

PROBLEMS AFTER THE WAR

Thus the year ended with a situation full of ominous uncertainty. In the occupied Rhineland, as in the rest of Germany, the . . . people saw only a plan for the piecemeal detachment of the Rhineland from the mother country, after the manner of Louis XIV. . . .

The Annual Register . . . for the Year 1922, p. 169.

We do not . . . attempt any indictment of what is commonly known as the Capitalist System . . . at the present moment, that system, as a coherent whole, has demonstrably broken down. From one end of the civilised world to the other it has, at least among the young generation that is growing up, lost its moral authority. Whole nations have avowedly rejected it as a basis of their social and economic structure. . . .

Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *A Constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain*, introduction, p. xi.

Il Fascismo, sorto per ristabilire l'ordine sociale sconvolto dalla predicazione leninista, rappresenta dunque il dinamismo ascensionale della Nazione muovente verso i suoi legittimi destini di gloria e di vittoria nella Pace e nel Lavoro.

Pietro Gorgolini, *Il Fascismo nella Vita Italiana* (1922), p. 255.

The post-war era

The period of the Great War and the years that followed were a time of tumult, distraction, suffering such as for a hundred years men had not known. The era after the peace brought almost as much of sadness and doubt as the time of the conflict itself. Everywhere uncertainty, instability, scarcity, discontent. From the unparalleled destruction of the war, poverty and lack of materials and supplies prevailed in most parts of Europe. Money was cheap and where most plentiful it had least value. Everywhere prices were high and living difficult to make. The

Activity followed by exhaustion

waste of war time had first brought feverish industrial activity: there was difficulty in finding workers enough and generally wages were high. Shortly after fighting was over most of this came to an end. Exhausted nations could no longer buy; there was profound depression of trade; in industrial communities activity ceased. Prices continued high or dropped slowly, while wages more quickly declined, and great numbers of workmen had nothing to do. People starved in some parts of Europe, elsewhere privation and hunger; everywhere the standard of living lowered. As always, a few had gained much from the war, but most people found the times far less good than those before 1914.

Disease follows war

Many and widespread evils followed the woe of these times. Disease came on the track of misery and famine. Wild radicalism, madness, disorder followed hard after. During the struggle a virulent form of the old and long-dreaded influenza swept over Europe and over the world. Long before the Spaniards had known this mysterious ailment, and called it the "influence" (*influenza*). Swept by such an epidemic the sailors of the Spanish Armada had gone to defeat. For generations afterward the Spanish influenza took its victims in various places. Now in the wet and the cold of the trenches, with millions huddled together in hard unsanitary living, it grew to a mighty plague, and after stretching all across Europe reached the farthest parts of the world. First and last—for it returned again and again, even after the conflict was over—it brought to death millions of people, and left more millions weak and forlorn. More terrible scourges were threatened meantime. In the filth and low living of Russia typhus long had preyed on the people. During the war prisoners and soldiers carried it west. Afterward fugitives and stragglers continued to bring it from the east. Far worse than influenza, if this disease were loosed on the war-worn, undernourished people of central Europe, untold disaster

Influenza and typhus

might follow. Modern sanitary and preventive measures made it possible now to exclude it, but down the eastern frontier of Germany, of Poland, of Rumania, a grim struggle was waged.

Unrest and discontent

As after all other long conflicts and times of disturbance there were general excitement and discontent, hope of alteration, desire for revolution. Of this always there is some. Before the Great War there was ominous unrest, and there were organized bodies of men and women who purposed to alter completely the existing system. Before 1914, however, the great mass of the people of Europe were content, for their condition was good relative to what they knew and what their ancestors had had. After 1918 there were not only millions of families with the man dead or disabled, but many more millions of people, who, as far on as they could see, faced a future of high prices and heavy taxation, low wages and meager living. At such a time radicalism grows greatly. When such conditions widely prevail great numbers lose patience with what is established, seeking change in the hope of things better. Such times have ever brought opportunity for honest radicals and reforming enthusiasts, for demagogues and for false prophets. The war had been a period of wildest passion and of hatred fiercely burning. Passion did not quickly subside, and many things were now easily hated. For four years millions of men had taken part in destruction, while millions more had assisted and urged them on. So now everywhere there was strong instinct to pull down, overturn, destroy, and use any means of violence to accomplish the overturn quickly. Large hopes had been aroused through large promises made in the war time. Never had so great a struggle been waged; never had the assistance and coöperation of all the people in the states been so much needed. To secure this help and sustain the faith of the people as the struggle dragged on, all sorts of hopes had been raised and all sorts of pledges

Passion and instinct for destruction

given. Some had been promised with best intention, their authors believing they could be met. Others had been rashly and foolishly spoken in the midst of stress and excitement. Often the ignorant and irresponsible promised most, while opponents demanded still more. Hence, vast and unreasoning expectations were raised. Many people believed or pretended that with the end of the war there would be speedy ending of all the worst ills of mankind. They expected complete alteration and amendment, various prophets now loudly proclaiming that their remedy would bring regeneration for the world. Some of what they hoped had been sought for ages, and some of it could probably not be accomplished. Now many people eagerly awaited fulfilment at a time when the more experienced and thoughtful perceived the difficulty of restoring even what the conflict had ruined.

Unreasoning expectations aroused

Radicalism and revolution

In all parts of Europe was radicalism seen, and the years after 1914 were an era like those after 1815. All eastern Europe was in the throes of alteration more sweeping and fundamental than that in France a long time before. In Prussia and in Bavaria, immediately following the German surrender, wild revolution flamed forth, as years before in the *Commune* of Paris. In 1918 the communist and radical elements in Finland, assisted by Russian *Bolsheviki*, seized power in much of that country. In Hungary during 1919 socialist and radical groups got control, a *soviet* system was established, and the leader, Bela Kun, became for a time the dictator. In Great Britain the trade unions, whose members were more and more tending toward socialism, and more and more hoping to overturn the existing parliamentary and capitalist system, bade fair to dominate the state. The so-called Triple Alliance of transport workers, railwaymen, miners, proposed to coerce the government by simultaneous strikes which they believed would paralyze opposition. In 1919 a great railway strike was accompanied by violence and destruction of property.

Strikes and destruction of property

The example of Russia

In the autumn of 1920 a million miners ceased work, bringing temporary ruin to the industry that supported Great Britain. A British labor delegation returning from Russia had already recommended to the trade union congress and to the Labor Party that Britain give unconditional recognition to the *soviet* government of Russia; and during 1919 and 1920 not a few judges believed there was more chance of real success for bolshevism in Great Britain than in Russia. Meanwhile in Italy socialists and social radicals, to some extent financed and abetted from Moscow, openly proclaimed the near overthrow of the existing order, and attempted to set up the bolshevist system. In the summer of 1920 Italian industrial workers took possession of the plants where they were employed, and organized workingmen's councils to run them. For a time the weak Italian government was passive, and presently a National Labor Convention proclaimed that it favored the organization of Italian industry on a *soviet* basis.

A capital levy

In Great Britain, in Italy, in France, in Germany, in Switzerland there were repeated proposals for a levy on capital—a confiscation or seizure of a portion of property owned—to pay for the war debts or for social reforms to be made. In 1922 and in 1923 the general elections in Great Britain resulted in gains for the Labor Party so large that it became the official opposition or principal minority party. The behavior of some of the labor members from Glasgow was so ruffianly and wild that orderly and decent parliamentary government was scarcely possible in their presence. Many now avowed that soon the Labor Party would control the government of Britain, and labor leaders were declaring that when they could they would make a capital levy, then abandon the present arrangement, and establish in England a socialist system.

Political problems

During this time of poverty, uncertainty, discontent, statesmen and leaders were confronted by problems so perplexing that no solution was evident for them. Russia

was cut off from the rest of Europe and mostly denied intercourse with other countries. Central Europe was broken into pieces. Turkish power seemed almost destroyed, but the Turkish question proved not to be settled. Upon the Germans a vast indemnity was assessed, but it seemed almost impossible to collect more than a little. Since 1904 Great Britain and France had been acting together in close understanding, and it was their *entente* that had saved them from the German Empire. When fear of Germany was removed, however, their different interests became more apparent, until by 1923 the *Entente Cordiale* seemed virtually ended, and the two nations were drifting, it sometimes appeared, into conflict.

The German indemnity

The question of indemnity was one of the hardest to deal with, and so great were the difficulties that almost any solution could be justly assailed by opponents. Moreover, the vastness and complexity of the problem involved many factors about which there could be little more than conjecture; so that while some proclaimed from the first that they knew certainly what should be done, the more experienced and cautious were hesitant and often uncertain. The war had cost the Allies more than $120,000,000,000. From their point of view they had fought in self-defence in a war of aggression by the Germans. Half a century before the Germans had taken from France defeated an indemnity twice as great as the cost of the war to themselves. Now to France alone the cost had been about $30,000,000,000, while the ruin wrought in the French districts where the Germans had fought amounted to billions more. When the Peace Congress assembled at Paris in 1919, strong sentiment was generally felt that Germany should pay for the havoc as much as lay in her power; but it was not only evident that the total resources of the Germans could not make good the cost of the war to the Allies, but there was much doubt about how large a portion her resources remaining

Germany's capacity to pay

would ever be sufficient to pay. In Paris it was soon announced that an indemnity of $55,000,000,000 would be asked for, but both the total and the time of payment were presently left for future decision. When in May, 1919, the terms of the Treaty of Versailles were about to be delivered to the German plenipotentiaries, their spokesman, Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, declared that Germany was ready to right the wrong done to Belgium and to assist reconstruction in France. A few days later the German emissaries offered to promise an indemnity of $25,000,000,000. In June, under compulsion, the Germans accepted the treaty proposed by the Allies. The reparation clauses in this treaty provided that twenty billion gold marks ($5,000,000,000) should be paid by 1921, forty billions more by 1926, forty billions more in such time as should later be announced, and further payments afterward as prescribed by an Allied Reparation Commission. Friends of Germany were already declaring that this was a monstrous burden, and that Germany now could pay little and should not be asked to pay much. Certain authorities asserted that she could perhaps pay $15,000,000,000. Many declared that a "reasonable" amount should be definitely settled at once.

The first German offer

Those who prophesied that a great indemnity could never be collected, that it would be merely wisdom to ask for such a small amount as could certainly soon be paid, shortly seemed to be justified in striking fashion. The Germans at first gave over their shipping, and did make considerable deliveries of rolling stock, cattle, and coal. At first also they paid in gold a considerable sum, though of the entire indemnity it was only a little. Soon, however, their payments fell in arrear, and were made with seemingly greater difficulty and under ever greater threats and compulsion. During 1922 they virtually came to an end.

The Germans pay a little at first

Many and various were the causes of this. There had

Decline in value of German paper money

just been a revolution; the German government was new and not strong. The country was largely exhausted; it was difficult for the government to secure what it needed and not easy for the nation to earn its living. Presently the government maintained itself to an increasing extent by issuing paper money. Often had this been tried by others in the past, and always the results were those that now followed. Rapidly increasing quantities of money caused the value of the money to diminish. The *mark* before the war everywhere worth approximately $0.238 had by the end of 1920 diminished in value to $0.02, and in the next year it fluctuated between one cent and three. The great quantities of gold needed to pay the instalments of the indemnity could only be obtained by purchase in the markets of the world, and there were now seen gigantic operations of exchange in which Germans traded their paper money of diminishing worth for the gold needed to pay to the Allies. To obtain this gold more paper marks were constantly needed, and as the supply was ever more largely increased, the value as constantly fell. The real basis, of course, for such exchange was the work, the service, the commodities which the Germans had to sell at a profit; but it was much more difficult now for the Germans to make the profit formerly needed for support of their people. Before 1914 their vast manufactures and flourishing mercantile marine had yielded profits sufficient to maintain those of their population whom their agriculture could not support, and had left a surplus for the luxury or well-being of the more prosperous people. Now German shipping was swept from the seas. German factories were intact, but the coal of the Saar and of much of Silesia was gone, and abroad protective tariffs barred out German goods. Much of the world was too exhausted to buy, and each country desired to do its own manufacturing. The French and the Belgians proposed to repair their devastated regions themselves, paying the cost with

Germany produces less actual surplus

the indemnity received from the Germans. Accordingly, it seemed to some that the Germans had no means of paying; and many who believed that they should pay came to think them unable to do so. Others declared that Germany was potentially rich and in time would be wealthy again, hence that a great international loan might provide the sums which Germany would repay later on. But the situation became so uncertain that international bankers would undertake no sum that met the expectations of France.

Changing sentiment concerning the Germans

During this time there was no little sympathy for the Germans as pity for their great disaster followed the terror inspired by their might. Various were the reports about conditions among them, but there could presently be no doubt that there were the inevitable poverty and suffering that follow any great war long prolonged, and that the financial revolution while it raised a new upper class and in some way supported the lower, crushed to pieces the middle class—the best and most progressive of the Germans. All over Germany now professional men became paupers, and university students were starving. Hence there was in some quarters a disposition to forego the indemnity claims. Such feeling had something to do with the widening rift between Britain and France. In the general election of 1918 Mr. Lloyd George and others had rashly declared that Germany would be made to pay all the cost of the war. After some consideration, however, it seemed probable to many people in Great Britain that Germany could not be expected to pay the vast sums required, that such demands would bring endless suffering, and that it would be greatly to the detriment of Britain and the others to attempt to make Germany pay. Accordingly, the British soon abandoned hope of securing any substantial sum. Presently they declared that they would remit their claims. Then they tried to persuade France to make some abatement.

Great Britain willing to forego her claims

France refuses abatement

France, supported by Belgium, with whom in 1920 she concluded a formal defensive military alliance, and to a lesser extent by Italy, would abate her demands not a whit. For this there were various reasons, but with respect to economic considerations alone France affirmed that Germany could pay if she would, that she was striving to create false sentiment favorable to her, and thus escape the consequences of what she had done. The Germans, she said, had fought the war almost entirely on foreign soil, wringing from the occupied territories all they could and working enormous havoc. Meanwhile their own fields remained untouched, their factories unharmed were enlarged. When defeated they had surrendered at once, and altogether escaped a conflict fought on their soil. Germany was still very wealthy, but the wealth was being hidden. Frenchmen declared, what many believed to be so, that the German government deliberately depreciated the value of its currency, to avoid the difficulties of increased taxation, to wipe out old indebtedness, and make impossible the payment of claims. They said also, what was doubtless so, that the moneyed Germans had sent their wealth out of the country, investing in foreign currencies or making deposits abroad. To them and to others it was inconceivable that the Germans should not be made to pay all that they cou'd. Germany escaping indemnity for the ruin wrought in the war might greatly encourage some aggressive nation to begin another war in the future. For it would be possible to reason that the Germans had staked all on conquest, fighting for years to impose their will upon others, but having fought and having escaped invasion, were able to make men believe their resources exhausted and themselves unable to pay. To the French now it seemed that many of their former friends were disposed to be more considerate for Germany so lately dreaded than for France who had sacrificed much to bring victory to all of the Allies.

Alleged German evasion

Between France and Great Britain with respect to reparations from Germany there was increasing divergence also because of the very different situation of the two. Great Britain was essentially a trading and industrial state. The agricultural resources of the island supported only a portion of the population, the other inhabitants subsisting from the profits of manufacturing and commerce. But now with half Europe ruined and unable to buy, Britain could not sell enough. Industrial expansion continued for a short time after the war; then came depression and complete stagnation. In 1921 out of a population of 45,000,000 there were 4,000,000 unemployed, they being maintained through increased taxation paid by the rest of the people. Britain was now living on her capital, and this must not long continue. It was, therefore, of vital importance that British trade and industry be revived, and this could not be unless normal conditions were generally restored. To many Englishmen it seemed that the greatest improvement would come if Germany were enabled to recover. Accordingly, they were willing to remit British claims, and favored reducing the entire indemnity to an amount that could shortly be paid. On the other hand, France was essentially an agricultural country, normally prosperous and rich, and generally self-sufficing. Suffering and disaster near by might affect her, but not in a vital manner. If commerce languished and manufactures abated, she could wait. Greatly also she feared Germany, and desired not only that the Germans pay but that they be long weakened by making the payment.

Divergence between France and Great Britain

For some time the good relations between the two countries continued, and in both was strong and sincere desire that the *entente* remain unimpaired. So there were many efforts to preserve understanding and accord. Fundamentally, the position of France in Europe was now stronger than Britain's, yet for a while France yielded much. Her military men had declared that she could

France patient for a time

Yields to her allies

in the future be safe only if German territory were taken to the Rhine, and the bridgeheads permanently held; and at Versailles Marshal Foch had formally protested that the treaty meant peril for France in the future. But in the negotiations in Paris President Wilson of the United States and Mr. George for England had persuaded M. Clemenceau, the French premier, to forego claiming this German territory, assuring him that future security would be guaranteed by a protective alliance of the United States, Great Britain, and France. Soon after it was evident that the United States would do nothing like this, and the whole scheme came to nothing. Now after a few years it seemed to Frenchmen that because it was difficult to collect from the Germans, there were many who would advise them to forego most of the indemnity also. They, for their part protested that the Germans never would pay unless forced, and they said that if it was necessary, they would later on apply force.

Various conferences and conversations

In January, 1920, the Peace Conference ended its sessions. Since several important problems still awaited solution, a Council of Premiers—the former Supreme Council under new name—was appointed to deal with them further. Important meetings of this council took place during 1920 with respect to various matters, but presently the dominant question concerned the treatment to be accorded the Germans. The United States had now virtually withdrawn from European affairs, so that decision concerning the enforcement of the Versailles Treaty lay virtually with France and Great Britain, Italy being consulted but having much less preponderant voice. At the Conference of San Remo in Italy (April, 1920) the French were in favor of uncompromising enforcement of the terms of the treaty; the British favored some modification in the light of fuller experience; the Italians would have the treaty revised. After some discussion the French view prevailed and Germany was bidden to hasten her disarmament and comply

San Remo

with the terms agreed to. At the Conference of Hythe, in England (May, 1920), the premiers of France and Great Britain held further discussion. Here the British view partly prevailed, and France consented, that the total amount of the German indemnity should now be definitely fixed. Another conference was held next month in the same place, followed shortly by the Conference of Boulogne (June, 1920), at which were represented other powers also. At the Conference of Brussels (July, 1920) the Allies tentatively agreed to demand $30,000,000,000, of which $750,000,000 was to be paid annually for the first five years, and $1,250,000,000 each year thereafter. Principal and interest would probably make the total sum about $60,000,000,000. A few days later at the Conference of Spa in Belgium (July, 1920), the allied premiers met the chancellor of the German Republic. He described the great perils besetting the *Reich*, begged for permission to have a considerable military force to cope with industrial disorder and monarchist attempts, and asked for more time to carry out the obligations of the treaty. The Germans were compelled to agree to dissolve two of the military forces they were striving to create, the *sicherheitswehr* (army of safety) and the *einwohnerswehr* (volunteer force), and make the *reichswehr* (army of the realm) a standing army of not more than 150,000 men. Germany asked that the total reparations be fixed at a definite sum, and that the payments therefor extend over not more than thirty years. She asked for allied help in the meantime, and proposed that an international syndicate rebuild the devastated districts in France, the Germans ultimately to pay the cost. She declared that with respect to the coal deliveries imposed by the treaty she could furnish to the Allies no more than 1,100,000 tons a month. They sternly insisted on 2,000,000 tons. At this conference the Allies reserved the right to occupy the Ruhr—Germany's great remaining industrial district—or

Hythe

Boulogne

Brussels

Spa

German proposals

some other area, in the event of the agreement not being fulfilled. At the Conference of Spa also the Allies agreed about dividing the prospective indemnity: of the reparations France was to have 52 per cent., the British Empire 22 per cent., Italy 10 per cent., Belgium 8 per cent., the remainder in small portions to the others.

Further conferences

Thus far concord between Britain and France had been kept partly through the wonderful personal magnetism and dexterity of the British prime minister, Mr. George, but various other matters, like the Turkish question and the Russian question, tended to increase disagreement. With respect to Russia, to Poland, and to Turkey more and more now France was taking independent action.

Paris

At the Conference of Paris (January, 1921) France proposed that the total German indemnity be put at about $80,000,000,000. But this was nearly as much as all the estimated national wealth of the German Empire before the war, and Great Britain and Italy opposed such demand. Presently it was agreed that the sum should be $55,000,000,000, to be paid in installments during forty-two years. The German government declared that it

London

could not fulfil such terms. At the Conference of London (March, 1921) the German government made a conditional proposal to pay an indemnity of $12,500,000,000—half as much as had been offered by the German representative at Versailles two years before—from which total was to be deducted $5,000,000,000 on account of alleged payments already made. To this the Allies delivered an ultimatum again requiring acceptance of their terms. When no satisfactory answer was received French troops occupied the industrial cities of Düsseldorf, Duisberg, and Ruhrort, and threatened to occupy the whole of the Ruhr district if on May 1 compliance were lacking. Great Britain as well as Italy was displeased at the action of France. They greatly desired to prevent occupation of the Ruhr, which would mean the impotence of Germany

and paralysis of her economic life. After a meeting of the premiers of Great Britain and France at Hythe, an allied conference was held at London (April, 1921), after which another ultimatum was dispatched to the German government demanding promise to pay an indemnity of $33,000,000,000. Sinking fund and interest on bonds were to be provided by a tax of 25 per cent. on German exports. The French made ready to seize all the Ruhr, and Germany yielded again.

Hythe and London

There was more and more evident now a widening rift between Britain and France. A certain sympathy for Germany defeated and helpless, and as some now affirmed, greatly wronged, was more evident still. Everywhere friends of the Germans were carrying on propaganda, which recently all peoples had learned to use well. Whatever the difficulties of Germany were, it also seems probable that not a few Germans now cherished the hope that if their enemies divided, they themselves might escape very largely. So there were many who thought now that not much more indemnity would ever be paid by the Germans. Some outsiders considered collection an impossible task. Englishmen wished that as much be obtained as could be; but increasingly in Britain people doubted whether much more could ever be got. In France opinion remained unchanged: Germany should pay; Germany left alone would pay nothing; Germany would pay if compelled.

Widening rift between Britain and France

Efforts continued to preserve unanimity between France and Great Britain. In October, 1921, an economic agreement was made between France and Germany at Wiesbaden, providing for payment by Germany of reparations in materials or "kind." In December, however, the German government officially notified the Reparations Commission of the Allies that it could not pay the next indemnity installment. The matter was now discussed by Mr. George for Great Britain and M. Briand, the

Conferences continued

Cannes

French premier, in London. Soon after at the Conference of Cannes (January, 1922) Mr. George proposed an agreement between Germany, France, and Great Britain. France objected, requesting instead a military alliance between Britain and France. This was presently agreed upon, and a treaty drawn up, though not ratified, by which Great Britain promised full aid in the event of unprovoked aggression by the Germans. Here also was adopted the suggestion of Mr. George that a conference including Russia and the late enemy countries should be held to consider the best means for economic restoration of Europe. Immediately after M. Briand was succeeded by M. Poincaré, who had resolved on no receding from the French position. He was unwilling to take any part in the proposed international conference without definite assurances about Germany and Russia. France and England were now far apart, although cordial relations seemed reëstablished at a conference of the two premiers held at Boulogne (February, 1922). Here it was agreed to admit Russia to the conference only on condition that she recognize the old debts repudiated by the bolshevist leaders, and respect the rights of private property; and to admit Germany only on condition that she acknowledge all her obligations under the Treaty of Versailles.

Boulogne

Germany ceases to pay

At the Conference of Genoa (April, 1922)—the first such meeting since the Conference of London in 1912–13—many large European questions were dealt with, but generally the plans of Mr. George came to nothing and no solution of the indemnity problem was reached. During the course of 1922 German payments were obtained with increasing difficulty, until finally the German government intimated that for the present it could pay nothing further. Great Britain strove vainly to moderate the policy of France, but obviously France was determined upon her own measures and her patience was nearly exhausted. In the autumn Mr. George resigned, and the government that

succeeded played only a passive part. No British government now could prevent France taking such action as pleased her. In January, 1923, a conference was held in Paris. Here a British plan that further leniency and delay be accorded was decisively rejected by France. M. Poincaré said that France had long followed the counsels of her allies, to be met only by German default and evasion; that France would give much for continued agreement with her friends, yet she was now prepared for action alone. Immediately after French troops began an "economic" occupation of the Ruhr, with the avowed object of compelling the payments that were being withheld. Some asserted that France had not the right to do this, and that she herself now destroyed the Treaty of Versailles. This was mostly said, however, by those who had all along maintained that the Treaty of Versailles ought to be undone. For the most part it was conceded that France had the legal and the moral right so to act, but that such procedure was a grievous mistake. It was said that Germany's capacity to pay reparations depended largely upon industrial activity, which rested mostly upon the factories and the coal of the Ruhr; that by force France might be able to take from the Ruhr a little, but probably thus she would destroy all hope of large indemnity later. The French merely replied that Germany had evaded payment, and would pay only if confronted with force.

The French occupy the Ruhr

Conditions were now greatly worsened. The Ruhr population were generally steadfast in sullen, passive resistance. The French succeeded in bringing about little more than cessation of work in the district. From one measure of severity to another they were drawn to proceed. Presently they severed all intercourse between the occupied area and the rest of the *Reich*. The economic life of Germany was stricken to the heart, and the Germans burned with a passionate hatred of the French. German currency depreciated in headlong ruin, and by

Force and passive resistance

the autumn of 1923 the dollar once the equivalent of four German marks would purchase four hundred million. With steadfast persistence the Germans held out in a hopeless struggle. The end came in September with complete submission. The German republic was now prostrate and threatening to fall to pieces. For the time German strength was utterly gone, but what indemnity would be paid remained a question as baffling as ever.

France now dominant in Europe

In a Europe so largely prostrate and ruined France had come to be the dominant power. Her population of 37,000,000 was less than that of either Italy or Britain, but she was economically self-sufficing. Her standing army of 630,000 troops had now relatively greater power than the German standing army of 1914. Neither Spain nor Italy could contend with her for a moment. The Dual Monarchy was gone. The German might had been broken. Russia was hostile, but far off in anarchy, distance, and weakness. Great Britain was the only strong state left beside her, and for the present Great Britain had much less strength. Relative to the others she was mightier than she had ever been before, more powerful even than in Napoleon's time.

France strengthens her position

France now, like Germany after the Franco-German War, disclaimed further ambition and declared that her military forces were merely defensive. The League of Nations, the hope of so many in 1919, had been only partly successful. The military alliance promised France had come to nothing. So she frankly sought security by being able to protect herself through new allies and by military might. As a bulwark against bolshevik Russia and to have striking forces on Germany's eastern frontier, France loaned money to Poland, gave her military aid and advice, and strove to make her strong. In February, 1921, a defensive alliance was concluded between France and Poland. The interests of Poland were probably opposed to those of Germany and of Russia, and

Alliance with Poland

France could count on her almost certainly as upon a dependent ally. The interests of the Succession States—the states that had arisen from the ruins of the Hapsburg dominion, or profited when it broke up—also closely coincided with those of France, in so far that they like France were vitally concerned to maintain the treaties of 1919–20. By skilful and persistent diplomacy France gained the principal influence with them. In August, 1920, Czecho-Slovakia and Jugo-Slavia entered into a defensive alliance, which was joined somewhat later by Rumania. With this combination, known as the Little Entente, France had predominant influence, though not so great as with Poland. When it appeared that Turkish power was largely and steadily reviving, France concluded with the Turks a secret and separate treaty (1921). During 1922 France acted constantly with greater freedom and determination in respect of German affairs, despite the wishes and desires of Great Britain. When in 1923 she seized the Ruhr, and announced that she would not withdraw until the Germans had paid all the indemnity, she had not only taken away, so long as she chose to retain it, all chance of Germany recovering her power, but with the ore of Lorraine and the coal of the Saar and the Ruhr, France would have in the future, far beyond any one else, the basis of industrial development and of the military power that went with it. In 1923 she made a treaty with Czecho-Slovakia.

Influence with the Little Entente

Increase in the greatness of France was undoubtedly a reason for the worse relations between England and France. During 1919 and 1920 there were multitudes of people in England who had much affection and admiration for the French, and who were drawn to them by remembrance of common dangers and the sacrifices just made in common. Then slowly came greater understanding that the interests of France and of Britain were different, and that British interests apparently were being steadily sacrificed by France. The French constantly

Worse relations with Great Britain

Depression and unemployment in Britain

referred to their devastated districts, ruined by the Germans, who, they said, must pay to restore them. But many Englishmen believed that this relentless pressure upon Germany, while it brought little gain for France, made impossible the recovery of trade on which support of their people depended. During the winter of 1921, when millions of unemployed perplexed the authorities in London, it was said that Britain also had devastated districts, made largely through the action of France. By 1923, £400,000,000 had been paid to support British people out of work. In controversies between France and Great Britain the personal ability and dexterity of Mr. George for some time brought yielding by the French; but after M. Poincaré became premier persuasion was possible no longer, and it was evident that Britain could not prevent France from doing whatever she wished.

Altered position of Great Britain

Actually the position of Great Britain was now fundamentally altered. Relatively she was weaker than before. During ages in the past she had been safe from invasion, protected in her island position by superior strength on the sea. The Spanish Armada had sighted the coast, but the winds, the tides, the northern style of fighting had frustrated a landing. Napoleon's army had looked across the strait, but the British fleet had never left chance for a crossing. In the Great War the British Grand Fleet had kept the German High Seas Fleet close to its base, while Britain held command of the seas; but during this contest

Submarines

maritime warfare developed new methods German submarines, acting in no great numbers, had almost cut Britain's lines of overseas communications, along which came the food upon which her population largely depended. This menace had just been countered; but no specific remedy was found; and it might be that if some enemy struck suddenly in the future with swarms of submarines at the start, Britain would go down and presently be starved to unconditional yielding. It could scarcely

be doubted that in any future war an opponent of Britain would be tempted to strike with submarines. Nor was this the only danger. During the recent conflict bombing from the air, especially by means of airplanes, had been carried to terrible effect. So the Germans had bombarded London and other places, doing much damage and at times weakening British morale. This method of fighting had been developed with fearful efficiency as the conflict progressed. In the next war fleets of airplanes, not driven away by other aërial fleets, would destroy whole cities, it was thought, and work widespread and wholesale ruin. Thus the sea no longer made Britain safe.

Airplanes

However good were her present intentions, doubtless in the future France might in all these respects be Britain's most terrible foe. In a few hours airplanes from Paris could go far beyond London. Britain had allowed her air force to dwindle, while that of France was constantly increased, until some estimated the disparity at ten to one, and men realized that England could not even fight against France. Furthermore, the French set about building a swarm of underseas vessels. At the Washington Conference held for naval abatement in 1921–2, the French steadily refused to consider abandoning submarines as a weapon, though reproached at the time with desiring to use them in future war against England. It could not be doubted that a sudden attack with submarines from all the south shores of the Channel would be far more terrible to Great Britain than anything the Germans had been able to do. Thus, while relations were formally correct and still good, some said that as France in the past had been England's most dangerous enemy, so she would be in the future.

Possible danger from France

Probably the greater leniency of England for Germany arose also from the wish—very proper from her standpoint—that Germany should be strengthened again to restore somewhat the balance of power. To preserve such bal-

The balance of power

ance had been a principle of English diplomacy since the fifteenth century. When France seemed most dangerous England made alliance with Spain; but in Cromwell's time she allied herself with France against Spain. In the eighteenth century, along with various coalitions, she opposed France, as she did in Napoleon's era. After 1904 she stood with France in opposition to the preponderant German Empire. Now, when France was the all-powerful military state, Great Britain following a sound instinct desired that German power be not utterly destroyed, but remain and recover. As in the past, she was against any state being so powerful in Europe as to be a menace to all of the others.

The power of France

For the present this could be no more than policy and political instinct, for Great Britain had not the power to meet France in any collision. Upon France, nearest to Germany and fearing her most, had fallen the task of enforcing the Treaty of Versailles. For this and for future safety she was maintaining a powerful army equipped with the costly and terrible weapons that modern war had brought forth. So greatly did she fear the actual power and the future vengeance of the Germans that she did this though staggering under debt, owing much to Great Britain and the United States, and with her budget showing a deficit each year. On the other hand, the British, somewhat less immediately threatened by any new danger, perhaps, but also showing more confidence that new methods and better procedure might bring about an era of peace, had immediately allowed their armaments to decline. Their navy was lessened, their huge army was mostly disbanded, and their air force greatly reduced. By the sternest privation and the most heroic efforts the British presently balanced their budget. Then they began paying their debt to the United States, and reducing indebtedness at home. Thus they had not the money for great armies and for multitudes of new airplanes. Doubt-

British policy

less they would after a while be in better financial position than any other great nation in Europe, but for war meanwhile they were far less powerful than their neighbor and rival, France.

The Turkish question

The arrangements of 1919–20 undertook the solution of many difficult and complicated problems, some of which were unsettled soon after. In May, 1920, after the Council of Premiers had dealt with the Turkish problem, a treaty of peace was presented to the Ottoman delegation. Some, including President Wilson of the United States, had favored expelling the Turks altogether from Europe. In October 1918, exhausted, shaken by defeat, and with allies collapsing, the Ottoman Empire had asked for an armistice, and had been granted terms that amounted to complete surrender. It was assumed that Turkish power was destroyed. Presently, however, as a choice from numerous difficulties—some concerning Moslem populations in India and Morocco—the Allied statesmen had gone less far. Constantinople was left to the sultan in sovereignty, though it was to be occupied by an international force of Allied troops, while the Bosporus, the Sea of Marmora, the Dardanelles, and the island approaches were to be under a Straits Commission appointed by the League of Nations. Thrace and many of the Ægean islands would be given to Greece, along with Smyrna in Asia and a considerable district about it. Turkey was to acknowledge the independence of outlying Asiatic districts—Armenia, the Hedjaz, Mesopotamia, Palestine, Syria. She was to recognize also the British protectorate over Egypt and British sovereignty over Cyprus, the French protectorates over Tunisia and parts of Morocco, and Italian sovereignty over Lybia (Tripoli and Cyrenaica) and the Dodecanese or group of twelve Ægean islands which Italy had occupied in 1911–12. An international Finance Commission would have final power respecting all Turkish budgets and financial laws. Thus Turkey was to

The settlement proposed

be reduced to dependence. Ottoman territory, which in 1914 still included 720,000 square miles and a population of 23,000,000, would now be reduced to some 100,000 square miles—mostly in Asia Minor—with a population of 5,000,000—mostly Moslems.

The Treaty of Sèvres

The Turks refused to accept these demands, and strong nationalist feeling was revived. A French army in Cilicia —in the southern part of Asia Minor—was driven down to the sea, and the Turks showed surprising power of resistance. The Greek government, at the head of which again was M. Venizelos, friend of the Allies, offered to take the field against the Ottoman armies. The Turks insisted that they be allowed to keep Thrace and the Smyrna district, but in July the Allies allowed ten days for Ottoman acceptance on penalty of expulsion from Europe entirely. Thereupon the Turks yielded to the Treaty of Sèvres (August, 1920). In the Near East the aspirations of Greece and of Italy were already in conflict, but after some negotiation a friendly agreement was made, by which the Dodecanese was to be yielded to Greece, excepting the outlying Kastelorizo and Rhodes, possession of which was to be determined by plebiscite fifteen years later.

Turkish nationalism aroused

Turkish opposition proceeded apace. Scarcely had the Treaty of Sèvres been signed when Ottoman nationalists under a leader, Mustapha Kemal Pasha, assembled at Angora, in the midst of the Turkish population of Asia Minor, denounced the treaty, and resolved to oppose it by force. The treaty had been accepted at Constantinople, but amidst much confusion there announcement was made that the treaty would not be ratified until the government accomplished national reunion. Meanwhile, France and Great Britain were drifting apart, and the Turks, like the Germans, began to hope for profit therefrom. The Kemalists declared the Constantinople government merely a tool of the Allies. In February, 1921, the national convention established at Angora proclaimed

40°
30°
20°
10°
0°
ARC
ICELAND
ARCTIC CIRCLE
Faroe Is
Shetland Is
Bergen
Christiania
Orkney Is
50°
ATLANTIC OCEAN
UNITED KINGDOM
of
GREAT BRITAIN
and IRELAND
SCOTLAND
Edinburgh
IRELAND
Dublin
Liverpool
ENGLAND
London
NORTH
SEA
DENMARK
Hamburg
Elbe
English Channel
BELGIUM
Brest
Paris
Seine
GERMANY
Danube
Bay of
Biscay
FRANCE
SWITZ
Lyons
Bordeaux
AUSTRIA
Vienna
Trieste
Venice
Genoa
Santander
Oporto
Marseilles
ITALY
Lisbon
PORTUGAL
Madrid
SPAIN
Barcelona
Corsica
Rome
Balearic Is
Sardinia
TYRRHENIAN
SEA
MEDITERRANEAN
Gibraltar (Br.)
Sicily
30°
AFRICA
Malta
(Br.)
GENEBAL DRAFTING CO INC N Y
10°
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10°

30°
40°
50°
60°
70°
80°
OCEAN
Kola
Kola Peninsula
Tornea
White Sea
Archangel
Kem
Dvina
FINLAND
Lake Onega
Perm
Helsingfors
Lake Ladoga
Volugda
Petrograd
Gulf of Finland
ESTHONIA
Pskov
Volga
Kama
Samara
Orenburg
Riga
LATVIA
Moscow
Oka
RUSSIA
Vilna
LITHUANIA
Pripet
Kiev
Kharkov
Volga
Dniester
Don
Astrakhan
UKRAINIA
Rostov
Sea of Azov
Crimea
Odessa
RUMANIA
Bucharest
BLACK SEA
BULGARIA
Sofia
Constantinople
Sea of Marmora
International Zone of the Straits
TURKEY IN ASIA
ARMENIA
CASPIAN SEA
PERSIA
Smyrna
Enclave to Greece
Athens
Rhodes
(to Italy)
Cyprus
Crete
SEA
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300
50°
40°
30°

IN 1920

that it constituted the only true government existing in the Ottoman dominions.

Greece and the western powers

Difficulties rapidly followed. The Allies had accepted the military assistance of Greece, but this accomplished nothing decisive. In October, 1920, died Alexander, king of Greece, son of the exiled Constantine, put on the throne by the Allies. In elections held shortly after Venizelos was repudiated, and in December, by overwhelming majority, the Greeks expressed desire for Constantine's return. The Allies issued grave warnings, and threatened to abandon Greece altogether, but Constantine was welcomed to Athens. France and Italy, already jealous of Greek pretensions, soon favored recognition of the nationalist Turks and revision of the Sèvres Treaty. This was opposed by Great Britain in the Conference of London (December, 1920), and some said England would give Greece support to strengthen herself at Constantinople. On invitation Turkey and Greece sent delegations to a meeting in London (February and March, 1921), at which finally the Allies proposed a considerable revision of the Treaty of Sèvres, including Turkish rule over Smyrna. The Turks were willing; the Greeks refused. Already the French had made a secret treaty with the Turkish nationalists, agreeing to withdraw from Cilicia in return for extensive economic concessions. When the affair presently became known it increased the growing suspicion between Great Britain and France. Just before the end of the London Conference Italy also made a secret treaty with the Turks: in return for economic privileges, she would assist them in obtaining Smyrna and Thrace.

Proposed revision of the Treaty of Sèvres

The Greeks defeated by the Turks

In March, 1921, the new Greek government tried to enforce the Treaty of Sèvres. It was afterward evident that the Greeks had been rashly encouraged by England though England could not really assist them, while Italy and France were giving secret but effectual aid to the Turks. A Greek army of 200,000 men thrown into Asia

Minor defeated the Turks and forced them far back, but was unable to destroy the nationalist army or accomplish a decisive result. During the summer of 1922 the resources of Greece were exhausted, while the Turkish armies were again equipped. The Greeks were presently compelled to withdraw. Then in September, suddenly attacked by the Turks, they were driven to the coast in ruin and rout. Most of their army was embarked and taken to Europe, but Smyrna was abandoned and partly destroyed, and the cause of the Greeks was utterly lost.

The British at Tchanak

The effects of this occurrence were at once felt all over Europe. The patient and long-sustained efforts of the Greeks had brought only disaster. In the midst of fury and despair Constantine was driven from the throne, and Venizelos given the hopeless task of saving what could be saved. The Turks overran Asia Minor and marched on the straits. Too late Great Britain intervened. A mighty armada rushed to Constantinople, and a large British army occupied Tchanak, the region south of the Dardanelles. Flushed with triumph and filled with rising national spirit, the Turks scarcely refrained from attacking the British to force their way into Europe. For a moment it seemed that another vast and general conflagration might begin. France, at odds with Great Britain about Germany, looked coldly on. It was in the midst of this crisis that the government of Mr. Lloyd George at last fell. Its successors joined in calling a conference to be held at Lausanne. There, the Turks finding the Allies widely divided on eastern Europe as well as the west, demanded restoration of nearly all they had lost by the Great War, and during protracted negotiations continued to maintain their demands. Agreement long seemed impossible, but peace was badly needed by all of the parties. Settlement was finally made in the Treaty of Lausanne (July, 1923), which undid the Treaty of Sèvres. Turkey submitted to the loss of certain detached mandated states—Syria, Meso-

The Treaty of Lausanne

potamia, Palestine—but she kept all Asia Minor, and received back in full sovereignty Constantinople and the adjoining part of Thrace, while she was freed of the capitulations—agreements to allow foreigners to have their own courts—once imposed on her by the western powers and denounced when she entered the Great War. Through vigor and skilful management, and from the usual divisions among the Christian powers, she had recovered beyond all expectation, and made herself important again.

Bolshevist Russia

During all this time the Russian problem ceased not to give trouble. At first it was supposed that the bolshevist government would soon collapse, or be overthrown by counter-revolution. Each counter-revolutionary movement, however, was broken in turn, and while Russia remained so cut off from the rest of the world that reliable information could scarcely be had, it was presently evident that whatever might be the fate of bolshevism itself, its leaders had built up a military force that easily defied their opponents. Not since the time of the French Revolution at its worst had the rest of the world had such horror and aversion in respect of a European country as most nations now had for Russia. By violent revolution the *Bolsheviki* had overthrown what people of substance elsewhere cherished. Like the French revolutionaries long before, Russian leaders boldly proclaimed that they would by propaganda, or by force, if they could, overthrow the old system and establish their new one in every part of the world. Hence Russia was presently ostracized and cut off from relations with other countries. Half the area of Europe and a great body of the world's white population was now outside of intercourse with what most people conceived to be the civilized world. To prevent the propaganda speedily launched the countries that had severed relations undertook to establish a so-called *cordon sanitaire* (health barrier) to hold back bolshevism within its own bounds. The *Bolsheviki* retaliated by establishing

Cut off from the rest of the world

relations with radicals and extremists in all states and stirring up political trouble wherever they could. In various parts of the British Empire—especially in India and in the countries near by—and in parts of the French colonial possessions, they incited Moslems to rise against alien rule. Presently this made considerable trouble for the British in Asia. When the Kemalists began their movement the Moscow government abetted and assisted, and in March, 1921, a Russo-Turkish treaty was made.

Sympathy from radicals elsewhere

Meanwhile the radical and socialist elements in various countries, sympathizing more or less with the bolshevist system, demanded recognition of the *soviet* government and restoration of relations with Russia. In Italy this element gained such power that at one time they bade fair to gain mastery there. In Britain the Labor Party consistently demanded recognition of Russia.

Ambition of Poland

Among the great states of the world the most consistent opponents of the bolshevist government were France and the United States. Poland, therefore, supported though she was by the Allies, was supported especially by France. The Poles considered that their eastern boundaries had not yet been determined. The French desired a strong, large Poland as a barrier against bolshevist Russia. During 1919 the Poles waged almost constant war against the *Bolsheviki*, hoping to regain all their forefathers had before the First Partition. By this partition Russia had indeed taken extensive areas from Poland, but they were largely districts peopled then by kindred of the Russians, formerly seized when Russia was weak. The Allies, accordingly, planned Poland's eastern boundary to be farther west; but the Poles, encouraged by France, determined to regain all that Poland once had possessed.

The Russians defeat the Poles

In January, 1920, the Poles captured Dvinsk; in May Kiev was taken, and a large part of the Ukraine overrun. This rapid advance aroused strong national feeling in Russia, and the *Bolsheviki* were supported by many who

favored them little but who would not see Russians conquered by Poles. So the Russians brought upon the enemy overwhelming numbers, and the Poles were driven back rapidly in dangerous retreat. The Polish premier appeared at the Spa Conference in July to ask for Allied assistance. Great Britain suggested an armistice on condition that the Poles withdraw behind the frontier proposed by the Peace Conference in 1919. This boundary thus proposed, now first made public, was much to the west of the Polish eastern frontier of 1772.

Triumphant advance of the *Bolsheviki*

In negotiations that followed, in which Great Britain came near to recognizing the bolshevik government as the *de facto* government of Russia, the *Bolsheviki* delayed answer while they continued to drive the Poles westward. The British proposals were presently rejected, and the Moscow authorities announced that they would deal with Poland direct. Towns and fortresses were taken in rapid succession, and fear arose that Warsaw itself would soon fall. An Allied mission, including one of the best of the French generals, now went to Poland; and arms were hurriedly dispatched. Toward the end of July Trotzky, the bolshevik minister of war, announced that Poland would no longer be a defence for western Europe, but would become instead a bridge over which the social revolution would be carried westward. A little later it was stated unofficially that Poland could have peace only by abandoning all the outlying territory which she claimed, surrendering her war material, paying an indemnity, and instituting a *soviet* régime. In the last days of July and the early part of August the fortified places near Warsaw fell in rapid succession, and a *soviet* government was set up in the conquered portion of Poland.

Victory of the Poles

Now, however, came a great national rising of the Poles, held fast against the *Bolsheviki* by their Roman Catholic religion and roused against the Russians by old and traditional hatred. All classes came out to volunteer. Pres-

ently the Russians were twelve miles from Warsaw, with the situation like that of six years before when Germans saw the suburbs of Paris. Then the Poles struck in a great counter-offensive, and the result was more disastrous than what befell the Germans in the Marne campaign. The Russian right in the north was routed, their center was burst in, their forces in the south were crushingly defeated. Brest-Litovsk was retaken, and the Russians fled broken as they had fled before the Germans in 1915.

The Treaty of Riga

In March, 1921, peace was made by the Treaty of Riga. Russia was forced by the victorious Poles to agree to a frontier far east of that which the Supreme Council had proposed. The area of Poland was now 150,000 square miles, and its population about 30,000,000, two thirds of them Poles. In this disastrous war Russia had lost 87,000 square miles of territory containing 7,000,000 inhabitants, of whom very few were Poles.

Conditions in Poland

The new Poland, apparently almost one of the great powers of Europe, was actually in dire straits. Hunger, poverty, unemployment were general. A powerful military force seemed necessary for protection against Russia, just as the French believed that they required a very strong army against the Germans. During 1922 Poland was engaged in disputes with Lithuania over possession of Vilna, which was later annexed. Disputes continued also with Russia. Meanwhile expenditure for the army exceeded the entire normal revenue of Poland.

Relations of Russia with other countries

During all this time the *Bolsheviki* desired recognition by other governments and the opening of trade with other countries. In some places desire increased for resumption of intercourse with Russia. Both Italy and Great Britain favored this more and more, while France continued to oppose it. In November, 1920, an Anglo-Russian trade agreement was concluded; and commercial intercourse with Russia was resumed by several of the smaller countries.

Owing largely to the influence of Mr. George, France

and Great Britain agreed to invite Russia and Germany to an international conference at Genoa in 1922. At the Genoa Conference the Russian question took most of the attention of the delegates. Against Russia the Allies had claims of 65,000,000,000 francs, largely for loans made to the old government—debts repudiated by the *Bolsheviki*. The Russian foreign minister, M. Tchitcherin, countered with a demand for 300,000,000,000 francs to cover Russia's part in the World War, and for damage done by opponents of the bolshevist régime. Soon these counter-claims were greatly reduced, Russia asking, however, for a loan from the Allies. Great Britain, attempting to mediate between France and the bolshevist rulers, announced that the *Bolsheviki* must recognize the pre-war obligations of Russia, assume responsibility for the sums borrowed by Russia during the war, and make compensation for foreign-owned property nationalized by the *soviets*. Scarcely had these terms been laid down when it was announced that Germany and Russia had concluded a treaty, providing for mutual renunciation of war expenses and damages, and mutual economic assistance. In the midst of the sensation that followed, the French were prepared to take drastic measures, fearing lest the treaty involved a secret military alliance and future destruction of the Treaty of Versailles. M. Poincaré declared that if by the end of May Germany had not met the terms of the Reparations Commission, France with or without her allies would proceed to coercive measures.

Russia and the Genoa Conference

A Russo-German treaty, 1922

Meanwhile it seemed that the Russians were being brought to acknowledge pre-war debts, and practically to agree to restoration of the nationalized property of foreign owners. But suspicion that Great Britain was obtaining undue concessions of Russian oil drove the Allies farther apart. Presently the Bolshevist emissaries rejected the terms that were offered, and so failed to obtain the recognition they so much desired. Mr. George had proposed a

Failure of the Genoa Conference

general ten-year non-aggression compact. France demanded that Russia recognize during those years all her existing boundaries; and this project also was abandoned. In the following year France maintained her position, though sometimes she was thought to be striving to reach a separate agreement with Russia.

Radicalism and conservative reaction

The example of Russia contributed to radicalism increasing all over Europe. Everywhere a spirit of unrest made many desire to overturn, transform, overthrow; and what the *Bolsheviki* had done was sought by radicals in most other countries. In these countries meanwhile many liberals and progressives were affrighted at the prospect that threatened, and all over the world radicalism was followed by conservative reaction. In Italy this was especially marked. There began the *Fascisti* movement.

Italy after the war

More than some of the other combatants Italy was exhausted by the war. She had, indeed, realized some of her highest ambitions. She now held the old *Italia Irredenta*, the islands and cities of the Dalmatian coast, the towering rampart of the Alps with considerable districts beyond. None the less, she was greatly exhausted, and her finances were all but ruined. Bad as was the case of Great Britain, where population too great for the country's agriculture must be supported by industry and commerce, and where trade depression and industrial stagnation left many without means of support, Britain's position was far better than Italy's, where also was a much larger population than the arable land would maintain, while such coal and iron as Britain had were in Italy utterly lacking. Before the war Italy had obtained coal abroad, especially from England; but now with freights and costs very high, with adverse exchange, and in the midst of general industrial stagnation, this was for the most part impossible, and Italy entered upon a period of trade depression worse than that in Great Britain. The war had left huge national debt and crushing taxes, while

Poverty and depression

it was difficult for many to gain a livelihood, hard for some to make a living at all. The glory of success seemed at once turned to ashes and dust. For many Italians bleak, long years stretched ahead into the distance.

Radicalism in Italy

This was the opportunity of the extremists of whom Italy long had had many. To the larger numbers who would listen now they taught that the existing parliamentary government could do little for most of the people, that the existing capitalist system involved oppression and slavery of the masses, that regeneration could come only by adopting a system like that which, they said, had just brought so much good to the Russian masses. The orators and youthful enthusiasts teaching these doctrines were assisted with money from Moscow, and bolshevist propagandists working from Switzerland urged the enterprise on.

Attempt to institute the *soviet* system in Italy

In the terrible reaction and weariness of this post-war period it seemed for a moment that Italy would adopt the bolshevist teachings. During 1919 and 1920 all over the country officers and ex-soldiers were treated with contumely and insult, and people of property and substance were threatened when they traveled or appeared in public. On several occasions the flag of Italy was lowered and the red flag of socialism flown in its place. The government was reviled and the *soviet* system praised. In 1920 workingmen began taking over factories to be run by workingmen's councils, and though this movement speedily collapsed, the government had not interfered, and a labor convention had openly advocated the *soviet* system for Italian workers. There seemed now an excellent chance that bolshevism threatening to inundate Poland would leap across central Europe and be established in Italy firmly.

Counter-movement

At this time began a movement sinister to some and glorious to others, but remarkable to all who observed. The radicals believed so fervently that their system would

Violence and force

bring amelioration, that they advocated force and violence, and thought any means allowable if the end could only be accomplished. On the other hand, now in many parts of Europe, amidst the growing spirit of reaction, many who cherished what existed and feared the destruction that radicals preached, resolved to repress the threatened revolution with weapons that the revolutionaries themselves would employ. In many places this feeling was current: if the proletariat were led by agitators to destroy the existing system by force and violence, let the conservatives, people of property, the middle and the upper class, use violence and force in defence, rather than passively wait for destruction. In Italy, at this time, such a counter-movement went farthest.

Mussolini

Benito Mussolini, of obscure birth, a former socialist agitator and newspaper writer, was touched by rising Italian nationalism during the course of the war. Now in this nadir of Italy's weakness and discontent he resolved to fight against radicalism with the weapons that radicals were employing. If they threatened violence, violence should be threatened to them. If they used force, force should be used upon them. If strikes were declared for political purposes or so as to bring confusion, those strikes should be forcibly broken. He preached with fiery eloquence, and while his life was often in danger he acted with decision and personal courage. Remarkable ability as an organizer soon brought him a numerous following—the conservatives, the soldiers, the nationalists, and generally those opposed to a social revolution. He urged love for the Italian *patria* and bade people remember the old majesty and greatness of Rome. Since in ancient days the symbol of authority borne before Roman magistrates had been the *fasces*—bundle of rods about an axe—his followers called themselves *Fascisti* and the movement was known as *Fascismo.*

Origin of the *Fascisti*

During 1920 and 1921 the black-shirted followers of

Mussolini waged a varying struggle with the socialists and bolshevists all over Italy. Strikes were broken; retaliation and threats were meted out. Many conflicts ensued in the Italian cities. The weak government looked on while the two factions were fighting it out. The organization of the *Fascisti* was enlarged and strengthened, and increasingly did the people of Italy follow or give it support.

Struggle between *Fascisti* and communists

The decisive struggle soon came. In 1922 socialists called a general strike to intimidate the government. After fierce fighting the strike was ended by *Fascisti*, and for the time being the socialist movement in Italy was broken. The *Fascisti* were now more powerful than the government, and Mussolini had become the greatest man in the state. In the autumn, accordingly, the *Fascisti* marched on Rome, and the government yielding, the king invited Mussolini to take charge of the government, and he became practically a dictator. The tasks that confronted him were such that ultimate success would be very difficult to obtain. By unconstitutional methods and by force, however, he had probably saved Italy from bolshevist revolution.

Triumph of the *Fascisti*

This episode attracted the attention of conservatives, reactionaries, and those who disliked bolshevism and socialism all over the world. Various defensive conservative movements were planned; and it could scarcely be doubted that in the troubled times that faced other countries organizations like *Fascismo*, whatever name they might have, would rise up to defend the old order.

Effect outside of Italy

In these years of perplexity and trouble a constructive effort was made that some thought foolish and doomed to failure, while others believed it to contain the principal hope of mankind. The covenant or agreement for a league of nations had been brought forward at Paris especially by President Wilson of the United States. The French and others would have been glad to hasten the making of a treaty of peace and settling the German question, but

The League of Nations

President Wilson, all powerful then, insisted that the covenant be an integral part of the treaty. In April, 1919, at a plenary session of the Peace Conference, the revised covenant was read, and, with certain amendments, unanimously adopted. This was, in effect, the beginning of the League of Nations, which came into effect officially in January, 1920, after various ratifications of the Treaty of Versailles.

Members of the league

Of the thirty-two countries that had taken part in the negotiations preceding the treaty, all except China signed the treaty, and all the signatories, excepting Ecuador, Nicaragua, and the United States, afterward gave ratification. China later on signed and ratified the Treaty of St. Germain with Austria, of which the covenant was also a part. Hence the League of Nations had from the start twenty-eight members: The British Empire with six votes—Great Britain, Australia, Canada, India, New Zealand, and South Africa; France, Italy, Japan; Belgium, Czecho-Slovakia, Greece, Jugo-Slavia, Portugal, Rumania; various associated American countries—Bolivia, Brazil, Cuba, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Panama, Peru, Uruguay; China, Hedjaz, Liberia, and Siam. During 1920 the European countries that had been neutral during the war—Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland, and the neutral Latin-American states—Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Paraguay, Salvador, and Venezuela—were invited to join. All of them accepted the covenant and so became members of the league.

Applications for membership

Applications for membership were soon received from Austria and from Bulgaria, and many of the members favored the early admission of Germany. For the present the French would have no admission of the Germans; but in December Austria and Bulgaria were taken in, as well as four other states—Albania, Costa Rica, Finland, and Luxemburg. By the end of the year advocates of the League of Nations were boasting that it now embraced

three fourths of mankind, and that even if the United States had not come in, most of the rest of America was included. Unfortunately, however, the assistance and coöperation of the United States seemed vitally necessary; and with Germany and Russia also not included a great part of the white man's world was outside. In 1923 there were fifty-two members, the Irish Free State having been admitted during the autumn of that year.

The league organization

The government of the league had been vested in an assembly in which each member state had one vote, and a council, an executive body, in which the principal powers—France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, and, as originally planned, the United States—were to have delegates representing themselves and the league at large, while there were to be four other delegates representing their own states, the others, and the league at large. The first meeting of the council was held in January, 1920. A permanent secretariat was organized, and publication of an official journal begun. The expenses, about $2,500,000 a year, were borne by the member nations. Various commissions were considered or appointed, such as the commission for the governing of the Saar. In November, 1920, the first session of the league assembly was held at Geneva. Further amendments to the covenant or constitution of the league were proposed, and speedily led to a struggle between the large and the small member states. Argentina and the Scandinavian countries wanted a world court with compulsory jurisdiction. The Argentine delegates proposed that all members of the council should be elected by the assembly for two years with complete rotation among the member states in thirty years, and that former enemy states should now be admitted without any restrictions. The Argentine delegates withdrew pending acceptance of these proposals. The Permanent Court of International Justice was instituted, with eleven judges elected by the council and the assembly; but although

Amendments proposed to the league constitution

thirty-six of the member states desired that jurisdiction of the court should be compulsory, this was opposed successfully by Great Britain, Italy, France, and Japan, who were not willing to engage to submit all disputes to any court.

Work of the League of Nations

Numerous meetings of the council were held in various places. Much useful and difficult work was attempted. Effort was directed toward forwarding disarmament, but little could be accomplished for the present. A commission of the league was appointed to deal with the question of mandates, or orders committing certain districts to the care of supervisory powers, but this was reserved for the most part to be dealt with by the Supreme Council of the Allies. There was general feeling that the work of the league was largely formal and unimportant, and that the principal interested powers would not permit it to deal with, certainly not decide, important matters, which they themselves preferred to settle by force or older diplomatic methods.

Criticism of the league

It was sometimes said that the league was really an organization of victorious powers to preserve and sanction what they had arranged. It was pointed out, for example, that the Commission of the Saar allowed the French to deal with that district much as they pleased. Perhaps in the beginning and in the midst of such great difficulties not much could be done. Yet the league did successfully decide a dispute between Sweden and Finland concerning the Aland Islands, and another between Jugo-Slavia and Albania concerning boundaries, and it undertook the preliminaries of settling the quarrel between Poland and Lithuania about possession of Vilna. Perhaps the most important thing, as in the early history of the parliament of England and of the constitution of the United States, was that the league continued in being, at no time ceasing to function. In 1923 its friends said that it was firmly founded and successfully working. Accession of the United States, they declared, was no

longer indispensable for its success. That summer, however, Mussolini defied the league completely, when Greece appealed following Italy's sudden seizure of Corfu. If adverse decision were given Italy threatened to withdraw at once. The dispute was settled by the ambassadors of the Great Powers.

The Washington Conference

Meanwhile in a smaller undertaking more striking results were achieved. In November, 1921, following the invitation of President Harding of the United States that Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan should send representatives to confer about reducing and limiting armaments, the Washington Conference assembled. America desired that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902 should be brought to an end. Relations between Japan and the United States had become steadily more involved in suspicion and dread, and many believed that oriental questions would one day be settled by war between America and Japan. America attempted now to make her own contribution toward avoidance of war. The secretary of state proposed that Great Britain, Japan, and the United States cease building capital ships for a number of years.

The Pacific Treaty

The great issues here involved were dealt with frankly and with much apparent success. In December, 1921, the Four-Power Pacific Treaty was signed between Great Britain, France, Japan, and the United States, the parties agreeing not to disturb the sovereignty of the others in the Pacific, and that disputes relating to the Pacific should be settled by a conference called for the purpose. This treaty was to stand for ten years, and continue if not then denounced. On its ratification the Anglo-Japanese Alliance would come to an end.

The Naval Treaty

In February, 1922, the Washington Conference finished the Five-Power Naval Treaty between the United States, Great Britain, Japan, France, and Italy. It provided for the destruction of much naval tonnage, limited the size of capital ships and

the caliber of their great guns, and stipulated that the tonnage of capital ships for Great Britain and for the United States should be limited in amount and equal, with that of Japan also limited and in the ratio of three to the five of Great Britain and of the United States respectively, while the tonnage of France and of Italy was limited and smaller still. France, whose proportion was as 1.75 to the 3 of Japan and the 5 of Great Britain and of the United States, greatly objected, and consented finally only on condition that she be allowed to build numerous submarines. Great Britain desired that submarines be outlawed altogether, but here she was opposed not only by France, but by Italy, Japan, and the United States. What would have been the greatest advantage for the British was in this manner lost. Yet the gains from the Conference were large. For some time peace in the Far East seemed assured, and ruinous rivalry between Great Britain and the United States was prevented when Great Britain voluntarily abandoned her position of naval supremacy, at the same time that the United States as voluntarily relinquished her chance to become the greatest power on the seas in the future.

Limitation of naval power

Great Britain and the United States

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Others—like *The Manchester Guardian* and *The Morning Post*, excellent as their news usually is—are also strongly journals of opinion. This, to greater or less extent, is the case with most of the periodicals. One cannot fail to be instructed and entertained by perusal of *The Outlook* (London), *The Nation* (New York), *The New Republic* (New York); but he who reads these weeklies without fully understanding the point of view which they respectively represent so ably and so well may be misled on many occasions. Of periodicals the following will amply repay the reader's attention: *The American Review of Reviews* (monthly, New York), *Foreign Affairs* (quarterly, New York), *The Fortnightly Review* (monthly, London), *The Journal of International Relations* (quarterly, Baltimore), *The New Statesman* (weekly, London), *The XIXth Century and After* (monthly, London), *The North American Review* (monthly, New York), *The Observer* (weekly, London), *The Political Science Quarterly* (New York), *The Quarterly Review* (London), *Revue du Droit Public et de la Science Politique* (quarterly, Paris), *Revue Politique et Parlementaire* (monthly, Paris), *The Round Table* (quarterly, London), *Zeitschrift für Politik* (bi-monthly, Berlin).

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CHAPTER XXVII

THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AFTER THE WAR

It should never be forgotten that the enemy of to-day may become the friend and ally of to-morrow.

LORD AUGUSTUS LOFTUS, *Recollections* (1892), i. 267

Je demandais l'occupation de l'Allemagne jusqu'a l'Elbe, *de façon à séparer . . . la Prusse des autres pays d'Allemagne, qui sont, pour elle, terre de conquête . . . Je disais: si vous voulez faire une paix* française, *occupez le Rhin; si voulez faire une paix de portée* universelle, *occupez l'Elbe.*

GABRIEL HANOTAUX, *Le Traité de Versailles du 28 Juin 1919* (1919), introduction, p. xvii.

Wir wollen bauen ein glückliches, freies, sozialistisches Deutschland. Männer und Frauen! Wählt Sozialdemokraten!

Wer billiges Brot, gesunde Wirtschaftspolitik, deutschen Geist, nationale Würde, schnellen Wideraufbau Deutschlands, völlige Revision des Vernichtungs-Friedens von Versailles will, der wählt am 6. Juni die Lersner-Liste! Deutsche Volkspartei.

German Election Posters.

Nearly five years after the Armistice, the Ruhr plunge, that climax of impolicy, pursued in spite of every British warning, is making chaos worse confounded in political and economic Europe. Things cannot go on as they are. Agricultural France, almost self-contained, can live on these terms. Industrial and maritime Britain cannot live on these terms.

The (London) *Observer*, July 15, 1923.

The Irish Question

FOR some time after the war things improved very little for Great Britain, and it seemed that as often as one problem was settled another as perplexing rose in its place. Most troublesome and distressing was the Irish Question. In the summer of 1914 many had hoped that this matter was virtually settled, but adjustment had remained in

abeyance, and during the conflict matters hastened from bad to worse. One of the most extreme and striking enhancements of national feeling in the decade before the Great War had been the growth of the *Sinn Fein* movement. The struggle of the nations had everywhere further aroused nationalist feeling and fanned nationalism to a flame. During the time of the conflict promises of liberation and of "self-determination" had been freely held out, and vast expectations widely aroused. With the collapse of the Dual Monarchy and disintegration in the Russian Empire, many small peoples or nations had again achieved independence. The victorious states viewed with complacency enough the breaking of enemy states; and it was, perhaps, a matter for lament with the French that the German *Reich* did not fall to pieces. The victors were sorely perplexed, however, to find in their own dominions peoples who desired to break away and set up for themselves.

Desire for "self-determination"

In 1916 Sinn Feiners and Irish extremists had striven to effect a revolution and make Ireland a republic independent of Great Britain. The revolution had failed, but presently most Irishmen became ardent supporters of *Sinn Fein*. In 1919 Sinn Feiners proclaimed Ireland an independent republic. Then they appealed to America and to the Peace Congress at Paris for assistance.

An Irish republic proclaimed

The British desired to settle Irish affairs generously and justly, but they proposed to settle them with respect to their own interests as well as the interests of Ireland. Any settlement was by now very difficult since Ireland was virtually controlled by enthusiasts and fanatics, whose passions had been wildly aroused, until they would admit no compromise whatever. Absolute independence and complete separation were all they proposed to consider. For geographical and strategic reasons these might be vitally dangerous to the people of Great Britain, more than ten times as numerous as the population of Ireland.

Difficulties pertaining to a settlement

Moreover, the majority of the Irishmen of Ulster were determined not to be separated from the United Kingdom.

Terror in Ireland

The avowed purpose of *Sinn Fein* had been passive resistance, but as the movement against the British government came more under the direction of social radicals and political extremists, the republicans undertook to drive the British out of Ireland by terrorism, assassination, and force. Magistrates, officials, and especially policemen were set upon and brutally murdered; much property was burned or ruined; and presently a horrible guerilla warfare was waged. Disorder and chaos spread rapidly over the country, and preservation of order became impossible. In December, 1919, an attempt was made to assassinate Lord French, the lord lieutenant. In the spring of 1920 the British government sent numerous troops into Ireland, and many ex-soldiers were enlisted in a reorganized Royal Irish Constabulary, the special policemen being known from their uniforms as "Black and Tans." Soldiers and policemen, though for the most part behaving with restraint, soon began retaliating for outrages against them, and horror was answered with horror.

Feeling in Great Britain

Under ordinary circumstances such a movement would have been hopeless, and such rebellion would soon have been crushed. It was no ordinary occasion, however. The British people were weary and sick of all war. The British Labor Party, constantly more powerful, was filled with new ideas not only concerning social regeneration but foreign policy as well. Socialists, radicals, and idealists of all kinds convinced themselves that Ireland's cause was just, and that Britain should yield. Most people in Britain were opposed to such yielding, but many were swayed by another consideration. From recent gratitude and for many reasons of policy it had come to be the cardinal tenet in British diplomacy to preserve cordial relations with the United States. The majority of

the Irish race now lived in the United States. Irish-Americans, largely from very widespread *Sinn Fein* propaganda, espoused the Irish extremists' cause, and not only supplied money and munitions for the struggle, but attempted to have America intervene. Despite the best efforts on both sides, relations between Britain and the United States grew increasingly embarrassed and embittered. Accordingly, after a mournful and terrible contest, in which the British always hesitated to use enough force to suppress the rebellion, but in which they were by propagandists everywhere denounced for the war they were waging, the Irish largely achieved the things they were seeking.

The Irish-Americans

In 1920 the British government had brought forward the Fourth Home Rule Bill, to give home rule to Ulster—unwilling to follow *Sinn Fein*—and also home rule to the rest of Ireland. Each would have a parliament of its own. There was to be a Council of Ireland to bring about, if possible, harmonious action of the two. Toward the end of the year this was passed as the Government of Ireland Act. *Sinn Fein* Ireland would have nothing to do with the scheme. In June, 1921, the government of the northern jurisdiction was organized, and Ulster, once so bitterly opposed to home rule, was the first part of Ireland in which such a system was established.

Ulster and *Sinn Fein*

Anarchy and violence held sway in the rest of the island a little while longer; but in the summer of 1921 the British authorities made a final effort to come to terms with *Sinn Fein*, and presently *Sinn Fein* emissaries conferred with British officials in London. The negotiations, protracted until December, were very difficult. *Sinn Fein* was obdurate for a separate and independent republic. The British government would allow no withdrawing from the empire but offered a full dominion status, self-government, and complete autonomy in taxation and finance. Finally, when it seemed that resort must once more be had to

The Irish Free State established

decision by force, a treaty of agreement was made. *Sinn Fein* Ireland would no longer be part of the United Kingdom, but was to remain in the association of commonwealths known as the British Empire. There it would have the constitutional status of one of the self-governing dominions, and be known as the Irish Free State. It was not to be a republic, but have its own parliament with its own executive responsible thereto. The tie between Great Britain and Ireland thereafter was to be allegiance to a common king. Ulster was not included in this arrangement, but was to continue, so long as it would, with its own government—a part of the United Kingdom. There was to be no discrimination because of religion. Great Britain was to have certain naval bases in Ireland, and all necessary facilities during war.

A self-governing dominion in the British Empire

Civil war in Ireland

This agreement, bitterly disliked by some in Great Britain, was yet immediately agreed to there. In Ireland it was much less easily accepted. Most Irishmen and Sinn Feiners soon gave adherence to the Irish Free State, and the new government was shortly set up; but dreadful conditions followed, and peace seemed as remote as ever. The irreconcilable extremists waged a relentless campaign against Ulster, and opposed the Free State by all means that they could. There was a brief but terrible campaign of incendiarism and violence in the north in which the Ulster adherents were somewhat assisted by British troops. Soon this struggle died down as the Irish republicans devoted themselves to trying to destroy the Free State. The methods formerly used against the British were now employed against the Free State officials. Some were shot down from ambush, and all over the country property was seized and houses were burned. The Free State after a while applied far more terribly than had the British methods of repression and reprisal, and by the summer of 1923 the movement was broken. Ireland was now divided into two jurisdictions—Ulster and the

Terror and destruction

Irish Free State—much hating each other; and there had been such wanton destruction of property as would require a generation to repair.

Apparent disintegration in the British Empire

The British government was beset by other problems almost as hard and harassing. It seemed, indeed, that the British Empire was now breaking up. In the Great War the parts of the empire had belied all expectations of England's enemies, giving magnificent assistance to Great Britain. During the struggle the outlying portions had contributed 3,000,000 men and £1,000,000,000 to the general cause, half the men and four fifths of the money being sent by the self-governing dominions. For the most part this was voluntary coöperation in a common cause. In another emergency it might be done again, but meanwhile the dominions felt freer than ever in the past, and some of the parts that were held in subordinate status desired self-government or even independence. One of the leaders from South Africa is reported to have said that the British Empire had come to an end. It was often asserted now that Great Britain was merely the principal partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Attempted development of an imperial system

In 1917 dominion premiers had been invited to sit with the War Cabinet. It was presently resolved that an imperial cabinet, consisting of the prime minister of the United Kingdom and other British ministers particularly concerned with imperial affairs along with premiers of the dominions and a representative from India should assemble each year. In 1919 the war cabinet was discontinued, but two years later an imperial conference assembled in London. "The Empire is in charge of Downing Street," said Mr. Lloyd George at this time. Annual or frequent meetings were recommended. But while formally this seemed the beginning of a closer connection of the parts of the empire and establishment of a general self-government, there were strong tendencies working for disruption. It was, perhaps, of no great

significance that a little later Canada sent a representative of her own to the United States, though this caused some concern in Great Britain. During this time India was seething with discontent, and conditions in Egypt were almost as bad as in Ireland.

India

India, with an area of 2,000,000 square miles and a population of 300,000,000, contained more races and religions than Europe. In the past it had undoubtedly been exploited by English merchants and traders; but since the British government had taken it over from the English East India Company in 1858, it had on the whole been more prosperous and better governed than at any time in the past, and more order and security prevailed than its peoples ever had known. As always, however, better conditions made possible larger aspirations. Indian students learned of the western constitutional systems, and aspired to have them. It was properly answered that most of the people of India had no knowledge of or wish for such things, that as matters were their own interests were concerned in maintenance of British rule. In the Great War India made large contributions of money and men, and large promises were made to her during this peril. At the same time, in India, as elsewhere, discontent, radicalism, and unrest increased very greatly. In 1919 a Government of India Act granted a limited amount of parliamentary self-government; but this was far from satisfying the aspirations of enthusiasts and leaders. The whole matter was further complicated because the Moslem part of the population of India—one of the largest and most aggressive elements in the country—was displeased at the attempts being made to destroy the power of Turkey, whose sultan was head of the Mohammedan world. Widespread movements of passive resistance and of non-coöperation with the British government alternated with sedition and uprisings. As world conditions slowly settled down in the years that followed

Rising discontent and unrest

the war, matters improved; but some observers believed that India would later be lost to the British Empire.

The Kingdom of Egypt

In Egypt matters went farther. In 1914 this country, so long occupied by the British, was declared a protectorate in the British Empire, and by the Treaty of Sèvres (1920) this had been recognized by Turkey. In Egypt presently a nationalist party strove for self-government and virtual independence, employing the methods of terror and non-coöperation that the Irish extremists were using. Here also stern measures of repression did not avail, and in 1922 the Declaration of Egypt terminated the protectorate over Egypt, and the sultan of the country shortly after became king. In the new Kingdom of Egypt Great Britain reserved certain rights with respect to defence and imperial communications, and virtual control of foreign relations. This agreement did not include the Sudan; and many of the provisions of the arrangement respecting Egypt were not at once put into effect.

Deterioration and reconstruction

In Great Britain the principal problems had to do with reconstruction, recovery from the waste of the war, and effecting many promised reforms. At the end of the Great War Britain seemed at the summit of her glory and power. Actually, her burdens and her losses were so great that some doubted whether she would ever be able to recover. The national debt was prodigious. The charges for government, for pensions, for the debt could scarcely be borne. Trade declined, revenue lessened, misery and unemployment were widespread. It was very difficult to make improvements and reforms. In 1918 an admirable Education Act had been passed. For lack of money it remained to a considerable extent ineffective. Building of houses had ceased during war time, and with increase of population there was now a very great shortage. The government had promised to do building itself. This was, indeed, started; but contractors and labor unions raised the costs so that soon it had to be abandoned.

Labor unions: the Triple Alliance

Meanwhile larger and more extensive changes were demanded by the great labor unions, especially the miners, the railwaymen, and the transport workers, combined since 1913 in the Triple Alliance. They believed that they could by threats, or, if necessary, by general strikes, coerce the government into meeting their wishes, not only about social reforms, but also general policy and foreign affairs. The railwaymen desired state ownership of railways and higher pay for the workers. The miners insisted upon nationalization of the mines. In 1920 a great railroad strike paralyzed traffic. It was partly broken when volunteers from all classes assisted in running the trains; after which it was settled by a compromise, in which the strikers gained something. In 1921 there was a strike of the miners, bringing to industry enormous damage. A royal proclamation announced a "state of emergency", and the situation became very grave when the railwaymen and transport workers threatened sympathetic strike. This was only narrowly averted, and presently the strike was ended by another compromise. The most important result seemed to be the virtual disruption of the Triple Alliance.

Resources and standard of living

Many continued to teach that hours of labor ought to be reduced and wages increased, that people should work less not more, that standard of living must be largely raised. In essence the extremer advocates proposed to do this by fundamentally altering the social and industrial system and taking away the possessions of the propertied classes. Many others believed that the proposed amelioration could not be effected. Great Britain, they said, contained more people than its real resources sufficed to support; and far from being able to lessen work and raise standard of living, hard and more effective labor and a stern struggle would be necessary to keep part of the population from starving. England was now paying, they declared, for her too-great expansion in the earlier

stages of the Industrial Revolution. A capital levy and plundering of the propertied classes might bring a brief respite but would certainly bring final ruin.

Finance and taxation

Meanwhile heroic efforts were made for recovery. The government refused to escape its difficulties for the moment by issuing paper money. The French *franc* declined to a fourth of its value, the Italian *lira* to a fifth, while Russian money became worthless and the German *mark* more worthless still. At one time the British pound sterling fell to two thirds of its value; but the government balanced its budget, and began to pay its debts, and by the beginning of 1923 the pound was not far below its old value. This was accomplished by great self-denial and courage. Englishmen taxed themselves more than any conquered people ever were made to bear. The income-tax was six shillings in the pound (thirty per cent.) and higher, while the rates or local taxes added much more. Many gave up a third of their incomes to the state, some half, some three quarters.

Repayment of the debt to the United States

In 1923 the British began paying back the money borrowed during the war from the United States. It had been hoped by some that inter-allied debts would be regarded as sacrifices in a common cause, and that payment would not be demanded. But when America was seen to be not disposed to forego, the British, first of all debtors, made arrangements to pay. For two generations it would be necessary for them to lower their standard of living to do this. Such payment was equivalent to the profits they obtained from the sale of their coal, the principal export of Britain.

Political parties

Great change had come with respect to political parties. At the outbreak of the war a Liberal government was in power. After a while the burden was borne by a coalition. The coalition triumphed in the general election of 1918. After a while its parts began to fall asunder. The Conservatives became the principal element in the group, and presently the coalition was dissolved. On the fall of Mr.

George in 1922 the Conservatives won the general election by an easy majority. The Labor Party gained in this contest, and became the opposition or party second most important. Between the two extremes the Liberal Party had nearly disappeared. It returned only a small number of members, and they divided between Mr. George and Mr. Asquith, who had bitterly quarreled. There were numerous predictions that the Labor Party would presently obtain control. In the general election of 1923 it polled 4,500,000 votes out of 14,550,000.

Domestic affairs in France

France was mostly engrossed in great questions of foreign policy, in attempting to collect the indemnity, in maintaining her position of primacy in Europe. Hence her domestic history was now less important and striking. For the most part her people were united behind their government in determination to make Germany pay and render France in the future secure. There was some socialist agitation; there were strikes; and there was not a little discontent from high prices and high cost of living; but generally the French government was little perplexed by difficulties like those in Great Britain. With respect to paying the sums borrowed from Great Britain and the United States, France courteously but firmly insisted that this should come only after Germany had made payment to her. This was, perhaps, the necessary consequence of a desperate financial situation. Staggering under an enormous national debt, the French government yet proceeded to rebuild the devastated districts by French labor paid for with money borrowed from French people. New loans were rapidly contracted and the public debt still further increased. The devastation was very quickly repaired, and France was alive with activity and seeming prosperity. None the less, while many of the people were prosperous enough, the government itself was now hopelessly bankrupt, unless Germany paid the great sums demanded. Abroad there was much sympathy for the

French finances

position and necessities of France, but there was also not a little stricture that France, in such plight and avowedly unable to pay her debts, was yet supporting the most powerful and costly army existing in the world.

Ministries

The Clemenceau Ministry, which had brought the war to triumphant conclusion, resigned after the general election of 1919. M. Millerand succeeded as premier. He, becoming president of the republic in 1920, was followed after an interval by M. Briand. In 1922, during the difficult negotiations with Great Britain respecting Germany, the Briand Ministry fell and was succeeded by another under the resolute nationalist, Poincaré. The continuance of the Poincaré Ministry after a while seemed to depend upon the successful outcome of the coercion applied to the Germans.

Foreign relations

In foreign relations France slowly drifted away from Great Britain, until by 1923 the *Entente Cordiale*, though not formally broken, seemed actually to be at an end. Relations with Italy, at first not good—in consequence of the disappointment of Italy at the Congress of Paris, and because of heightened rivalry now between Italy and France—were improved; though by 1923 with respect to Germany Italy was tending to accept the British point of view. Relations with Poland were drawn closer, an alliance was made, and Poland became almost an outlying dependency of France. Much interest was taken by the French government in the formation of the Little Entente (1920), and close relations were maintained with Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, and Rumania, though these states went more their own way. With the *Bolsheviki* France would have nothing to do, hoping always that the French loans once made to the government of the tsar might be recovered in the future. With the Turks France presently made a separate treaty, agreeing to give up Cilicia. The French position in Syria was meanwhile maintained. Diplomatic intercourse with the Vatican had been re-

sumed, and cordial relations were presently established again.

The German Republic

In Germany, after the flight of the emperor during the collapse that came at the end of the war, a republic was proclaimed. There was much confusion at first, and in some places *soviets* were established by the social extremists; but in January, 1919, full adult suffrage for every man and woman over twenty years of age having been proclaimed, a general election was held for a national assembly which presently met at Weimar. Work was at once begun upon the drafting of a new constitution. In February a provisional constitution was submitted. It was adopted in July and by executive order became effective in August, without being submitted to popular referendum.

The German constitution of 1919

The *Deutsches Reich*, now understood to mean the German Commonwealth, was declared to be a republic, with all authority derived from the people. All Germans were equal before the law, sharing in a common national German citizenship, any state within the *Reich* being forbidden to discriminate against the citizens of another. Freedom of speech, of the press, of travel, sojourn, and settlement were all guaranteed. The principle was laid down that laws should be passed guaranteeing freedom of assembly and association, and right of petition, and for such social purposes as the assistance of families with numerous offspring, protecting motherhood and children. Freedom of religion was assured—no established church. There would be a state system of education, with a minimum of eight years' compulsory attendance at school.

Socialistic and economic provisions

In this constitution a striking experiment or contribution was made in economic organization: the right of private property and of inheritance was guaranteed, but all natural resources were declared under control of the state, and all private economic enterprises adapted to socialization might be so dealt with; labor was placed under particular protection of the state; right of combination was

guaranteed; something like guild socialism was promoted by a system of workers' and employers' councils which were to share with the political organization of the government control of industry and labor. A national economic council might propose enactment of economic bills, and drafts of important laws relating to social and economic policy must be submitted by the cabinet for consideration by the national economic council before being sent to the legislative assembly.

The national economic council

In structure the government was modelled after those of France, of Great Britain, and of the United States. There were, as in the United States, the federal system and a president with real power. There was also the cabinet system, of a ministry directly responsible to representatives of the people. The legislative branch consisted of two parts: the *reichstag* or national assembly, and the *reichsrat* or national council, which replaced, in effect, the *bundesrat* or federal council of the empire now fallen. The *reichstag*, much the more important part of the legislative branch, was to be composed of representatives elected for four years, by universal, direct, secret, and equal suffrage, in accordance with principles of proportional representation. The suffrage would be possessed by all men and all women over twenty years of age. The *reichstag* was to meet each year; procedure was public; decision would generally be by majority vote. The *reichsrat* consisted of representatives of the various states of the federation. In it each state was to have at least one vote. No state should have more than two fifths of all the votes, but within this provision the larger states would have one vote for each million inhabitants and fraction thereof, provided the fraction comprehended as many people as the population of the smallest state.

The national legislature

The suffrage

The executive and administrative functions were vested in a president and in a cabinet. The *reichpräsident* would be elected directly by the people for a seven-year term and

The executive

be reëligible. He was to be subject to popular recall on the initiative of the assembly, but in event of failure to recall, the assembly was automatically dissolved. The president was to be commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the commonwealth, he was to have the power of pardon, and the power to appoint some of the principal officials. All of his orders would require for validity counter-signature by the chancellor or a member of the ministry. The *reichregierung* or national cabinet (government) would consist of a chancellor (*reichskanzler*) and various other ministers. The chancellor was appointed by the president. Upon his recommendation the other ministers were appointed or dismissed by the president. A member of the cabinet was to be chairman of the council (*reichsrat*) and a cabinet member was to be chairman of each of the council committees. The ministers, individually and collectively, were to be responsible to the assembly, resigning if the assembly withdrew its confidence. Chancellor and other ministers had the right to be present at sittings of the assembly or of its committees, at any of which also their presence might be required.

The cabinet and the chancellor

The making of laws

In national legislation all bills must be initiated either by the cabinet or the assembly. Introduction by the cabinet required concurrence of the council, though provision was made for such introduction even when concurrence was denied. A bill passed in the assembly might be refused in the council, but such veto was to be merely suspensive. If the council refused concurrence, the assembly might pass the bill again. If there were a two-thirds majority, the president must at once order a referendum. There might be a referendum on any law if so ordered by the president within one month after passage. Also in case one third of the assembly had asked that a law be deferred it might be submitted to referendum provided one twentieth of the voters so demanded. Measures might also be initiated by the people.

ICELAND
ARCTIC CIRCLE
ARCTIC
ATLANTIC OCEAN
FAROE IS.
SHETLAND IS.
ORKNEY IS.
Bergen
Trondhjem
Christiania
Stockholm
Gothenburg
SCOTLAND
Edinburgh
NORTH SEA
GREAT BRITAIN
ULSTER
IRISH FREE STATE
Dublin
Cork
WALES
Liverpool
Amsterdam
ENGLAND
London
Hythe
Boulogne
English Channel
DENMARK
Copenhagen
Hamburg
Berlin
HOLLAND
The Rhr
BEL.
Brussels
GERMANY
Cologne
Leipzig
Prague
CZECHO
Brest
Havre
Seine R.
Paris
Bay of Biscay
Loire R.
FRANCE
Bordeaux
Garonne R.
Lyons
Munich
Vienna
AUSTRIA
Berne
SWITZ
Trento
Trieste
Milano
Venice
Fiume
Genoa
Rapallo
MONACO
San Remo
S. MARINO
Marseilles
CORSICA
Barcelona
ANDORRA
Oporto
Duero R.
Ebro R.
Lisbon
Tagus R.
Madrid
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
Guadiana R.
Guadalquivir R.
BALEARIC IS.
SARDINIA
Rome
ITALY
Naples
Tyrrhenian Sea
ADRIATIC SEA
Zara
JUGO
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Gibraltar
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FINLAND
Lake Onega
Lake Ladoga
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G. of Finland
Petrograd
Vologda
Pechora
R.
Ob
R.
SIBERIA
Perm
Ekaterinburg
RUSSIA
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R.
Reval
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WHITE RUSSIA
Saratov
CENTRAL ASIA
Aral Sea
Kiev
Kharkov
Dnieper
R.
UKRAINE
Lemberg
Dniester
R.
Volga
R.
Astrakhan
Don
Rostov
CASPIAN SEA
Kishinev
Pruth
R.
Odessa
Sea of Azov
CRIMEA
RUMANIA
Bucharest
BLACK SEA
GEORGIAN FED.
Tiflis
Kura
R.
AZERBAIJAN
Baku
Batum
ARMENIA
Erivan
Araxes
R.
To Azerbaijan
BULGARIA
Sofia
Adrianople
Constantinople
Saloniki
AEGEAN SEA
Angora
Tchanak
Smyrna
TURKEY
PERSIA
Athens
RHODES
CRETE
CYPRUS
Euphrates
R.
Tigris
R.
SYRIA
MESOPOTAMIA

IN 1923

The judiciary

With respect to the judiciary, judges were to be independent, subject only to the law; extraordinary courts were illegal. Legislative powers not reserved to the federal government remained with the individual states, but the powers of these states were now much more restricted than they had been under the Hohenzollern régime, though each state was entitled to send plenipotentiaries to the *reichstag* to represent the opinion of the local cabinet or government (*landesregierung*) on the matters under consideration. The recent disasters had effected consolidation which the triumphs of 1871 had not been able to produce.

The president

The president had much more power than a president of France but less than a president of the United States. He had not the power of veto, but he might submit a bill that had passed the *reichstag* and the *reichsrat* to a referendum. He might also dissolve the *reichstag*, though only once for the same cause. Thus he might make his office much like that of a British or a French premier. The first president, Herr Ebert, was chosen not by general election but by the *reichstag*. The abnormal conditions under which this government has worked make judgment difficult. At first ministries were not overturned by the *reichstag*, but cabinets were reconstituted as circumstances seemed to require, by displacing some of the ministers and in their stead associating new ones with some old ones remaining.

States of the *Reich*

Meanwhile the number of states in the federation was diminished. The empire had been composed of twenty-six states, including the *Reichsland*. Alsace-Lorraine had been taken by France. During 1919 Saxe-Coburg-Gotha split into halves, of which one, Saxe-Coburg, united with Bavaria. During the same time Gotha, the other half, took part in negotiations with several of the small states of central Germany, which resulted in the union of Gotha, Reuss, Saxe-Altenburg, Saxe-Meiningen, Saxe-

Weimar, and Schwarzburg in one larger district known as Thuringia (*Einheitsstaat Thüringen*), of which the capital was Weimar. Two other small states had been fused during the war, and the two principalities of Reuss had been united in a single state. The German federal republic therefore consisted of eighteen states.

Difficulties confronting the German government

The new government was beset with the gravest difficulties. The people had been weakened by heroic and prodigious exertions during the war. Hundreds of thousands had died from the effects of the blockade alone. There was now a vast national debt, and an enormous indemnity was called for. Not only were the power and proud position of the older Germany gone, but many could see before them only long servitude to foreign masters. Alsace-Lorraine had been taken; the fate of Silesia was doubtful; the Saar was in the hands of the French. Some Frenchmen desired to see Germany split up into a number of less powerful states, and France appears to have encouraged the Rhineland to separate and become independent under her protection. The French also strove to cultivate close relations with Bavaria, and at times Bavaria acted almost as an independent state. Meanwhile extreme socialists desired to overthrow the government and set up the *soviet* system of Russia, while others clamored for immediate nationalization of the mines. On the other hand, reactionaries called on the people to overthrow the republic and regain the older system and strength. In March, 1920, a certain Doctor Kapp headed a counter-revolutionary movement that drove the government to flight, but was itself soon broken by a vast general strike. A little later there were communist uprisings in the Ruhr, as there were in many places during 1921 and 1923. In the first general election, held in June, 1920, the socialist parties obtained the greatest number of members, but they would not unite, and after some difficulty a ministry was formed on the basis of the

Radicals and reactionaries

Catholic, the Democratic, and the People's parties, the system of *bloc* and several parties continuing as before. Under supervision of the Allied representatives disarmament was proceeding. In July the *reichstag* abolished compulsory military service.

Currency and inflation

Throughout this period conditions remained so abnormal that it was difficult to understand the situation that existed. The government paid off its internal debt at the same time that it became bankrupt. This was done with huge and increasing quantities of paper money, of which the value progressively declined. Not a little was taken by creditors and speculators all over the world, bringing thus a considerable profit to the Germans. Meanwhile, however, the creditor classes in Germany—all those who held mortgages, bonds, and long-time obligations—were repaid in money of little and diminishing worth, and the middle classes and the intellectual classes were largely ruined. For the most part this merely involved transfer of property from one set of owners to another, no wealth being taken from Germany. Irrespective of the indemnity which the Allies demanded, Germany showed remarkable power of recuperation. There was enormous industrial activity; there was little unemployment; the merchant marine was rapidly restored, largely by government aid; and vast material additions and improvements carried out. It was partly this situation that caused the French and others to say that Germany was a fraudulent bankrupt; that Germans were constantly increasing their real capital while they protested inability to pay claims against them.

Foreign relations

In foreign affairs for some time Germany was an outcast. She wished to join the League of Nations, but this was denied her. Soon many favored admitting her—especially the countries neutral in the Great War, the South American states, Italy, and presently England—but France steadfastly opposed. During the Genoa Confer-

The Russo-German Treaty, 1922

ence, in April, 1922, Germany concluded a treaty with the other great European outcast, *Soviet* Russia. This aroused anger and the furious opposition of the French; but the treaty remained. Meanwhile the Germans had suffered a grievous loss. By the Treaty of Versailles the future disposition of Upper Silesia, desired by the new Poland, was to be decided by a plebiscite. In March, 1921, this took place, under supervision of the Interallied Plebiscite Commission and of numerous Allied troops. Altogether the Germans had in the voting a majority of 250,000. To the Supreme Council, however, had been reserved the right of dividing the region according to the wishes of the inhabitants of the various communes. Under the strong influence of France it was now proposed to give Poland about two-fifths of Upper Silesia, including certain German industrial districts. This decision was strongly opposed by Great Britain. Presently the richest parts of the territory were seized by Polish irregulars. Germany protested to the Allied governments, and a grave crisis developed between France and Great Britain. The whole matter was presently referred to the Council of the League of Nations. By its decision, in October, 1921, compromise was made: Poland retained part of what she had striven to obtain. A little latter the settlement was embodied in a treaty between Germany and Poland.

Upper Silesia divided

Italy: domestic affairs

For Italy this was a time of poverty, weakness, confusion. Like France, Italy had a devastated district to repair—in the northeast, and also in the newly acquired Trentino. The public debt was enormous. Taxation was crushing, and yet the government could with the utmost difficulty procure the revenue needed. A considerable part of the population, in the years immediately after the war, was unable to support itself; and the Italian government, like the British, had been forced to give assistance at heavy cost. Under these conditions radicalism and extreme communism developed apace, and

avowed attempts were made to establish the Russian system. The socialist movement, however, was vigorously combated by the *Fascisti*. So wide and furious were the contests between the two factions that in 1922 Italy was virtually in the throes of civil war. By autumn the *Fascisti* had obtained the victory; and in 1923 the Italian government, under the king, was being conducted by Mussolini, the *Fascista* leader.

Foreign relations

In foreign affairs Italy for some time held aloof from her recent allies, displeased at what she thought unfair treatment at the Congress of Paris, and also because of increased rivalry with France. Under Mussolini better relations were established with France, then presently with Great Britain, as Italy came more and more to adopt the British view of what should be done about the German problem. Respecting Russia Italy was less hostile than France, and some of her statesmen, like Nitti, favored Russia and condemned the Treaty of Versailles. The formation of the Little Entente was viewed with interest, for with one of its members Italian relations long remained bad.

Fiume

Italy had insisted on possession of Fiume, which the Jugo-Slavs regarded as their one outlet upon the Adriatic; and rather than consider yielding it, Italian delegates at one time left the Congress of Paris. While the matter remained undecided, D'Annunzio, previously best known as a poet, seized Fiume and held it with a volunteer force. The Italian government blockaded him, but the troops were loath to attack, and Italians gave him joyous acclaim. On Jugo-Slavia, meanwhile, he declared war. The Italian government maintained that the Peace Conference must decide the matter.

The treaty of Rapallo

A little later, however, Italy and Jugo-Slavia reached understanding in the Treaty of Rapallo (1920), by which Fiume was made an independent city, Zara and certain Dalmatian islands were retained by Italy, but the remainder of the Dalmatian coast—awarded to Italy by the Treaty of London (1915), made when Italy

Compromise with Jugo-Slavia

joined the Allies in the Great War—was yielded to the Jugo-Slavs. D'Annunzio was presently driven from Fiume, but shortly after the place was seized by *Fascisti*. The problem continued to concern both countries. With Turkey Italy made a secret treaty. To Greece she promised most of the Greek islands of the Dodecanese, occupied during the war with Turkey in 1912, but she continued to hold them. In 1923, on the murder of the Italian members of the Albanian boundary commission, Mussolini seized the Greek island, Corfu, at the mouth of the Adriatic, which Italy wished to possess. The unfavorable impression created was heightened when Italy defied the League of Nations about this. She presently yielded to pressure by France and Great Britain. It was now said that Italian nationalists hoped to obtain Malta from Britain and recover Corsica and Nice from France. During 1923 Italy and Spain seemed to draw together.

The Succession States

In central Europe had arisen the new Succession States —Austria, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, Rumania, and Poland. The new, greater Rumania was a more powerful state than the Rumania of 1914. To the Servia of 1914 had been added Montenegro—no longer an independent state—and large territories peopled by Servians and Croats formerly subject to Austria-Hungary. Poland had been reborn. Reconstituted from territories formerly held by Russia, by Austria, and by the German Empire, it presently became as large as it had been before the First Partition. Czecho-Slovakia contained the old Bohemia and Moravia. It had suffered less, but like all other countries around it remained exhausted after the Great War. Austria and Hungary, shorn of most of their possessions, poor, exhausted, and surrounded by suspicious or hostile neighbors, drank deep now the dregs of defeat.

Austria

Austria after the Great War was a small inland state, with Vienna, built to be the great capital and center of exchange for wide districts, now left with a little territory,

too small to give it support. The Succession States round about soon raised tariff barriers against their old mistress, and the position of the Austrian people shortly became desperate. A large part of the population, especially in Vienna, could find no support. The government was without resources, and obtained revenue by issuing paper money, which followed Russian money and preceded the German in decline to almost no value.

Desperate plight

The Allies were not primarily responsible for the fate that had befallen Austria-Hungary. At the end of the Great War the Dual Monarchy had fallen at once into pieces before they touched it, and in respect of this the peace treaties recognized merely something already accomplished. Austria therefore accepted her fate with little repining, set about to gain the confidence of her late enemies, and, indeed, in her desperation threw herself upon their mercy, beseeching assistance. Some help was presently given, and after a dreadful period, in the course of which the old upper class and the middle class disappeared, Austria gradually in some fashion adjusted herself to the new situation. Conditions slowly improved, and by 1923 the new country seemed definitely on the road to rehabilitation.

The Austrian constitution

In October, 1920, a constituent assembly completed a new constitution. Austria, now mostly a German community, was transformed from a unitary state into a federal republic consisting of eight states. The legislative branch of the government was vested in two chambers: the diet or national council, and the federal council, which together constituted the federal assembly. The federal assembly had merely the functions of declaring war and of electing a federal president. The diet was elected by universal suffrage on the basis of proportional representation. The federal council was composed of members chosen by the legislatures of the respective states. Legislative power was mostly in the diet, the federal council

having but a limited veto power over measures enacted. The cabinet was to be selected by the national council and was to be responsible to it.

Foreign relations

With respect to foreign relations, Austria wished to join the German Republic, and such union was naturally desired by the *Reich*. This project, though undesirable to some of the powers in respect of the present European situation, was yet proper enough from the point of view of Austria and of Germany, and very probably will take place under happier auspices in the future. Meanwhile, however, it was absolutely vetoed by France, and was opposed by the Succession States near by. With Hungary Austria had for some time a controversy respecting possession of Burgenland, awarded to her by the peace treaties, but which Hungary refused to yield up. In October, 1921, the matter was settled by agreement between the two countries, Austria obtaining most of the district.

Hungary

Hungary, also shorn of the greater part of her former possessions, was powerless, but sullen, and unwilling to accept her fate. Her statesmen declared this a foul reward for the old service of Hungarians when they defended Christian Europe from the Turks. During the war the sufferings and the losses of the Magyars had been very great, but disaster did not cease with the end of the conflict. In the summer of 1919, Rumania, dissatisfied with the western boundaries which her greater allies proposed to allow her, sent into Hungary an army, which made enormous demands and then enormous requisitions. From half-ruined Hungary now a vast amount of farm and rolling stock was taken, the Rumanians declaring that they only revenged their own fearful suffering from Hungarians during the war. Successive ultimata from the Allies in Paris had no effect for some time, and Rumania did not withdraw her troops until the next year. Meanwhile, in 1919, a bolshevist government had been established under a certain Bela Kun. After a short period of much confusion

Bolshevism in Hungary

this was overthrown, and the country came under the reactionary rule of Admiral Horthy. In 1921 Charles, formerly emperor of Austria and king of Hungary, attempted to regain the Hungarian throne, but opposition of the Allies and immediate hostility of the Little Entente caused him to withdraw at once. Later that year the ex-king made a second attempt, but this also immediately failing, he was by the Allies exiled to Madeira, where shortly after he died. Hungary continued to be held with an iron hand by the conservatives who had seized power. No new constitution has yet been adopted.

Czecho-Slovakia

Czecho-Slovakia, embracing rich industrial and agricultural districts, was somewhat more fortunate than her neighbors. Here also there was much exhaustion from the war, much suffering and discouragement after it. Under able management, however, its affairs were capably handled and conditions rapidly improved. Gradually the budget was balanced and excessive depreciation of the currency prevented. After the autumn of 1920 foreign relations were managed by Dr. Benes, who was presently considered one of the able statesmen in Europe.

Government

In 1920 a new constitution was adopted. The state was to be a democratic republic. There was to be a president but also a ministry responsible to the legislature. The parliament was to consist of two houses: the chamber of deputies, containing 300 members, elected for six years: and a senate of 150 members, elected for eight years. The suffrage was given to all men and women who had attained the age of twenty-one. Power was lodged substantially in the lower house, the upper having merely revising powers. The president was to be elected by the legislature for a term of seven years. He might prorogue parliament and also dissolve it. There was to be a ministry responsible to the chamber of deputies and dependent upon it. The new state contained a majority of Czechs and of Slovaks, but also a substantial number of Germans,

The German minority

some of whom greatly desired to be under Austria. The Czecho-Slovak language was established as the official language of the country, but in districts where there was a racial minority containing more than one fifth of the local population, the minority might use its own language in public offices and courts, and have its own schools.

Foreign relations

In foreign affairs Czecho-Slovakia was mostly successful. The important district of Teschen, disputed with Poland, was by the Allies divided between the two. In 1920 she entered into defensive alliance with Rumania, then also with Jugo-Slavia, thus forming the Little Entente. She entered likewise into friendly understanding first with Poland, then with Austria, for commercial coöperation especially. In 1922 also she made a provisional treaty with the bolshevist government of Russia.

Greater Rumania

Rumania had been conquered and terribly plundered by the Teutonic allies during the Great War, and forced to sign the ruinous Treaty of Bucharest (1918). The triumph of her stronger allies a little later, however, enabled Rumania to undo this, and then acquire great gains. Immediately on the collapse of Austria-Hungary the Rumans of Transylvania voted for incorporation with Rumania, as did the Rumans of Bukovina, though the population of this district was mostly Ruthenian. A little later the Rumanians of the Russian province of Bessarabia also requested union. In 1919 Rumania attempted to take all of these districts. From Hungary she strove to seize more than the statesmen at Paris were disposed to allow, and invading Hungary grievously plundered that country. The Allies bade her desist, and warned her of the consequences of taking Bessarabia, but she gave little heed. At first Rumania refused to have part in the peace with Hungary, but she adhered to the Treaty of St. Germain with Austria. She now reorganized her dominions, dissolving the national councils of Transylvania, Bukovina, and Bessarabia, and dividing the entire dominion into

Centralization of the government

departments under prefects appointed directly by the central government. Meanwhile she joined Czecho-Slovakia and Jugo-Slavia in the Little Entente, and in March, 1920, under the influence of France, she joined Poland and Hungary in a defensive alliance against Russia. With respect to Bessarabia she felt much anxiety concerning what Russia might do later on. In October, 1920, a treaty was signed by Rumania, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, agreeing that Rumania should have Bessarabia, and that Russia should not be permitted to question the transfer in the future.

Administrative organization

During the stress of the war extensive agrarian reforms had been proposed. Begun in 1917, they were now carried out by the government. All of the larger estates were to be distributed among the peasants. During a period of forty-five years payment to the former owners of the pre-war value must be made: 65 per cent. by the peasantry and 35 per cent. by the government. There were none the less much unrest and much discontent, with numerous strikes and considerable reaction and repression.

Agrarian reform

During the Great War the government of Montenegro had quickly yielded to the Austrians, and following a heroic struggle Servia was entirely conquered. After the downfall of the Dual Monarchy Servia, united now with Montenegro, profited greatly. Immediately on the break-up of Austria-Hungary a provisional Jugo-Slav government was established at Agram in Croatia, and it at once entered into a friendly understanding with the Servian authorities. In November, 1918, the Congress of Neustad proclaimed the union of the Jugo-Slav territories of the former Dual Monarchy with Servia and Montenegro. Thus was formed the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, the boundaries of which were recognized in the treaties made by the Congress of Paris.

The Serbs, the Croats, and the Slovenes

So Jugo-Slavia, as this kingdom was generally known, became one of the large states of southern Europe. For

Jugo-Slavia

Foreign relations of Jugo-Slavia

some time relations with Italy were strained because of disputes about the Dalmatian coast and Fiume, but they were partly composed in the Treaty of Rapallo (1920), by which Fiume was proclaimed a free city, and the Dalmatian districts divided. Meanwhile Jugo-Slavia had joined Rumania and Czecho-Slovakia in the Little Entente, though Rumania stipulated that against Italy she would give to Jugo-Slavia no assistance.

Government and administration

With respect to the administration of the state, there was for some time difficulty concerning Montenegro, a part of the population of which desired the old independence. Generally there were two parties in Jugo-Slavia: those who favored a large measure of autonomy for the respective districts of which the composite state had been formed, and those who wished for centralization and consolidation in a strong unitary state. Here, as elsewhere, also, there were grave disputes between conservatives and radicals. In 1920 a constituent assembly was elected to draft a new constitution. Next year a constitution was accepted. It closely resembled the Servian constitutions of 1888 and 1903. Jugo-Slavia was to be a constitutional, parliamentary, hereditary monarchy. The executive and administrative functions were to be under a king. The kingship was in the royal house that had ruled over Servia. Legislative functions were vested in a parliament of one house, the members elected by universal suffrage, representation of minorities being provided.

Poland again independent

Owing to the collapse of Russia and the bolshevist revolution, followed by the defeat of the Central Powers, it was possible, beyond almost all expectation, to reconstitute an independent Poland. The problem of the boundaries of the country was one of the most difficult matters before the Congress of Paris, and in the end it was found impossible to satisfy either the Poles or their former masters. At Paris it was arranged that Poland should be given access to the Baltic, though the corridor that permitted

this divided Prussia into two parts. Possession of Upper Silesia, desired greatly both by Germany and Poland, was decided by plebiscite in favor of the Germans (1921), but the result being satisfactory neither to the Poles nor the French, the plebiscite decision was later on partly undone by decision of the council of the League of Nations. Thus part of the disputed country was awarded to Poland, giving her certain rich industrial areas and cities. The eastern frontiers of Poland were decided by a war between Poland and Russia, in which the Poles after some success were nearly overthrown altogether, but in which they finally defeated the *soviet* armies entirely. By the Treaty of Riga (1921) Poland obtained much more than the Supreme Council at Paris had proposed. In effect, the Poland of 1772 was now reëstablished.

Part of Upper Silesia obtained

During the Great War no country had suffered more than the Polish districts, now largely impoverished and ruined. Poland was also unfortunate in that she had been reëstablished contrary to the actual wishes of Germany and Russia, between whose territories she lay, and who might later crush her to pieces. Accordingly, from the first it seemed necessary to maintain a powerful army, the cost of which became greater than all the revenue of the state. Poland's interests did not coincide exactly with those of the Little Entente, and were sometimes in conflict with them, so that she entered into no close relations with it. She did, however, make a commercial treaty with Czecho-Slovakia and a defensive alliance with Hungary and Rumania against Russia. Her closest relations were with France, of whom she was the eastern partner, from whom she received powerful assistance and support, and who made alliance with her in 1921. After long dispute between Lithuania and Poland, Vilna was incorporated in Poland in 1922.

Position in Europe

An ally of France

A new Polish constitution was adopted in 1921. The result of many compromises, it was based especially upon

The constitution of Poland

the systems in France and the United States. The legislative was vested in a parliament of two houses: the *sejm* or house, and a senate. Suffrage was given to all men and women of twenty-one years or more. Executive power was vested in a president—elected for seven years by the members of the two houses sitting as a national assembly, he having nearly the powers of a president of the United States—and in a cabinet, the ministers of which were to be appointed by the president but who would be individually and collectively responsible to the parliament. The judiciary was modelled after that of the United States. Catholicism was recognized as the principal faith of the country, but religious toleration was guaranteed. Every citizen might use his own language. Free, compulsory education was arranged for. Labor was to be under the particular protection of the government. During this trying time the state was sustained by the zeal of its people and by their intense national spirit. There was great suffering and some starvation, however, and Polish paper money sank in value almost as low as the Russian.

Bolshevik Russia

Russia remained for the most part the outcast of Europe. The principal states refused to recognize the bolshevist government or resume relations. Some effort was made to end this situation at the Genoa Conference (1922), but while Russian delegates did meet the statesmen of Europe, there was no result beyond the Russo-German treaty which aroused such a furore. Meanwhile the bolshevist government had been assailed by a succession of counter-revolutionary movements, all of which in the end it crushed. During this time also various outlying parts of the old Russian Empire had broken away and established their independence, while in a disastrous war large western areas had been lost to Poland (1921). By 1922, however, save for Poland, Finland, and the small Baltic States, nearly all the old Russian Empire had been reunited.

Conditions in Russia

Conditions have remained obscure, for there is no modern parallel to the complete separation and isolation of so vast an area from the rest of Europe. For some time to come, therefore, no satisfactory account can be written in detail. It is fairly certain that the *Bolsheviki* were originally able to seize power because they acted with much resolution in a time of death-like weakness and great confusion. It is fairly certain that they remained a small minority of the entire population—more than nine tenths of the people, perhaps, always knowing little or nothing of their doctrines, and sympathizing with them not at all. It seems almost certain that they continued to hold power through strong organization, the powerful army which they built up, and a reign of terror like that in France long before, which they carried through with many of the worst methods of the old tsarist régime.

Destruction of the old civilization

During this time higher civilization in Russia disappeared, save for the new system which the new masters were trying to impose. The peasants were benefited by appropriation of the great estates, not by the bolshevist regulations; but industry and commerce were almost entirely destroyed. In 1922 extensive areas were swept by famine. This was partly because railroad transportation had almost come to an end. By this time, though some of the more fanatical bolshevists held stanchly to the doctrines first proposed, others, including Lenin, had abandoned them largely, and seemed willing to compromise with the capitalist system. The *Bolsheviki* themselves might long hold power in Russia, but there seemed little chance that ultimately their system would be able to succeed there.

The constitution of *soviet* Russia

After the bolshevist revolution Russia had been proclaimed a socialist republic, with government vested in a series of *soviets* or elected councils. From this with certain amendments and additions had been evolved the bolshevist governmental system. The operation of the con-

stitution could scarcely be judged, but from the text of the constitution issued by the *soviet* government it was possible for western critics to make some deductions.

Local *soviets*

While the government was based avowedly upon the votes of the people, it was only indirectly and remotely for the most part that the people had any control, and many of them were designedly debarred from voting. From the electorate were excluded not only lunatics and criminals, but all priests and monks, and all employers or any persons engaged in any private business. In the *soviets*, apparently, was vested altogether the power to make these exclusions. The electorate constituted thus elected nothing but the local town and village *soviets*. The elections were not conducted by ballot but in open meeting, almost by acclamation, as they had been in England two centuries before. The local *soviets* thus chosen had complete power over the people of the community, there being no appeal to any law court against them. The local *soviet* must appoint an executive official, who, rather than the *soviet*, governed the district. He was paid by the authorities in Moscow, and looked, it might be supposed, to them rather than the local electorate and assembly. Local executive and local *soviet* had almost unlimited authority in their district: they were to maintain the "revolutionary order," administer the compulsory labor service and compulsory service in educational work, and supervise the performance by the population of the universal military service. They were, however, entirely subject to "the superior organs of *soviet* authority." Their primary duty, said the constitution, was to carry out all the decisions of these superior organs.

Local executive officials

Superior and central authority

Above the town and the village *soviets* was a hierarchy of congresses or assemblies—rural district congresses, county congresses, provincial congresses, and regional congresses, of which the members were elected not by the people but by the congresses or *soviets* next beneath them,

members of the upper bodies being chosen very indirectly by the people. Each congress met once a year, choosing an executive official, whose salary was paid by the central government, and in whose hands most of the government of the jurisdiction resided. At the top was the All-Russian Congress of *Soviets*, composed of delegates sent by the town *soviets* and delegates sent by the provincial congresses. It contained about 1,500 members. Its principal function was to pass laws proposed by the executive committee of about 300 members which it appointed. This All-Russian Central Executive Committee was actually the parliament of Russia. In theory its powers were nearly complete. Actually government was mostly in the hands of a presidium—an inner committee of the Central Executive Committee—and especially of the small Council of People's Commissars, or heads of departments, whose president was Lenin.

The Russian "parliament"

Altogether, control of the government by the people was slight and very indirect. In reality, the power was exercised through an all-powerful central committee of the Socialist Party, giving its orders, appointing its officials, supported by its own great army, and enforcing its measures through a large and effective police organization, the *cheka*. It was probable that the real power in Russia would be exercised thus for some time to come.

A disguised despotism

In July, 1923, a constitution was adopted for the Federal Union of Socialist *Soviet* Republics, the union comprising eight states: Russia proper including Siberia, the Ukraine, White Russia, the Georgian Federation, Armenia, the Tartar Republic, the autonomous republics of Khiva and Bokhara. Over the whole federal union there was to be one law and one supreme court, but the respective states might have their own local courts and laws. Russian was to be the language of the union, but each state might preserve its own language as it desired. There was to be a federal legislature of two houses: the federal council, a body of

The Bolshevist constitution of the Russian Federal Union

371 members, elected in proportion to population: and the council of nationalities, consisting of five members elected from each state and one member from each autonomous republic. Each house was to choose its own executive committee (*presidium*). The two houses in joint session were to elect the five commissariats or federal ministries. The commissars were to constitute the supreme executive and administrative authority in the federal union.

Some districts had become independent of Russia

Numerous states had been formed at first from the ruins of Russia. Some, like the Ukraine and the Tartar Republic, were presently reconquered, and later were made states in the Russian Federal Union. Besides Poland some others had maintained independence. They were Finland, the Baltic States, and Lithuania. All of them had been obtained by the Russian tsars through conquest, comparatively late, and for the most part never really incorporated in the great Slavic state. Their future could not yet be foretold.

Finland

Finland proclaimed independence when Russia collapsed in 1917, and her independence was recognized next year by some of the European powers. Almost immediately came a bolshevist revolution. Great confusion and disaster ensued until the revolution was suppressed by a middle-class organization, the White Guards, who for a while ruled with iron hand. Then came a long struggle with the bolshevist government of Russia, and prolonged dispute with Sweden concerning possession of the Aland Islands. With Russia conflict was ended in 1920 through the Treaty of Dorpat, by which Finland obtained much of what it desired, including an outlet to the Arctic, while the Finnish district of East Carelia, which had sought to join Finland, was to be autonomous under Russia. A little later, a commission of the League of Nations awarded the Aland Islands to Finland. In 1922 the council of the League of Nations guaranteed the neutralization of these islands.

The Treaty of Dorpat

Lithuania had been overrun by the victorious Germans in 1917. They at once set about establishing a Lithuanian monarchy with capital at Vilna, dependent, through military and economic connection, on themselves. With the downfall of the Germans, the Lithuanians proclaimed an independent republic. This country was presently overrun by the bolshevik flood that inundated so much of Poland. In 1920 the *soviet* authorities recognized the independence of Lithuania. Two years later, after long dispute, Vilna, which had been seized by Polish irregulars, was annexed to Poland. **Lithuania**

The Baltic Provinces had been conquered from Russia by Germany during the Great War. By the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (1918) Courland, the nearest, was to be incorporated in the German Empire. Esthonia and Livonia, farther to the north, were to be independent. When a little later Germany was overthrown, these districts were held by German free companies, then overrun by bolshevik invaders, and then, after a struggle, they were able to win independence. Out of them presently appeared Esthonia, with the seaport Reval, and Latvia or Lettland, comprising most of Livonia and Courland, and having outlet at the great port of Riga. These states were shortly recognized by the European powers, and in 1921, along with Lithuania, they were admitted to the League of Nations. Meanwhile peace had been made with Russia. In 1922 a conference was held between representatives of Russia, Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, and a common commercial policy agreed on. Later that year the beginning was made of a Baltic Alliance between Poland and the new Baltic States. **The Baltic States** **Esthonia** **Latvia**

After the war the lower Balkan states were, like most other European countries, exhausted and spent. Bulgaria was compelled to accept the Treaty of Neuilly (1919), by which she remained deprived of the districts she had so long hoped to obtain, and was constrained to disarm and **Bulgaria**

promise a large indemnity. Discontented, disheartened, exhausted, her people were unable to reconcile themselves to their fate, and continued to believe that certain Bulgar-inhabited districts and an outlet to the Ægean Sea must be given them as their right.

Greece

The Greeks, although their king had prevented them giving much assistance to the Allies during the Great War, received very favorable treatment from the statesmen in Paris, and to the Greeks were given the Ægean shores of Thrace nearly as far as Constantinople, and a considerable district in Asia Minor out beyond the city of Smyrna. Presently, after the Greeks had sent large forces into Asia to compel the Turks to accept the arrangement, they lost the confidence of some of the Great Powers, and were later on defeated by the reviving Turks. Pursued into Europe, resources and finances completely exhausted after a decade of warfare, they were saved by intervention of the powers, especially Britain. None the less, they had to accept the Treaty of Lausanne (1923), losing almost all that had been given them in Paris. Constantine I had again been forced to flee from the country (1922).

Turkey

In the autumn of 1918 the power of the Turks seemed utterly broken, and many believed that at last they would be completely expelled from Europe. The great difficulties that have always beset the Turkish question, however, caused a compromise to be made by which the sultan was allowed, under surveillance, to retain Constantinople, while the straits were internationalized. Otherwise the Turkish state was restricted to a part of Asia Minor, all the outlying provinces being taken away. A national revival followed among the Turks, however. Various reforms were made, and intense racial feeling aroused. In 1922 the Greeks were completely overthrown, and driven from Asia Minor. Despite the opposition of Great Britain, Turkish forces presently crossed into Europe. The Turks were able to take advantage of large differences be-

Revival of Ottoman power

tween the two principal European powers—Great Britain and France—and from their misunderstandings and suspicions large profits were presently drawn. By the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) Turkey gained all of Asia Minor and eastern Thrace along with Constantinople in full sovereignty. A little previously the Angora government, which had led the national movement, had deposed the sultan, and made Turkey substantially a republic, with the caliphate an elective office.

The Scandinavian countries

Those states that had remained neutral during the Great War had in the following years a history less striking than the others. All of them suffered from the general impoverishment caused by the war and from disturbed conditions in Europe. In the Scandinavian countries some people had profited from the conflict, others had been impoverished by the war's consequences and conditions.

Holland, Switzerland

Such also was the case with Holland and with Switzerland, which had been able, in the midst of very trying conditions to preserve their neutrality, though Holland, especially, had suffered from the actions of combatants on both sides. All these countries were now beset with problems arising out of demoralization of European currency and trade. They were perplexed with radicalism and discontent, which they strove to allay with reform and adjustment. In 1922 a proposal in Switzerland for a capital levy was easily defeated.

Portugal

Portugal, long the dependent of England, had joined the Allies in the Great War, and had done some slight service. Perhaps she neither gained nor lost by this. The country remained poor and backward.

Spain

Spain had been neutral. Her direct profits from the war were more than balanced by the indirect losses that followed. Spain also continued backward and poor, her government inefficient, weighed down by a bureaucracy corrupt and dishonest. Despite the personal popularity of the king, Alfonso XIII, monarchy was constantly threatened with overthrow. Barcelona was one of the most

radical and disturbed of all the communities in Europe. In 1923, following a disastrous defeat in Spanish Morocco, came another movement to separate Catalonia from the rest of Spain. Suddenly, in September, the army, under General Primo de Rivera, took control of the government much as the *Fascisti* had done in Italy a year before. This movement was directed not against the king, but against communists, separatists, and dishonest officials. In 1923 the Spanish sovereign visited the king of Italy, and a Mediterranean *entente* between Italy and Spain was rumored. When France obtained most of Morocco (1905–11), Spain had been allowed the important district south of the Strait of Gibraltar, while the city of Tangier was internationalized. France now seemed to desire Spanish Morocco, though Great Britain opposed. It was said that Spain again hoped to obtain Gibraltar, Britain to take in exchange her city of Ceuta, opposite Gibraltar and east of Tangier.

Belgium

Luxemburg

Belgium, so long occupied by the Germans, astonished all observers by the rapidity with which she recovered. There was less of actual devastation to repair than in France, and the Allies in gratitude for her signal service allotted her the first payments made by the Germans. In foreign policy she now acted closely with France, with whom she made a military defensive alliance in 1920. Three years later she supported France in the military occupation of the Ruhr. Meanwhile in 1922 an economic union had been effected between Luxemburg and Belgium, by which each nation preserved sovereignty and independence, but with customs frontiers abolished.

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CHAPTER XXVIII

EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION SINCE THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

In order to estimate its full importance and grandeur . . . we must compare it, not with any preceding century, or even with the last millennium, but with the whole historical period—perhaps even with the whole period that has elapsed since the Stone Age.

A. R. WALLACE, *The Wonderful Century* (1898), pp. 1, 2.

But it seems to me that . . . we have here reached something deeper than poetry. In the sense of illimitable vastness with which we are oppressed and saddened as we strive to follow out in thought the eternal metamorphosis, we may recognize the modern phase of the feeling which led the ancient to fall upon his knees, and adore . . . the invisible Power whereof the infinite web of phenomena is but the visible garment.

JOHN FISKE, *Cosmic Philosophy* (1874), part ii. chapter vii.

The wonderful age

THE period between the French Revolution and the present was the most wonderful in the history of mankind. In no preceding epoch did such vast change or such wondrous advancement occur. It was, above all, an age of invention and brilliant scientific discovery; and men were able to make use of the elements of nature and change the conditions of their living more than had ever been so in the past.

Production and transportation

The fundamental problems of feeding, housing, and clothing people were solved as never before. Much better agricultural methods were gradually worked out, and the extension and systematic use of fertilizers made it possible to get much more food from the soil. It was during this period also that large new fertile areas were

cultivated for the first time in North America and South America and other places to which Europeans had gone. Because of labor-saving machinery, prodigious quantities of food could now be produced and used to feed other men and women who, also working with labor-saving machines, were able to produce manufactured goods, and also great quantities of luxuries and of new things not before made. At the same time the making of better roads and canals, the introduction of railways and, toward the end of the period, motor transportation, made it possible for the first time easily to carry the products of great inland districts like Russia and the central plains of the United States.

Building

In this way the materials for building were easily got from the forests and quarries to the places where the construction was wanted, and a greater number of buildings were quickly made than ever before. Construction was more and more carried on with gigantic labor-saving devices and by better principles of engineering, so that large public buildings and improvements were everywhere undertaken. What the Egyptians had long ago done by the slow, incredible toil of multitudes of slaves; what the Romans had once done by patient, intelligent labor; what Europeans had occasionally done in the Middle Ages and the later centuries in their glorious churches for the service of God and in palaces for princes or guilds, was now everywhere easily accomplished in very short time where people accumulated wealth and used the machines of the Industrial Revolution. Magnificent public buildings were easily constructed, vast warehouses, depots, railway stations, and docks, and magnificent bridges were built on a scale seldom dreamed of before.

Supply of water

For the first time in the history of the world such reservoirs and aqueducts were built that a great many people had sufficient water and could, if they desired, keep clean. Some of the great Roman cities had had plentiful supplies of water through wonderful aqueducts; but during medie-

val times and the centuries following, even in the prosperous cities and towns most people got their water from wells or from cisterns; usually there was no water supply in houses, the generality of people seldom bathed, and not a few washed faces and hands only on rare occasions. Skin diseases, itch, and the various ailments ascribable to filth were much more common then than now, and there must have been, for most people, far less of the wholesome comfort that comes from clean mouth and clean skin. During the nineteenth century the great cities, and presently most of the large towns in the more prosperous countries, brought copious quantities of water from some distant and undefiled source, and carried it in small pipes into the houses of individuals, so that for the first time in the history of the world it was easily possible for many people to get enough water for washing, for bathing, and for cooking. During this same time, also because of great improvements in mining and because of the increased transportation facilities, it was possible to heat dwellings with coal in the winter, and an increasing number of people were now able to be comfortable in their houses in cold weather and get warm water for washing. Small bathtubs were made in increasing numbers, first of wood lined with tin, and much later of porcelain, while stoves and systems of heating by hot air or vapor or steam were used more and more. The best of these things were never extensively used except by the wealthier classes or in the most prosperous countries. In most parts of Europe the older tubs were used or else none at all, and the better-to-do people burned coal or wood in their fireplaces, while during cold weather the masses shivered or huddled in their thickest clothes, as their ancestors had long done before them.

Heating

Illumination

In this period a marvellous revolution was effected in artificial lighting. For ages people depended almost entirely on the sun for their seeing. Torches, rushes, braziers, candles and lamps were much employed by those

able to afford them; but for most people these things were too costly, and it was inconvenient even to get fire in the first place, for this could only be done by flint and tinder or by keeping a coal alive. Few inventions have brought greater convenience to many people than the matches, or little splints of wood dipped in material easily rubbed and ignited, which certain Englishmen invented about 1827. At the end of the eighteenth century gas, made from coal, was just beginning to be used to light factories and homes, but in the next half century it was widely and successfully used, the gas being generated in huge containers and then sent through small pipes into the places where it was to be used. Meanwhile, in 1782, Argand, a Swiss inventor, perfected in England a lamp which gave better light than any such device had ever given before. Oil for illumination was now got in greater quantities, first from whales, then from the earth, until cheap good lamps, and petroleum or coal oil made it possible for fairly good lights to be had, even in small and isolated places. Gloomy and sombre enough this illumination was in comparison with what was to follow; but for the first time it became possible for many people to see at night. In the later years of the nineteenth century electricity began to supplant gas for lighting, and the small incandescent lamps in houses and the powerful arc lights in city streets made it possible to prolong the activities or amusements of the day into the night, thus, in effect, making man's life longer and more productive than ever before.

Matches

In medieval times, and of old, good clothing and cover for the feet were difficult to make and expensive to buy. There were splendid and luxurious garments for the wealthy, but the masses of the people could neither produce nor buy many clothes; and many wore, until they could be worn no longer, garments which became greasy, filthy, tattered, and covered with patches, and either went barefoot or in wooden sandals or shoes. In the latter part of the

Clothing

eighteenth century, to the wool and the silk once used were added great quantities of cotton, which in the later age became the principal substance used to clothe people. The new machines of the Industrial Revolution did the work of spinning and weaving with marvellous quickness. Then in 1845 an American inventor, Elias Howe, made a sewing machine which enabled people to do sewing more quickly than ever before. Machinery for making shoes was also developed, especially in America, and for the first time multitudes of people could get good cheap shoes.

Communication and transportation

During this period there was a revolution in transportation and great improvement in means of communication. Down to the latter part of the eighteenth century most people never travelled, and few went far away from the place in which they worked or were born. The easiest travel and communication were on the sea in sailing ships, which went their course in what seems now leisurely way. Travelling on land was by horseback or stage coach; transportation by pack or wagons. There had been a magnificent system of highways in western and southern Europe during the greatness of the Roman Empire, but the Roman roads had mostly long since disappeared, and while there had been some excellent ones constructed in England and France in the eighteenth century, most of the roads were poor. Travelling and transportation were always slow, as it would now seem, difficult, and in rainy seasons they came almost altogether to an end. During all this time the best inland communication was by river or canal.

Railways

Frenchmen and Englishmen had been developing the steam engine since the end of the seventeenth century, though it was not until about 1769 that an Englishman, James Watt, made such improvements in it that it became a very effective and powerful device. In 1808 Richard Trevithick built a railway in London, and in 1825 George Stephenson made a locomotive capable of drawing a heavy

load. In that year the first railway of any importance was constructed in England, the trains being exceedingly crude and uncomfortable and regarded as dangerous by the people who saw them. In the course of the nineteenth century all the great cities and seaports of Europe were connected by railway lines, so that it was possible to travel overnight from London to Edinburgh or from Madrid to Paris in a day and a night, and so that immense quantities of freight could be quickly despatched, though in Europe the rivers and canals continued to be used for freight transportation much more than in the United States. At the beginning of the twentieth century another great change in locomotion on land was brought about when certain Frenchmen perfected devices by which vehicles could be driven by power from motors which they carried, over ordinary roads and not railroads specially prepared for them. The coming of the automobile made it possible for people to move about more easily than ever before.

Automobiles

Several successful attempts were made to drive a ship by means of an engine, the most notable being that of Robert Fulton, an American, in 1807. During the first half of the century the stately old ships of an older time continued to bear most of the traffic on water, but gradually steamships took their place first because of greater speed, and afterward because they were cheaper, while the wooden vessels were displaced first by iron ships and then by ships of steel. In the eighteenth century one or two months was needed to cross the Atlantic; but in 1838 the *Great Western* went from Bristol to New York in fifteen days, and in 1914 some of the swiftest English liners could make the passage in six. Early in the twentieth century, as the result of much experiment and effort by Americans and Frenchmen, devices were made capable of carrying men through the air. Airplanes were among the principal instruments employed in the Great War, but their possi-

The steamship

Airplanes

bilities for communication and transporting things can scarcely be estimated yet.

General results

The result of all these things was that many people were able to go from one place to another quickly and easily on business or pleasure in a way never before conceived of except in the imagination of dreamers. And for the first time immense quantities of goods could be taken from the place of their origin to where they were wanted, cheaply and quickly. Large as the world may yet seem, it has, because of railroads and steamships and airplanes, shrunk very small, and it is not easy for most people now living to realize how distant and remote far places seemed in the days of old.

Communication of news and ideas

During the nineteenth century also enormous advances were made in getting news and disseminating information. There had been newspapers in western Europe since the first half of the seventeenth century, but there was not yet any great supply of cheap paper and there was no large reading public. Moreover it was not easy to get news. An English or a Dutch newspaper of the eighteenth century was generally small, with not more than eight pages, containing advertisements of quacks and patent medicines, political and literary essays, local gossip, and a small amount of news from abroad, often many weeks old. The cost of sending letters was high and delivery often delayed and uncertain, so that there was then no large and constant interchange of correspondence.

Paper and printing

During the course of the nineteenth century paper was made cheaper and in much greater quantities. In 1814 the London *Times* began to operate a printing press by steam, and it was soon possible to do printing very fast. Books and newspapers gradually became more numerous, and cheaper. And during the time that this was taking place general systems of education began to be developed in some of the European countries, with the result that more people wanted things to read more than ever before.

The improved facilities for travel and rapid communication which the railroad and steamboat afforded made it possible to get much more news more quickly, for letters were now rapidly sent long distances at slight expense.

The telegraph

Then a number of inventors began working on the problem of sending communications by means of electricity, and just before 1840 several successful results were achieved. Such telegraphic messages were first sent over wires on the land but soon men began to try to lay wires or cables under the water and so extend the system. In 1851 a submarine line was laid from Dover across to Calais, and in 1866, after many preparations and one unsuccessful attempt, the first ocean cable was laid from Ireland to America. After this time cables were placed under all the principal bodies of water, and by the end of the century it was possible to send messages over land or sea all around the world with lightning speed. Not long after the telegraph had been invented, by which electrical signals were transmitted, the telephone was developed, by which it was possible to hear the voice of one talking a long distance away. Then early in the twentieth century an Italian, Marconi, invented a method of telegraphy without any wires, by which the messages were sent through the air, and this method was soon applied to telephony also. As a result of these things it was possible for men to keep informed about the doings of governments and peoples in a way never dreamed of before. Indeed self-government and democracy on a large scale could scarcely have been possible except for these marvelous methods of intercourse, travel, and communication.

The submarine cable

The telephone

Pictorial representation

Before the nineteenth century there were few pictures. Objects were represented in sculptures and pictures in the churches, in marginal illuminations in the old manuscripts, and afterward by rude wood-cuts in books or on broadsides. The wealthy could afford portraits, or pictures woven in tapestry, or paintings upon their walls; but until

a hundred years ago things were generally represented to people who had not seen them, not by some reproduction to be perceived through the eye, but by description in words to be heard or read and understood in the mind. It is probable, therefore, that imagination and ability to realize words were more highly developed in many people then than now.

Photography

At the beginning of the nineteenth century several scientists worked upon the idea of making pictures by the operation of light, and in 1839 a Frenchman, Daguerre, succeeded in obtaining beautiful portraits, which were afterwards known as daguerreotypes. This was the foundation of the art of photography, which was afterward perfected and cheapened, until in the twentieth century incredible numbers of pictures were taken and spread broadcast. Further developments were gradually worked out. After many efforts it was possible to photograph colors as well as shape and light and shade. In 1895 Röntgen, a German scientist, announced his discovery of the so-called X-rays of light, which penetrate through the spaces in opaque objects, and make it possible for pictures of objects on the other side or in the interior of substances to be taken. A few years afterward, Edison, an American, invented the cinematograph, by which pictures of an object in motion were taken so rapidly, that when they were afterward shown in succession the effect was a "moving picture." The "cinemas" or "movies" were soon improved and spread all over the world, affording entertainment and instruction to unnumbered multitudes, in Constantinople and Cadiz as well as New York and London. Edison had also invented the phonograph, by which sounds could be recorded and reproduced, and this presently brought good music to a multitude of people.

X-Rays

The phonograph

The result of all this was to make the lives of people full of a variety of things, which formerly they had not

enjoyed, and had not been troubled with. If life had once been harder, it had also been simpler, quieter, more placid. Now it was richer and fuller, but far more rapid, feverish and troubled, and it could not easily be so deep and complete as once it had been.

Scientific progress

In some of the great branches of organized human knowledge most of the advance ever made was achieved in this time. Such was not the case with mathematics, even though immense new fields were explored and great contributions made, for mathematics was already the oldest and most mature of the sciences. Nor was it true of astronomy which was also very old, and to which contributions of fundamental importance had already been made. Nevertheless, in the nineteenth century a multitude of studies with more powerful telescopes, with more delicate instruments, with mathematics more fully developed, and with the spectroscope and spectrum analysis, made further discoveries of which the total result made a revolution in men's ideas. Above all was this true of spectrum analysis, through which, by studying the composition of light, it became possible to know the material out of which other heavenly bodies were made and even to calculate their motions. The Greeks of Alexandria had thought of the earth as the center of things, with smaller sun and moon and stars going about it. By the end of the eighteenth century all this had been changed to the idea of the sun as the center with the earth going about it, and more distant planets and their satellites also revolving around it. But at the beginning of the twentieth century people thought of the sun and its attendants, even the outermost planet Neptune, 2,800,000,000 miles away, as only a small part of all things. So vast had distances now become, that they could only be measured by the stupendous unit of the light year, the distance which light, travelling 186,000 miles a second, would go in a year. From the earth to the sun light would go in eight

Astronomy

The universe

minutes, but four years would be required for passage from the solar universe to the nearest star, and a million years or a hundred million, perhaps, to another spiral nebula like the Milky Way, of which it may be the sun is a part. So is modern man overwhelmed by the immensity of things and the smallness and futility of himself, as in ancient days the Hebrew psalmist and king: "When I consider the heavens, the work of thy fingers, the moon and the stars. . . . What is man?"

Physics

But most of the great work in two other branches of knowledge, physics and chemistry, was done in the period from the end of the eighteenth century. Previous to that time very little was known about sound, light, heat, almost nothing about magnetism and electricity, and scarcely a thing about the chemical elements, though in 1661 an Englishman, Boyle, defined them, and explained the necessity of determining what they were. About the time of the French Revolution an American, Benjamin Thompson, observed that the process of boring a cannon generated heat, and concluded that heat was not a substance, as most people had thought before, but motion or energy, and the Englishmen, Sir Humphrey Davy and James Joule, afterward made further experiments, which led to the theory of the conservation of energy. This theory, which became the fundamental law of physics, declared that energy was neither created nor destroyed, but transformed from one phase to another; that a body, for example, moving could generate heat, and that conversely heat applied to a body could make it move. This theory was fully worked out by Joule, by William Thompson, afterward Lord Kelvin, and by the German Helmholtz.

Light

At the beginning of the nineteenth century it was generally believed that light was caused by the emission from a luminous body of tiny corpuscles or small pieces of matter; but this corpuscular theory of light gave way before

the wave or undulatory theory, as a result of the work of Thomas Young at the beginning of the nineteenth century and a Frenchman, Fresnel, a little later. Worked out in another way this presently led to spectrum analysis, one of the greatest of all the contributions of the period. A succession of English and German scientists, among whom were Wollaston, Sir John Herschell, Fraunhofer, Kirchoff, and Bunsen, observed that a band of light produced by passing light through a prism, was crossed by lines; and it was gradually learned that the different elements, giving out light waves of different lengths, produced the lines of the spectrum band.

Spectrum analysis

At the end of the eighteenth century two Italians, Galvani and Volta, developed the electric battery and so founded electrical science; but the cost of generating electricity by their method was very great, and the using of electrical energy was postponed until other devices had been discovered. In 1819 a Danish investigator, Oersted, discovered the relation between electricity and magnetism, and a body of investigators, chief among whom was the Frenchman, Ampère, soon developed electro-dynamics, by which it became practicable to convert electricity into mechanical energy; presently electricity became one of the principal servants of mankind.

Electricity

Shortly before the French Revolution the Englishman, Priestley, and Scheele, a Swede, discovered oxygen, and shortly after the Frenchman, Lavoisier, who died on the guillotine in 1794, decomposed air and water into their elements and laid the foundation of modern chemistry. After this time the elements were gradually isolated, and many investigators carefully decomposed substances and studied combinations. Meanwhile John Dalton, an Englishman, formulated the theory that elements were composed of atoms or small indivisible bodies, and that in different elements the atoms had different weights; and his theory was strengthened by the discoveries of the

Chemistry

Swedish scientist, Berzelius, and the Italian Avocadro. Later investigations by many observers resulted in the conception of the *atom*, the smallest quantity of an element that could be present in a compound, and of the *molecule*, the smallest quantity either of an element or a compound that could exist in free state.

Radioactivity

Vast extension of knowledge concerning matter and energy came with the electron theory of Sir William Crookes, of which the truth seemed completely demonstrated by J. J. Thompson in 1897—that the atom was made up of much smaller particles charged with electricity. It was further extended through the discovery of radium by the Curies in 1898, and the less celebrated discovery of actinium by another Frenchman, Debierne, the next year. Radium first appeared as a marvellous substance emitting energy at a rate hitherto deemed inconceivable. It was presently apparent that the radiations were electrified particles of matter moving at a rapid rate; that radioactivity was an atomic property, but that separation could be effected of radioactive substances from radium and kindred elements like uranium and thorium, different from these substances themselves; hence that the process was evidently the decomposition or breaking down of the atoms of the substance in question.

New conceptions

As investigations were continued immense consequences followed, of which understanding is still only beginning. On the one hand, new explanations of the source of energy were given. It had hitherto been conjectured, for example, that the energy and heat of the sun arose from combustion caused probably by shrinkage of the matter of which the sun was composed. Radioactivity now offered another and a simpler explanation. In consequence, the probable age of the earth and of the solar system was greatly extended, and some conjectured that the earth might be as old as 2,000,000,000 years. Furthermore, it was presently demonstrated that one element

could by radioactive decomposition break down into another, thus justifying at last the speculations of the alchemists of the Middle Ages. The atom now began to be conceived as a microcosm in itself, composed of vast numbers of electrons, rushing through the space of their little universe and revolving in orbits or following laws of their own. And finally different conceptions arose respecting what had formerly been called "energy" and "matter." It began now to seem that "matter" and "radiation" were both manifestations of one and the same existence; that "matter" was "energy" concentrated while "radiation" was "energy" spread through a larger portion of space; that either one was convertible into the other; and that "matter" was perhaps really identical with what had been called "electricity" in the terminology of the period preceding.

Atoms and electrons

Matter electricity

The general result of all the advance made in chemistry and physics was that men learned, in a way scarcely dreamed of in previous ages, to understand the forces and things existing, and make use of them as powerful servants and assistants. In the old days alchemists and learned monks had toiled with alembic and brazier, discovering little but expecting much. The torch had then been carried by a long succession of workers, and learning was enlarged with progress increasing. Now in the twentieth century enthusiasts told of boundless additions to knowledge and much greater triumphs to come. Endless vistas stretched on, as before crusaders and humanists in the days past. To the greatest of them now who strove to seize upon energy or explore the structure of the atom there was much of the feeling that Columbus had with horizon fleeing before him, or Balboa when he saw the Pacific from the heights of the Darien mountains. In olden times the aristocracy, a small upper class, lived upon the labor of slaves. As a result of the scientific work of the ninetenth century, done mostly in Europe, a great

Mastery of the forces of nature

Vast extension of the realm of the intellect

Increase of luxury and leisure

part of mankind had more leisure and lived easier lives, because of the work of the great forces of nature now employed for production and service. Social reformers declared that if administration and distribution were improved all men and women could work less and be more able to enjoy the good of their civilization. In 1923 one of the greatest living masters of science predicted that in no long time four hours' work a day would be all that toilers need give.

Conservation offset by destruction

Concerning men and women, their bodies and their welfare, there were great innovations not only in the art of conserving them but in the art of destruction. There were more terrible devices for warfare on sea and land, at the same time that unparalleled advances were made in physiology and biology, in surgery, in medicine, and in preventing diseases. Science promised to make things better but it threatened to destroy all better things. If there were peace many had hope that life would be longer, cleaner, easier and better. The devastation in the years 1914–18 was so terrible that Europe seemed scarcely able to recover; but more dreadful means of destruction were being perfected. If other great wars broke out, then with his old weapons and with new, devilish devices man might with no great difficulty annihilate all that was best.

The art of war

Great changes took place in the art of war on land, many of them being demonstrated for the first time by Napoleon and his generals. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Prussians first adopted as a permanent measure universal military service, which revolutionized war, making armies far larger and war more tremendous and costly. In the second half of the nineteenth century the rapidity of gun-fire was greatly increased. The Prussians defeated the Austrians at Königgrätz largely because their rifles could be fired much faster; and in the Franco-German War the French had even a better one. During the same time artillery, which had been so im-

portant in the hands of Napoleon, came to be increasingly effective, firing explosive shells more than solid balls, and constantly being improved in range and rapidity of fire. In the latter part of the century American and French inventors developed the *mitrailleuse* or machine gun, which fired vast numbers of bullets mechanically; and by 1914 the French had developed, in their "seventy-fives," field artillery which was practically rapid-fire cannon. All sorts of scientific discoveries and all sorts of technical devices were adapted to military use. Increasingly did war depend upon railroads, machines, chemicals, explosives, and gases. Such overwhelming forces were used at last that in a prolonged conflict men destroyed the wealth and civilization of ages, and might, indeed, succeed in destroying civilization entirely.

War on the sea

On the sea also warfare was greatly altered. Down to the middle of the nineteenth century there had been no fundamental alteration in sea war, except that sails had completely displaced oars, galleys giving way to frigates and ships of the line, and that the artillery was now cannon instead of bows and arrows. In the first half of the century steam partly displaced sails as the motive force, and more and more, shells were fired from the cannon. The great change, however, came at the time of the Crimean War when the French used ironclad vessels, and especially in 1862, when the appearance of the *Merrimac* and the *Monitor* showed that ironclads were invincible in a contest with the old wooden ships, and made evident the lines along which naval architecture would develop. All over the world now heavy ironclad vessels with turrets displaced the older frigates. At the end of the nineteenth century, inventors, especially in America, developed what had been tried for a hundred years, and perfected the submarine or under-water vessel which came near to determining the outcome of the Great War, in 1917.

Study of the human body

These instruments of destruction did not give the predominating character to a scientific age which was principally constructive. In no preceding period was so much done to make men healthful and happier and better. Down to the end of the eighteenth century only a little was known about the structure and working of the human body, and little about the diseases which beset man's life. Bleeding was still the general and sovereign remedy, and most people were disposed to believe that sickness was a visitation of the Lord, to be accepted and endured. In 1801 a Frenchman, Bichat, directed attention to the tissues of the body. Many investigators studied the appearance and action of organs diseased and in health, and presently a great deal was known about the heart, the lungs, and the kidneys. As the century went on an immense field was opened by observation and experiment, and many of the best students became specialists in medicine, devoting themselves to the study and treatment

Bacteriology

of particular diseases. A great revolution came in 1861 when Pasteur, a Frenchman, demolished the old idea that diseases originated spontaneously, and showed that they came from minute living organisms which he called *bacteria*. The science of bacteriology, carried forward with great brilliancy by Pasteur and also by the Germans Koch and Cohn and others, made it possible to determine not only the causes of many of the worst diseases, but also the means of preventing them; and by the end of the period it was possible by taking certain precautions to escape very largely from the fevers and diseases which

Surgery

had often scourged mankind as plagues. In surgery no less memorable results were attained. Not only was knowledge of the human body extended, with far greater certainty and skill than ever before, but about 1846, following the work of several experimenters, anaesthesia was introduced by an American doctor, and his methods at once being taken up everywhere, a great part of the

pain and horror of operations was permanently abolished. In 1876 an Englishman, Lord Lister, introduced antisepsis, by which, as the result of precautions taken and of care to kill the germs which the operator might bring to the patient, the danger of infecting the patient with disease was avoided.

Literature

The period from the end of the eighteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth was also an epoch in which literature, music, and the fine arts flourished as seldom before. In literature there had been no greater or richer period since the Renaissance. Never before had there been so much writing, and seldom so much good writing. In Spain, in Italy, in Holland, in Switzerland, and parts of central Europe, where the greatest periods of the past were not equalled, there were nevertheless many writers of distinction. In England the nineteenth century was the greatest of all periods in her literature except for the Elizabethan; and in France except for the classical age which began about the time of Louis XIV and ended about the time of the Revolution. It was the greatest period also in German literature and the foremost of her writers, Goethe and Schiller were at their height in the period of the Revolution and Napoleon. In the nineteenth century appeared the most important writers in Scandinavian literature. And this was the period when a body of great Slavic writers for the first time made Russian literature splendid and renowned.

Leading tendencies

There was no kind of writing that was not done and done well: poetry, prose, drama, novel, criticism, historical composition. But altogether the tendencies of this period conduced to prose writing rather than poetry; along with much fine original work, there was also a great deal that was critical and descriptive; and as the sixteenth century was the era of the drama, so the nineteenth was especially the time of the novel. During this time romanticism displaced classicism; afterward a balance was

struck between the two; then individuals followed their own ideals, and realism or naturalism presently gave the character to great pieces of fiction.

Classicism

In the eighteenth century the literature of western Europe, notably in France and England became elegant, polished, careful, neat, and exact. The great masters of this in France had been Racine and Boileau, and in England, Addison and Pope are now the most famous. To the authors of this period the term "classic" is often applied. Certain of the great writers of Greece and Rome were in after-times justly considered as being in a rank or *class* by themselves, so that they themselves were called *classic* and their works referred to as *classics.* In their compositions had been especially developed the qualities of symmetry, proportion, purity, refinement, and restraint; and when now these qualities were imitated or developed by writers in western Europe in the period after the middle of the seventeenth century, the term *classicism* was used to define the spirit of the writing of this age. Some of the finest writing in modern literature was done by these masters; but in the hands of a host of feeble imitators poetry and prose tended to become artificial and stereotyped, and the manner more important than the matter. Finally the writing became lifeless and artificial, and it seemed impossible any longer to do in this style great and original work.

Romanticism

In the second half of the eighteenth century, however, there was a great reaction from this. First in Germany, with Herder, Goethe to some extent, and Schiller, a little later in England with Robert Burns, Wordsworth, Byron, and Sir Walter Scott, and after the Napoleonic period in France especially with Lamartine and Victor Hugo, a host of writers began to break away from the rules and restraints of the classical school and give free rein to imagination and passion, using such forms as suited them best, often going to the Middle Ages for their themes, and writing

of the strange and the wonderful. This movement came to be known as romanticism. Everywhere it was characterized by strength, exuberance, and daring, but was presently carried to excess, and provoked a reaction. Thereafter writers strove to use for their own purposes the best of the classic and the best of the romantic styles.

The period of the French Revolution

The French Revolution profoundly affected the literature of the time, stirring some writers to idealism, arousing suspicion and hatred in others. Robert Burns (1759–96), the beloved lyric poet of Scotland, remained outside the current of this movement. In England William Wordsworth (1770–1850) was filled with exaltation and joy, though the excesses of the Revolution soon caused these feelings to wane—all of which is imperishably commemorated in his *Prelude* (1805). Samuel Coleridge (1772–1834), best known now for his beautiful short poems—*Kubla Khan* (1797), *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* (1798), and *Christabel* (1816)—underwent similar change, which he recorded in his ode *Recantation* (1798). This was true also of their contemporaries Southey and Landor. In France little of note was accomplished during this time. André Chénier (1762–94), who perished on the guillotine, did work which often related to events in the Revolution, but of which the technique was unaffected by the turmoil about him. His various poems have a flawless beauty with the best of the old classic spirit.

Alfieri

The Italian, Count Vittorio Alfieri (1749–1803), was an aristocratic republican, an advocate of revolution until he saw it in Paris, one who always held in veneration the Greek and the Roman heroes who overthrew tyrants. His numerous tragedies, written in the old manner with strict regard to the classic unities, are marked by a stern simplicity of style. Among them are *Antigone* (1783), *La Congiura de' Pazzi* (The Conspiracy of the Pazzi, 1787) and *Timoleone* (1788).

These years saw the greatest period of German literature, when the two greatest of the German writers gained

The great period in German literature: Goethe

their renown. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) achieved highest excellence in the various kinds of writing that attracted his genius. He wrote numerous beautiful ballads and short poems: some of them, like *Erlkönig* (The Erl-King) and *Kennst Du das Land?* (Dost Know the Land?) have been made more memorable by music since composed for them. His prose romances, like *Die Leiden des Jungen Werther* (The Sorrows of the Young Werther, 1774) and *Wilhelm Meister* (1777–96), were important in the romantic movement, though later he became one of the greatest exponents of classicism also. His dramas are the best in German and some of the greatest ever composed: *Egmont* (1778), *Iphigenie auf Tauris* (Iphigenia in Tauris, 1787), *Torquato Tasso* (1790), and *Faust*—of which the first part, the portion more generally known, appeared in 1808, and the second, finer, longer, and more beautiful, in 1832—one of the principal literary masterpieces of the world.

Schiller

He was contemporary with Friedrich von Schiller (1759–1805), after Goethe the foremost figure in German letters. Schiller composed many prose works of considerable merit. His short poems and ballads rival those of Goethe: *Der Handschuh* (The Glove), *Der Ring des Polycrates* (The Ring of Polycrates), *Das Lied von der Glocke* (The Song of the Bell). His dramas are among the best and most popular in German: *Maria Stuart* (1801), *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* (The Maid of Orleans, 1802), *Wilhelm Tell* (1804)—a landmark in the development of nationalism in Europe. Greatest of all was his three-part drama *Wallenstein* (1800).

Influence of the French Revolution

The French Revolution was at first greatly approved in the German lands. The aged Klopstock thought of going to Paris to ask for French citizenship; and others were loud in praise. Schiller, an enthusiastic admirer of Rousseau, had already extolled social and political revolt in his early dramas, *Die Räuber* (The Robbers, 1781), and *Die Verschörung des Fiesco* (Fiesco's Conspiracy, 1783).

Poetry in the nineteenth century: England

In the extraordinary mass of European writing that filled the nineteenth century there was a great body of splendid poetry, especially in England, in France, and in Italy. George Noel Gordon, Lord Byron (1788–1824), was for a while the most striking literary figure in Europe. His various short pieces were long popular, and his *Childe Harold* (1812–18), was the most widely read poem of the time. In the poetry of Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792–1822) —especially his *Ode to the Skylark*, *The Cloud*, and *Adonais* —greater beauty was attained than since the time of Milton, while his tragedy, *The Cenci* (1819), recalled some of the greatness of the Elizabethan drama. John Keats (1795–1821) in his *Endymion* and *Eve of St. Agnes* also wrote with finest and purest beauty. The Victorian period in England was illuminated by a host of poets. Robert Browning (1812–89) wrote with much obscurity but also with great vigor, beauty, and dramatic force. Among his numerous poems were *Sordello* (1840) and the *Ring and the Book* (1868–9). Alfred, Lord, Tennyson (1809–92) was the favorite with English-speaking people in his time. Among his works were *The Lady of Shalott*, *The Princess* (1847), *In Memoriam* (1850), *Idylls of the King* (1859–85). Algernon Charles Swinburne (1837–1909) was a devotee of the old pagan beauty. In his numerous poems he made use of many new devices freeing himself from older conventions. In Germany Heinrich Heine (1799–1856), born at Düsseldorf of Hebrew descent, was not only a critic and a prose writer of distinction, but one of the principal lyric poets of the nineteenth century. Among his best known pieces were *Die Lorelei*, *Du Bist Wie eine Blume* (Thou Art Like a Flower), and *Nach Frankreich Zogen Zwei Grenadier* (To France Two Grenadiers Were Returning). In France Alphonse Lamartine (1790–1869) was the great founder of the romantic school, especially in his *Méditations Poétiques* (1820). Victor Marie Hugo (1802–85) was also one of the principal leaders of

The Victorian period

France

Victor Hugo

the romantic movement. Among his poems were *Les Feuilles d'Automne* (Autumn Leaves, 1831) and *Les Contemplations* (Thoughts, 1856–7). Alfred de Musset (1810–57)—*Poésies Diverses* (1831), Alfred de Vigny (1799–1863)—in various poems, carried French poetry forward. Pierre Charles Baudelaire (1821–67)—*Fleurs du Mal* (Flowers of Evil, 1857), the "Parnassiens," who reverted from the romantic to more classic manner and forms, and who included Charles Lecomte de Lisle (1818–94), René Sully-Prudhomme (1839–1907), and Paul Verlaine, (1844–96)—symbolist and decadent who wrote with a strange and haunting beauty, represented other

Italy

phases. In Italy Vincenzo Monti (1754–1823), Ugo Foscolo (1778–1827), Alessandro Manzoni (1785–1873), Giacomo Leopardi (1798–1837)—one of the greatest of Italy's lyric poets, and Giosuè Carducci (1835–1907)—whose poems are filled with vivid strength, all recalled the

Russia

greater days of Italy's past. In Russia Alexander Pushkin (1799–1837) and Mikhail Lermontov (1814–41) had part in the literature then rising of their country.

The drama

Admirable dramatic writing was done, but generally what men of the sixteenth century would have put in a play men of the nineteenth put into novels. Many—like Byron, Hugo, D'Annunzio, Hauptmann, and others—who gained distinction as dramatists, were also eminent as novelists or poets. In Spain José Echegaray (1833–1916) recalled older glories of the Spanish drama with *Ó Locura ó Santidad* (Madness or Sanctity, 1876), *El Gran Galeoto* (The Great Galeoto [Go-Between], 1881), *El Loco Dios* (The Foolish God, 1900). A lesser and later contemporary was Jacinto Benavente. In France Victor Hugo wrote numerous dramas, among which were *Hernani* (1830), *Le Roi s'Amuse* (The King Amuses Himself, 1832), and

D'Annunzio

Ruy Blas (1838). In Italy Gabriele d'Annunzio (1864–) not only had great distinction from his novels—like *Il Trionfo della Morte* (The Triumph of Death, 1894), and

from his poems, but from numerous dramas, among which were *La Città Morta* (The Dead City, 1899), *Francesca da Rimini* (1901), and *La Figlia di Jorio* (Jorio's Daughter, 1904). The Belgian poet, Maurice Maeterlinck (1864–), was the author of several plays of distinction—written in French: *Pelléas et Mélisande* (1892), *Monna Vanna* (1902), *L'Oiseau Bleu* (The Blue Bird, 1909). In Sweden Johan Strindberg (1849–1912) wrote much in poetry and in prose. Among his dramas were *Fadren* (The Father, 1887), *Fröken Julie* (Countess Julia, 1888), *Gustaf Adolf* (1900), *Carl XII* (1901). Norway gained lustre from the p'ays of Henrik Ibsen (1828–1906), which contained intense, realistic portrayal of human conduct under modern conditions. Among them were *Peer Gynt* (1867)—to which additional fame was given afterward by the music of Grieg, *Et Dukkehjem* (A Doll's House, 1879), *Vildanden* (The Wild Duck, 1884) *Hedda Gabler* (1890). In Germany Hermann Sudermann (1857–), celebrated also as a novelist, wrote the plays *Heimat* (Home, but generally known under the title *Magda*, 1893) and *Es Lebe das Leben* (The Joy of Living, 1902). His contemporary Gerhart Hauptmann (1862–), better known, perhaps, for his romantic and poetical writings, composed among other dramas *Die Weber* (The Weavers, 1892). In Great Britain, in a group of many lesser but worthy writers, George Bernard Shaw (1856–), the Anglo-Irish dramatist, was preëminent. His plays, composed with admirable technical skill, embodied destructive criticism and brilliant but superficial satire upon the life of his time. Among his pieces, most of which had great success, were: *Candida* (1898), *Man and Superman* (1903), *John Bull's Other Island* (1904), *Major Barbara* (1905). Foremost in the Irish literary revival at the beginning of the twentieth century was John Millington Synge (1871–1909) with his *Riders to the Sea* (1904), *The Playboy of the Western World* (1907), *Deirdre of the Sorrows* (1910).

Ibsen

Sudermann

Shaw

The novel: Great Britain

The novel had its origin in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but it became the greatest of all literary forms in the nineteenth. In Great Britain Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832) was famous first as a poet, and some of his narrative pieces, such as *Marmion* (1808) and *The Lady of the Lake* (1810) have long been favorites. After

Scott

the appearance of Byron, however, Scott turned his attention to another field, and became the founder of the modern historical romance. Among the great number of his novels are *Waverly* (1814), *Old Mortality* (1816), *Rob Roy* (1818), *The Bride of Lammermoor* (1819), *Ivanhoe*(1820).

Dickens

Charles Dickens (1812–70) carried on more directly the tradition of the great eighteenth-century English novelists. He depicted with great power, though with exaggerated sentiment and pathos, scenes especially in the life of the lower classes: *Oliver Twist* (1838), *David Copperfield* (1849–50). His *Pickwick Papers* (1837) is one of the

Thackeray

greatest masterpieces of humor in English. William Makepeace Thackeray (1811–63), humorist and master of satire, depicted in his novels scenes from life in the upper and middle classes: *Vanity Fair* (1846–8), *Pendennis* (1848–50). His *Henry Esmond* (1852) is an admirable historical novel. Mary Ann Evans, known by her pseudonym, George Eliot (1819–80)—*Silas Marner* (1861), *Romola* (1862–3), and Charlotte Brontë (1816–55)—*Jane Eyre* (1847) won renown during this period. George

Meredith

Meredith (1828–1909) wrote *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel* (1859) and *Diana of the Crossways* (1885). Robert Louis Stevenson (1850–94) finely revived the romantic amidst modern conditions: *New Arabian Nights* (1882), *Treasure Island* (1883), *The Master of Ballantrae* (1889). Thomas Hardy (1840–)—*Far from the Madding Crowd* (1874),

Moore

Tess of the D'Urbervilles (1892), George Moore (1853–), the greatest master of realist fiction in English—*A Mummer's Wife* (1884), *The Brook Kerith* (1916), and Joseph Conrad (1857–), a Pole, whose writing about adventure

and the sea has been done in English—*Lord Jim* (1900), *Youth* (1902), *Typhoon* (1903), remain the principal figures in the writing of British fiction.

France

In France Victor Hugo carried on the romantic movement in his novels as well as in his poems, especially in *Notre-Dame de Paris* (1831). Marie Henri Beyle, better known by his pseudonym De Stendhal (1783–1842), represented an early phase of the psychological novel in such works as *Le Rouge et le Noir* (Red and Black, 1830) and *La Chartreuse de Parme* (The Carthusian Nun of Parma, (1839). Honoré de Balzac (1799–1850), chief of the realistic novelists of France, aspired to do with the novel what Molière had long before done with the drama. His principal works were included in the *Comédie Humaine* (1829–50). Gustave Flaubert (1821–80) was a master realist in his *Madame Bovary* (1857), while the strange horror of his story of old Carthage—*Salammbô* (1862) is never forgotten by the reader. The greatest artist in French prose who remains now is the aged Anatole France (1844–). His numerous works include *Thaïs* (1890), *L'Île des Pengouins* (Penguin Isle, 1908), and *Les Dieux Ont Soif* (The Gods are Athirst, 1912)—a very striking study of the French Revolution.

Balzac

Germany

In Germany among a host of novelists were Gustav Freytag (1816–95)—*Soll und Haben* (Debit and Credit—1855), Sudermann *Frau Sorge* (Dame Care, 1887), *Es War* (It Was, 1894), and *Das Hohe Lied* (The Song of Songs, 1908), and Hauptmann—*Die Versunkene Glocke* (The Sunken Bell, 1897), an allegory in verse, and *Emanuel Quint* (1910), a novel concerning Christ in the modern world. In Italy Allesandro Manzoni's admirable novel, *I Promessi Sposi* (The Betrothed, 1825–7), was a romance concerning Milan in the seventeenth century.

Spain

In Spain Benito Pérez Galdos (1843–1920) wrote a series of historical novels concerning the struggle against Napoleon and later episodes, of which *7 de Julio* (July 7) deals with the rebel-

lion against Ferdinand VII, while various novels, like *Doña Perfecta* (1876), embody realistic or psychological studies.

Russia

Russian literature reached its culmination in the nineteenth century, and its greatness was especially in the novel. Nikolai Gogol (1809–52) wrote among other striking works *Dead Souls* (1841) of which the author destroyed the last part. Of Ivan Turgeniev (1818–83), the best known work was *Fathers and Sons* (1862). Feodor Dostoievsky (1822–81) wrote *Memoirs from the House of Death* also known as *Buried Alive* (1858), which relates to Siberia. Greatest, perhaps, was Count Lyev Tolstoy (1828–1911), who served in the Crimean War and afterward interested himself in social reform. Among his work were *War and Peace* (1865–8), *Anna Karénina* (1875–8), and *The Kreutzer Sonata* (1890).

Criticism

During this period critical writing was advanced. Charles Sainte-Beuve (1804–69) covered a wide range in his *Causeries du Lundi* (Monday Talks, 1851–7). Matthew Arnold (1822–88) wrote among other essays a masterpiece: *On Translating Homer*. Georg Brandes, the Dane (1842–), was one of the principal critics of his time.

History

Of historical writing there was much. Some of the older work was distinguished for eloquence and literary or rhetorical quality. Of such were Lamartine's *Histoire des Girondins* (1847); the *Histoire de France* (1833–67), and *Histoire de la Révolution Française* (1847–53) of Jules Michelet (1798–1874); and *The History of England* (1848–61) of Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800–59), which made good its author's boast that it would displace the most recent novel. Later on historical writing was less distinguished for literary excellence than scholarship and profound research. Modern historical writing, indeed, was founded about the middle of the nineteenth century by Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886), whose most celebrated work perhaps is *Die Römische Päpste* (The

Historical research

Popes of Rome, 1834–7), but whose numerous works relate especially to the history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Ranke and his school—and from them in course of time historians everywhere learned—taught that historical writing should be based upon the sources, and that history should strive especially to tell about things as they had happened. Von Ranke

In music there were splendid achievements, in Italy, in France, in the Slavic countries—Bohemia, Poland, and Russia, and above all in Germany and Austria. Music is the greatest contribution which the Germans have made to the arts, and their music is the greatest in the world. Of their foremost composers, Bach had written his glorious, stately music in the first half of the eighteenth century, and Mozart's work was done in the second half; but Beethoven, greatest of them all, composed his symphonies and sonatas in the early part of the nineteenth, while Brahms did his work two generations later. This music was distinguished not only by its beauty, but by the depth and vastness which have generally pertained to creations of the Teutonic mind. In the nineteenth century also Germany and Austria gave to the world the greatest writers of song, Schubert, Schumann, Brahms, and Franz. About the middle of the century Richard Wagner began writing that magnificent series of operas which place him above all others in this branch of art. Some of his music was crude, strange, and barbaric, but most of it had wondrous beauty and a depth and suggestiveness which altogether no other composer of operas has equalled. In Italy also there was splendid writing of opera, especially by Verdi, as there was in France; while at the end of the century Russia took from Germany her old preëminence in musical composition. Music in the nineteenth century

Primacy of the Germans

Music at the beginning of the period was in the classical style, and in it melody, a series of single tones, had become the striking characteristic. It was especially Musical development: classicism

Melody

marked by a single melody or by one that was strikingly predominant. Often the form was more important than the content. In this period was done the work of Haydn, Beethoven, and Mozart. Beethoven, however, marked the transition over into a romantic movement in music, as in his *Ninth Symphony*, though he retained classical forms somewhat to the end. The romantic movement was much advanced by the songs and the instrumental compositions of Schubert and especially of Schumann, in which the content was now far more important than the form, and in which the form was sometimes much inferior to the best work of the age preceding. Still further was this carried by Chopin, in whose romanticism new forms were invented for the purpose of expressing more perfectly meaning, content, and powerful emotion.

Romanticism

The Romantic movement in music culminated in Wagner. Whereas in such operas as *Don Giovanni* or *Le Nozze di Figaro* of Mozart the melodies were beautiful, simple, and brief, in the greater operas of Wagner, like *Parzifal* and *Tristan und Isolde*, they were long and not exactly balanced, as they would have been in the classical manner. Furthermore, Wagner gave great importance to harmonies, or combinations of tones, which were constantly made more and more complex. Meanwhile, however, Italians like Verdi and Frenchmen like Gounod, in such operas as *Aïda* and *Faust*, retained much of classical forms at the same time that they were filled with the Romantic spirit.

Later development

From the Romantic School came more modern composers, who developed harmonies still further than Wagner had done, using old ones in new combinations, which seemed strange and novel, as indeed Wagner had often done, or else introducing such novelties as the whole-tone scale, which was employed by the Frenchman Debussy, or, like Scriabine, making entirely new harmonies which seemed to the ordinary listener to be discords, and so in music accomplishing results not unlike what the futur-

ists attained in painting, and some of the users of *vers libre* achieved in poetical writing. During the later period, however, the most striking work was often done in certain national schools, at a time when nationalism was becoming the most potent political force in Europe. Such was the work of Grieg in Norway, of Dvořák in Bohemia, of Sibelius in Finland, and of Tschaikovsky and Rimsky-Korsakov in Russia. These two last, along with others of their countrymen, who still carried on the Romantic traditions, took away from the Germans primacy in the world of music and put it in the keeping of the Slavonic peoples.

National schools

The great age of German music, which began in the eighteenth century, was carried forward down through the nineteenth. Franz Peter Schubert (1797–1828) of Vienna was greatest of the masters of writing of song. His years were spent in poverty and lowly living, his numerous compositions scribbled on such fragments of paper as chance brought to hand. Among his works were the music for *Ave Maria*—a song in Scott's *Lady of the Lake*, *Erlkönig*—Goethe's poem, and *Hark, Hark, the Lark*—in Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*. Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827), born at Bonn in Prussia but of Dutch descent, is reckoned by many the greatest name in the history of music. He was troubled with defective hearing, which later became total deafness. In this perpetual silence he attained the finest beauty and the highest emotion embodied in musical creation. Among his principal works were the so-called *Moonlight Sonata* (1802), the *Kreutzer Sonata* (1803), the *Eroica Symphony* (1804), the *Fifth Symphony* (1808)—and, indeed, all of his symphonies, *Fidelio*, an opera (1805–14), and the *Leonore Overtures* written for it. Such work was carried on grandly by another great master, Johannes Brahms (1833–97), of Hamburg, who, like Beethoven and many other composers, spent much of his time in Vienna. Among his composi-

German music

Beethoven

Brahms

tions were numerous symphonies, shorter pieces of chamber music, and songs. Meanwhile Jakob Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (1809–47), of Hamburg—numerous songs, including the beautiful music for Heine's *Auf Flügeln des Gesanges* (On the Wings of Song), oratorios, and pieces of chamber and orchestral music—and Robert Schumann (1810–56) of Saxony—numerous symphonies, overtures, and songs—had been doing their work. In the later period Richard Strauss (1864–), who was born in Munich but whose career was mostly in Vienna, carried musical development far forward with increased complexity and strange new effects. Among his works were numerous tone poems, including *Don Juan* (1889), *Also Sprach Zarathustra* (Thus Spake Zarathustra, 1896)—inspired by the writing of the philosopher Nietzsche—*Der Rosenkavalier* (The Rose Knight, 1911).

Strauss

Music in other countries

In other countries also significant work was done. Franz Liszt (1811–86), a Hungarian, produced numerous "symphonic poems", oratorios, and pieces for the piano, with which he himself was a matchless virtuoso. Frédéric François Chopin (1809–49), son of a Polish mother and a French father, wrought many beautiful pieces for the piano. In France Charles Camille Saint-Saëns (1835–1922) produced much for orchestra and piano. In Norway Edvard Grieg (1843–1907) based his work upon the native folk-songs and old dance music, his best-known composition being the *Peer Gynt Suite*. In Bohemia Antonin Dvořák (1841–1904) was distinguished in many forms of musical composition, one of his best-known pieces being the so-called *New World Symphony* (1893). Jean Julius Sibelius (1865–) gave distinction to Finland with his numerous songs and orchestral pieces. His *Finlandia* became widely known. In Russia Peter Ilitch Tschaikovsky (1840–93) was a master of symphony and symphonic poem.

Tschaikovsky

The opera flourished in the nineteenth century as it had

in the period preceding. Greatest of its masters was Wilhelm Richard Wagner (1813–83), of Leipzig. The production of some of his complicated and difficult pieces was first made possible only through patronage of Ludwig II, king of Bavaria, who founded for him a theatre at Bayreuth. Among his operas were *Tannhäuser* (1845), *Lohengrin* (1848), *Tristan und Isolde* (1859), the magnificent four-part series, *Der Ring des Nibelungen* (The Ring of the Nibelung): *Rheingold* (1869), *Die Walküre* (The Valkyrie, 1870), *Siegfried* (1871), and *Götterdämmerung* (The Twilight of the Gods, 1874)—written in connection with the story embodied in the medieval German epic *Das Nibelungenlied*—and *Parzifal* (1882). In Italy Gioachino Rossini (1792–1868) wrote *Il Barbiere di Siviglia* (The Barber of Seville, 1816) and *Guillaume Tell* (1829). He was surpassed by Giuseppe Verdi (1813–1901) with numerous operas that became favorites all over the world: *Rigoletto* (1851), *Il Trovatore* (The Troubador, 1853), *La Traviata* (The Errant Woman, 1853), *Aïda* (1869), *Otello* (1887). In France Georges [A. C. L.] Bizet (1838–75) composed the celebrated *Carmen* (1875), Charles François Gounod (1818–93) the more celebrated *Faust* (1859)—dealing with the story in the first part of Goethe's great work—also *Roméo et Juliette* (1867), with numerous other pieces, and Gustave Charpentier (1860–) the opera *Louise* (1898), besides many works of distinction. In Russia Modest Mussorgsky (1839–81) produced *Boris Godunov* (1874)—recalling a memorable episode in the history of Russia, while Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov (1844–1908) was the author of *Sadko* (1897).

The opera: Wagner

Verdi

In architecture, in sculpture, in painting also a large amount of work was done, much of it excellent, though in architecture and sculpture the nineteenth century was not a great creative period. In architecture there was a series of revivals of old styles, Renaissance, Gothic, Romanesque, culminating especially in a revival of the

Architecture

Adaptation of earlier styles

Italian High Renaissance, of which a good example is the *Opera House* in Paris. The great architects of this period modified the styles they copied so as to suit the circumstances with which they were dealing. They also worked from the plan of their structure rather than the front or façade, as had often formerly been done; they strove to express in the appearance of their buildings the purpose for which they were intended; and in such well-known structures as the *Eiffel Tower* and the *Grand Palais* in Paris they successfully tried to express Renaissance forms in the new materials, steel and iron, with which they were working. In all this, as in sculpture and painting, Frenchmen were the leaders, and Paris became the art centre of the world. But in the early part of the twentieth century the Germans ceased to copy and tried to express themselves in forms which they now developed. They portrayed their national character and ideals in such structures as the *Bismarck Monument* and the *Victory Monument* at Leipzig, which reveal stern, stark power and grim reliance upon force and strength.

Sculpture

The great sculptors at the beginning of the nineteenth century, such as the Italian Antonio Canova (1757–1822), and the Dane, Albert Thorvaldsen (1770–1844), were the leaders of a classical revival, seeking to copy exactly the forms used by the masters in ancient times. Thus, when Napoleon carried the statue *Apollo Belvedere* away from Rome, Canova executed his *Perseus* to take its place, seeking to reproduce in his creation the classical spirit of the statue just lost. From this classicism, as in literature, there was presently a great reaction, since the lesser classicists in time tended to expel from their art all passion and life. The great leader of the Romantic movement which followed was François Rude (1784–1855), who, like Victor Hugo in literature, had extraordinary power in expressing energy and life, as in his group of the *Marseillaise* on the *Arc de Triomphe*. After a while again

The Romantic movement

reaction came, and presently individual sculptors strove to assert themselves as seemed to them best. The most important movements at the end of the century were realism, which attempted to portray objects exactly in their details, and naturalism, which tried to produce the effect of the truth without giving all the details. Here the great masters were the Frenchman Auguste Rodin (1840–1917) and Constantin Meunier (1831–1904), the Belgian, this latter an artist whose work expressed profound sympathy with the working classes.

Realism and naturalism

At the end of the eighteenth century painting also was dominated by the classical spirit, shown particularly in the work of Jacques Louis David (1748–1825)—who took part in the French Revolution, but afterward became Napoleon's court painter—and the large group of disciples who followed him. They made drawing and outline the basis of their art, and their paintings were often little more than colored bas-reliefs, cold and artificial. Their work provoked a passionate reaction led by Jean Géricault (1791–1824), Ferdinand Delacroix (1799–1863), and others, who expressed tumultuous passion and emotion, depending upon color, light, and shade, rather than mere drawing. But the French spirit of moderation and good judgment again asserted itself, and after a while a balance was struck between the two forces. In the second half of the nineteenth century many particular schools arose. In this period landscape painting at last assumed a position of great importance. Poussin and Claude Lorrain in France, and great Dutch artists of the seventeenth century, had done excellent work, but landscape painting became one of the great movements in art in the nineteenth century, led especially by Constable and Turner in England, and followed by Théodore Rousseau (1812–67), Charles Daubigny (1817–78), and Jean Corot (1796–1875) in France. In the same period Jean François Millet (1814–75) developed the portrayal of peasant life, and

Painting

Landscape painting

Rosa Bonheur (1822–99) painted pictures of cattle. In the latter part of the century, in painting as in literature and sculpture, the naturalists tried to depict things as they are, this movement being led especially by Gustave Courbet (1819–77). Presently this movement became dominant. Impressionism, the portrayal of an impression and the essentials of the appearance of an object rather than the exact details, was also an important tendency. Of this the great masters were the Frenchmen Auguste Renoir (1841–1919), Edgard Degas (1834–1917), and Claude Monet (1840–), and the American James Whistler (1834–1903). In their work there is particular interest in light and shade. The works of the old masters were generally dark and low in tone; but the works of these moderns are high in tone and bright. The period just before the war saw the development of post-impressionism, cubism, symbolism, futurism, all of which were revolts against the older art and against a mere imitation of the objects painted, and were a striving to discover new methods of expression, much as in literature the writers of free verse were trying.

Impressionism

Recent tendencies

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CHAPTER XXIX

SOCIAL AND INTELLECTUAL CHANGES

> Evolution is an integration of matter and concomitant dissipation of motion; during which the matter passes from an indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to a definite, coherent heterogeneity; and during which the retained motion undergoes a parallel transformation.
>
> HERBERT SPENCER *A System of Synthetic Philosophy: I, First Principles* (1862), paragraph 145.

> Humana ratio, nullo prorsus Dei respectu habito, unicus est veri et falsi, boni et mali arbiter, sibi ipsi est lex et naturalibus suis viribus ad hominum ac populorum bonum curandum sufficit.
>
> *Syllabus complectens præcipuos nostrae ætatis errores . . . Pii papæ IX* (1864).

> Make no mistake about it . . . Democracy is going to rule in these countries.
>
> MICHAEL DAVITT, letter to *Freeman's Journal*, January 22, 1906.

An era of change

DURING the period between the middle of the eighteenth century and the years just prior to the Great War immense changes took place in the relations of people with each other, with their governments, with capitalists and employers, in the attitude of people toward the problems of the world in which they lived, and in their habits of thought. In no previous epoch of the world's history did so vast a number of people go through such large transformation.

Education

At the time of the French Revolution it is probable that in the most progressive countries not more than a quarter of the people could read and write, and for all of Europe

the proportion was probably about one in ten; but at the beginning of the twentieth century the more advanced countries had developed excellent systems of general education and contained few illiterates, while altogether in Europe probably more than half of the population could read and write. In this manner one of the greatest and most important of all the changes of the period was brought about almost unseen.

The position of women

During this period women were affected by changes relatively greater than those that touched men. From ancient times their position had been inferior and lowly. Among savage and barbarous people, though occasionally they possessed political power and were sometimes held in high respect, they were usually compelled to do most of the work. In the early civilizations they were generally the servants and chattels of men, though under the Roman Empire and its law they got the highest position which women ever attained before the nineteenth century. Christianity, which by its gradual refining and humanizing of people affected woman's lot in so many ways for the better, none the less assisted in keeping her in subordinate and inferior position. By the fault of the first woman, said the Jews and the Christians, sin came into the world and with it the fall of man. For this a curse was put upon women, and they were to be subordinate to their husbands. The Church assigned to them an honorable but inferior position, and the monks and the hermits, who were presently so powerful, taught that women were sinful things to be avoided. Moreover, throughout the Middle Ages and down into modern times, not only physical circumstances pertaining to women but general conditions of society made it necessary for them to have the protection of men, and this was generally purchased by obedience and submission. It was seldom possible for an unmarried woman to conduct a business of her own or find any occupation outside of the home, and there she worked under

the direction of the male relative who gave her support. Generally it was thought unnecessary to give women any education beyond what would make them attractive to men and fit them for domestic tasks.

Betterment of their position

During the nineteenth century men realized more and more that their own welfare and that of all people were inseparably connected with the welfare of women, and that the protecting and assisting of women and the improving of their position made one of the greatest of all social problems. Meanwhile the movements of the time were immensely altering the position of women. The Industrial Revolution brought them some economic independence. When marriage was no longer the only possible profession, women were able to marry better and insist on greater equality and a higher standard in men. The general education developed during the nineteenth century was presently shared by women, and for the first time in the progress of mankind did any large number of women enter the broader fields of human knowledge. At the same time increased knowledge of sex hygiene and venereal diseases was obtained by both men and women, with the result that higher moral standards were required, the difficult problem of social evil was increasingly considered, and a beginning made of efforts to lessen a hideous mass of evil which had been particularly terrible to women. In some countries, moreover, the higher standard of living brought by the nineteenth century reduced the size of families in the upper and middle classes, and a considerable number of women had larger leisure and a greater surplus of physical and mental vigor for other tasks than ever before.

Political equality

As a result of the increasing democracy and humaneness of the times gradually civil equality and political rights were given, until the ideal was generally accepted that women were the equals of men. During the course of a long agitation for political enfranchisement and rights,

numerous laws were passed in the countries of northern and western Europe improving women's legal position, and at last in the early years of the twentieth century many women were allowed to vote and hold office. A beginning of this was made in some of the American states, in some of the self-governing commonwealths of the British Empire, and in Finland and the Scandinavian countries. Votes were granted to many women in the United Kingdom in 1918, and about the same time they were given in the new governments established in Russia and Germany, and in the new countries of central Europe.

Intellectual changes

During the time of these changes the great new inventions and industrial processes made it possible to produce far more of the necessaries and luxuries of life than in the past, and with much less of human labor. Accordingly, there came into being a larger leisure class than ever before, and a considerable part of all the population had more time to spare from labor for the enjoyment of life and participation in various things. Hence it was possible much more than previously for a great many people to notice and be affected by mighty intellectual changes.

The universe

Greatest of all the intellectual changes of this period was the altered conception of mankind and the world, their origin, their progress, the means and conditions of their development. After the second century of the Christian Era, it was long generally held that the earth was the center of the universe. In accordance with this belief Dante expounded the position of heaven, purgatory, and hell, and even Milton long afterward explained the structure and parts of the cosmos. According to this system the sun, the moon, the stars were all held to be relatively unimportant, and subsidiary to the earth. The world and mankind which possessed it were the center of things, the beginning and the end of creation. But in 1543 Copernicus, a Prussian, published his book, *De orbium cœlestium revolutionibus* (concerning the movements of the heavenly

bodies), in which he maintained that the sun was the center of the universe, and the earth only one of the bodies that revolved about it. At the beginning of the next century his teachings were verified and carried further by the German, Kepler, and slowly the results were accepted. When this took place it was no longer possible to attach either to men or their world such immense importance as before.

Creation

Since the rise of Christianity, and earlier among the Jews and others, it had been taught that the heavens and earth and the things contained therein had been created by God in six days, and it was believed that as they were suddenly made in the beginning, so they had continued to be unchanged. Things had been made for a purpose. Men and women must accept the conditions around them by which they were ruled. "In the beginning," said the first book of the Scriptures "God created the heaven and the earth . . . man in his own image. . . . Thus the heavens and the earth were finished." Literal belief in this was fundamental, and many a reader of the sacred books busied himself studying the chronology which they contained, laboriously counting how many years had elapsed since creation. One of the most notable attempts was made by Archbishop Usher, primate of the Anglican Church in Ireland, who in the middle of the seventeenth century declared that creation had occurred 4004 years before the birth of Christ. Thus the life of the world and of man seemed but short, just as previously the universe had seemed little.

Changing ideas

For a great many people these older conceptions were completely changed during the course of the nineteenth century by the advance of scientific discovery and the formulation of the doctrine of evolution. In the first place, man and his world shrank smaller and smaller in thought as the bounds of the universe were extended. Not only, it was seen now, was the earth merely one of the

smaller planets revolving around about the sun, but the sun appeared to be only one of the smaller stars in the midst of an endless number travelling in a space without bounds. It became then increasingly doubtful to many people whether the universe and all it contained had been made especially with reference to man.

Evolution

Furthermore, the very idea of creation or sudden making of things was slowly displaced by the idea that things had evolved out of other things by slow changes through long process of time. The idea of evolution was old, for it went back at least to the time of some of the Greek philosophers, from whose teachings it was taken by the Roman poet Lucretius and embodied in his matchless writings. In 1749 Buffon, the great French naturalist, began the publication of his *Histoire Naturelle* in which he showed how environment or surrounding circumstances altered animals, and suggested the possibility of the development of man and apes from a common ancestor long before. At the end of the eighteenth century James Hutton, a Scottish geologist, showed how changes in the earth's surface had been made, and declared that he could "find no traces of a beginning, no prospect of an end." About the same time the doctrine of change and slow development was carried further by the French astronomer and mathematician, Laplace, who undertook in his "Nebular Hypothesis" to explain the development of the solar system.

Lyell and Darwin

But the great contribution to the doctrine came in the following century. In 1830 Sir Charles Lyell began the publication of his *Principles of Geology*, in which he showed how the earth features had developed and were everywhere still developing. A generation later he showed how remains of primitive man were to be found under some of the later strata of the surface of the earth, and estimated that men had lived in the world for 50,000 or 100,000 years, an estimate which was presently extended by some scholars to 1,000,000 years, while it was not long before the

age of the earth was estimated as high as 200,000,000 years. Greatest of all was the work of the English naturalist, Charles Darwin (1809–82), who—influenced by Lyell's ideas of slow development and also by the teaching of the English economist Malthus, that increase of living things depended on supply of food—interpreted his own careful study of animals and plants. In 1859 he published his memorable work *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection,* and twelve years later his other famous book, *Descent of Man.* In these works he taught that the history of things had to do with long, slow development, and evolution of one kind or type from another; that the changes were brought about in the midst of a struggle for existence, in which some individuals or species survived because of peculiarities which especially fitted them to succeed or survive, and that such peculiarities increasing in course of time brought about variation of species. There had been a long descent of species, in which man could be traced back through the ape families to lower forms more distant and remote in time.

Natural selection

Spread of the doctrine of evolution

The ideas of Darwin and of A. R. Wallace, who shared in proposing the theory, became the most important intellectual force of the time. Among English-speaking peoples Thomas Huxley expounded the subject with such brilliancy and clearness that the educated layman understood it, while Herbert Spencer (1820–1903) undertook to explain all branches of knowledge in terms of evolution. After a while the doctrine was generally accepted among educated people, and while afterward modified in important particulars—especially by the researches of the German priest, Gregor Mendel (1822–84), which are the foundation of modern ideas about heredity—it gradually came to be recognized as one of the bases of modern thought.

Conceptions of time and space

Half a century later general conceptions began to be largely altered with respect to a great many things by the advancement of the doctrine of *relativity.* Ideas about

man's surroundings had long been conceived in terms of time and space, both regarded as absolute standards for the judging and measuring of things. Conceptions of space rested largely upon the ideas expounded in the geometry of Euclid concerning a space of three dimensions. It is true, there had long been some who dissented somewhat from these conceptions. In 1733 Girolamo Saccheri, a Jesuit of Milan, published a treatise in which some of Euclid's propositions were questioned. Gradually others followed with increasing doubt; and in the nineteenth century a mathematics involving a non-Euclidean geometry was built up, especially by the German mathematicians, Karl Gauss and Georg Riemann, with presently a development of geometry until it concerned a space of four, five, or any number of dimensions. From these studies, intricate and profound, little understood save by mathematicians, and for the most part explicable only in terms of higher mathematics, was more and more developed the conception of a universe in which the old absolute time and space and the three dimensions did not solely exist. In place of it was now conceived a universe with time and space differing with respect to certain circumstances and relative to position, velocity, motion, and other factors. For example, in the universe was a vast number of bodies in motion. Hence, in respect of observers on such bodies time, motion, velocity, shape, would vary with respect to the position of any observer, with respect to the motion of the body on which he was placed, and also of the motions, velocities, and positions of the other bodies involved in the observing. Accordingly, time, motion, apparent velocity might well be different in different circumstances. So, there was no absolute truth; but only truth relative to the matter or person concerned. Many of these conceptions were dealt with profoundly by the Swiss-German Jew Einstein, whose researches led him to make definite predictions with respect to the passage of a

Non-Euclidean geometry developed

No absolute time or space

Relativity

ray of light past the sun and the position of the planet *Mercury*. During a total eclipse of the sun in 1919 complete verification was made of some of his predictions, and the doctrine of relativity suddenly attracted universal attention. The result of this doctrine and of some of the teachings of Einstein was a partial displacement of the theories of Newton, which for many had long been the fundamental explanation of the universe. It was now seen that the Newtonian Hypothesis was largely accurate, and for the layman a serviceable explanation; but that the Einstein Theory accounted for things not considered by Newton, and gave what mathematicians and philosophers held to be a deeper and a truer explanation.

Einstein and Newton

Philosophy and psychology

With respect to attitude of mind and intellectual outlook there had been other enormous changes for a great many people. For the learned and the well-informed there was less of dogmatism, less certainty about the absolute truth of anything, whatever it was. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries philosophers had pondered profoundly on what was known, how it was known, what could be known, what was "truth." Their teachings, more extensively diffused with time, had influenced numerous people. Then during the nineteenth century psychology—study of the human mind, its qualities, its modes, and its functions—taught more widely that understanding and knowledge could only be in terms of the senses through which the mind was aware of things outside itself. There was infinite variety of minds, no two the same. To many students of psychology there was no certainty that data pertaining to exterior things could be exactly and certainly known. So different must be knowledge and opinions held by different minds that it was futile to propose any belief as absolutely true for them all.

Religions affected

The results of all this were enormous. Not only did it completely modify the attitude of scholars and learned men, but it soon affected religious ideas. Where the

Bible seemed to declare that all things were suddenly created in six days, geologists taught that the world had been slowly evolving for more than 100,000,000 years; where most people had believed that man had existed for 6,000 years, scientists now asserted that he had been on the earth for more than 100,000; and many believed that human beings had gradually been evolved from lower animals, and these from reptiles, and these from fishes, and so on back to the lowest living forms in primeval times. Many people now felt that the very basis of their faith was being shaken, since they had long been taught to accept all the Bible as inspired and its declarations as literally true. Hence arose a painful conflict between science and religion, in which evolutionists and men of science were considered atheists and blasphemers; but after some time many people were able to adjust their beliefs and modify their conceptions, so that religion and science were reconciled for them.

The churches and the changing time

For the churches, then, the nineteenth century was a strange, wondrous time. In the past, religion had been the greatest of all intellectual forces, embodying science, philosophy, explanation of the present, and hope of the future. In the Middle Ages the Christian Church was the most important of all the agents of civilization and progress. In the nineteenth century the three parts of Christianity in Europe met the changes of their time with varying fortune.

The Greek Catholic Church

Least affected for a long while was the Orthodox, or Greek Catholic Church of the east, which counted among its adherents most of the Russians, the Greeks, and most of the South Slavs of the Balkan country. This church, largely controlled by the Russian government and working in obedience to the tsar, had long gone on unwavering course, with ancient ritual, and ceremonies of the past, little troubled by revolts from within, and untouched by influences from without. There had been no period of

the Reformation in Russia; and there was no considerable body of communicants who had left it. As the Russian people had remained off on one side of Europe, out of the great currents which were steadily changing the other people, so had their church been remote and it remained unaffected. In the nineteenth century it was generally followed and obeyed by the people, whose national consciousness it fostered, and who were proud of its greatness and its past. The ideas of the evolutionists, like the teachings of liberals and social reformers, made no impression on the great body of Russian peasants, without education, and with the intellectual outlook of medieval times. Whatever might be the attitude of the upper classes, most of the Russian people continued to be simple-minded peasants, cherishing the *ikons* or images which they had in their homes, and crossing themselves devoutly as they passed by the shrines or the churches. Throughout the nineteenth century, as for a long time before, the Russian Church was powerfully supported by the state. But during the time of the Revolution which followed the Great War and overthrew the government of the tsar, the church went down with the rest of the old order, as in France during the French Revolution. Church lands and property were confiscated, and some of the priests and higher officials murdered or shamefully treated. But as the Orthodox faith had been the religion of the Russian people for ages, it was probable that the subsidence of the revolution would see it resume its place as the religion of Russia.

The Roman Catholic Church

The Roman Catholic Church passed through vicissitudes much greater. In several countries it was deprived of its property; the territory of the popes was taken from them; one pope was carried off as a prisoner by Napoleon; and after 1870 the pontiffs regarded themselves as "prisoners" in the Vatican Palace. Moreover, the populations of central and western Europe, in the midst of which

the church was established, were far more enlightened than those of the eastern lands, and its adherents were in much closer contact with the great changes in science and culture and much more affected by them. The Western Church, therefore, had to encounter new ideas which threatened to undermine and weaken its power.

The Revolution and Napoleon

The Catholic Church was affected by the French Revolution much more than the Protestant Churches, for the effects of the Revolution were greater and lasted longer in Catholic countries. During the Revolution the lands of the church were confiscated in France. A far more terrible blow was struck when the extreme revolutionists of the period of the Terror suppressed the Christian religion and closed the churches, and then proclaimed the worship of Reason. A reaction followed, however, and the care of Napoleon to respect Christianity and give it the protection of the government was one of the bases of his power in France. In 1801 he made with Pius VII the famous *Concordat;* but with this pope he soon came into conflict. After Austerlitz he was supreme in Italy and did there as he pleased. He soon required the pope to join in the blockade of England; after a bitter dispute, in 1809, he annexed Rome and the Papal States to his empire, and replied to an excommunication by casting the pope into prison. Napoleon then for a short time made good the ideal of the greatest medieval emperors, and did what the Protestant princes had done at the time of the Reformation; he considered himself to be head of the empire and superior to the church, with the pope subordinate and dependent. Not since the time of the Babylonian Captivity, in the fourteenth century, when the popes resided at Avignon, had papal authority been so much lowered.

Recovery after 1815

But all this soon came to an end, and after the Congress of Vienna the church recovered. The ecclesiastical property which had been confiscated in France was not restored, but the gifts of pious people founded a new wealth

for it. Everywhere in Catholic countries during this period of restoration and reaction people remembered that the church had been attacked at the same time that so many other venerable institutions were cast down, and the ruling classes believed that the worst excesses of the radicals and revolutionists would not have been possible except that religion and the church had been abandoned. So it seemed well for the priests to have their old influence with the people; education was put into their hands; and they were supported by the government, which, in return, got from them faithful support.

Changing times

But after all, it was not so much the work of Hébert or Napoleon as the great ideas of the Revolution which were dangerous to the old faith and especially to the temporal power of the church. Civil and religious freedom and equality made people different from what they had been. During the years that followed, other great transformations also changed men's minds. The Industrial Revolution made different conditions of life and gradually different ways of thinking. Soon it produced socialism, which during the remainder of the century had greater and greater effect upon the outlook of people in the lower as well as in the upper classes, and from the first the teachings of the socialists made men ill-disposed to follow without question the old doctrines of the churches. During the same time also great inventions and strange discoveries laid the foundation for an entirely different way of looking at things, which made it impossible for some people longer to believe what their fathers had received without question.

Scepticism and critical attitude

Increasingly people were learning to read and write, and were thus brought more easily to a knowledge of the wonderful experiments and discoveries taking place and the consequent alterations in human knowledge. More and more they required reasons for what they were asked to believe, and asked for the proofs of what was submitted. Discoveries in the realms of biology, chemistry, and phy-

sics explained an immense number of things and promised to explain many more, and in course of time the people who understood the work of Lyell and Darwin, or read the explanations of Comte, Spencer, or Haeckel, came to conceive of things in terms of science, where before they had believed what was taught as a matter of faith. These people or their teachers began to subject the Bible to "higher criticism" just as they would examine the texts of Shakespeare or Virgil, to investigate the history of religion in the same manner that they studied the origins of feudalism or the rise of parliament in the Middle Ages, and to doubt or reject many things which the church had said must be believed.

Rome and the new spirit

All the churches of western Europe had to encounter this spirit increasingly in the century after the French Revolution, and all of them were shaken by it. The Roman Catholic Church met the situation as it always had in the past. The doctrines which it taught were considered to be divinely inspired and unalterably true. Circumstances in the world round about might change and science bring revelation and discoveries, but always the teachings of the church remained true as they had been from the first, and were to be entirely accepted by the faithful. Accordingly, as the gap widened between what had been of old and what the French Revolution was producing, between the old industrial organization and the results of the Industrial Revolution, between the teachings of the fathers of the church and the new ideas taught by the socialists, between the stories contained in the Bible and the conclusions of scientific scholars, Catholic populations generally fell into two parts: some of the upper intellectual classes, who either abandoned their religion or remained Catholics merely in name; and a larger body including not only the poor and the simple, but all those who continued to find in the church their best satisfaction and best consolation.

The *Syllabus of Errors*, 1864

The Roman Catholic Church was far from remaining a passive spectator of the conflict thus going on. Generally speaking it supported the best of the old order and opposed revolutions and changes; it favored monarchies rather than republics; it opposed socialism, and set itself sternly against "free thinking" or attempts to compromise with the new knowledge. In 1864 Pius IX issued the encyclical (circular letter) *Quanta Cura* and at the same time a *Syllabus* (collection) *of Errors,* which upheld rigidly the old contentions of the Church and condemned all who tended toward free thinking, religious liberty, or any diminution of the authority of the Church by abolishing ecclesiastical courts, by making the clergy less subordinate to Rome, by establishing lay marriages, and putting education under laymen's control. Six years later, at the Council of the Vatican (1869-70), the first general council that had assembled since the Council of Trent concluded its sessions in 1563, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin was proclaimed, and the doctrine of Papal Infallibility announced. The Vatican Council declared it to be divinely revealed that whenever the pope spoke, as pope, with respect to the affairs of the church, he spoke without liability to error, and that whoever contradicted him was anathema, accursed. In an age when philosophy and science were making so many people increasingly doubtful about absolute truth in anything, such a doctrine seemed out of accord with the times, and some Catholics refused to accept it; but so far as they remained in the church their resistance was soon abandoned. At the end of the century the so-called Modernists, who strove to "modernize" to some extent the dogmas of the church and, as they thought, bring them more into accord with the knowledge of the times, were successfully opposed and also suppressed.

Papal Infallibility, 1870

Modernism

In 1870 came the loss of the States of the Church. Pius IX opposed this to the utmost, but many Catholics came

to believe that the papacy was strengthened rather than weakened by being free now to devote itself entirely to spiritual labors; and actually the beginning of the twentieth century saw the Roman Catholic Church, after having passed through the vicissitudes of a marvellous time, and after sustaining not a few great disasters and defeats, still great and respected, still strong in the affection of a multitude of people, and still continuing a great work which it had been carrying on for ages.

Continuing greatness of the church

Of the Protestant churches during the same period there is less to be said. No one of them presented so striking or so powerful an organization as either the Greek Catholic or the Roman Catholic Church. Protestant creeds were professed in the most powerful countries of Europe, but the character and organization of their churches was such that they could not play the great part in politics and international relations assumed by the pope. The teachings of Luther and other Protestant leaders had been such that when the churches of the Reformation were established, they were put under the control of the state, and after that time the Lutheran Church in Prussia and the Anglican Church in England, had remained great and wealthy, but passive and obedient in their established position. In the nineteenth century they strove, like the Catholic Church, to hold to the privileges and the teachings they had long maintained. They also had to meet the changes in life and thought which arose during this time, and their adherents also were often torn by struggle between the old beliefs and the new revelations of science. Notwithstanding that many Protestant ministers regarded Darwin and Haeckel as atheists and accursed, and notwithstanding that the Protestant churches also regarded their own dogmas as unquestionably true and not liable to change, yet in the case of Protestants it was often less difficult to reconcile science with religion, for Protestantism, in spite of itself, had always tended toward freedom of

The Protestant churches

thought. The early Protestants had no idea whatever of permitting religious freedom; but they had broken away from the Roman Catholic Church; what they had done others afterward did more easily; and not only were many new Protestant sects founded, but within the Protestant sects many individuals tended more and more to the belief that each person might be his own judge. A great many Protestants, therefore, were less under the authority of the heads of their church, and more in the habit of judging for themselves. Accordingly, after some struggle, many of them modified their religious beliefs so as to bring them, as they thought, in conformity with the new teachings of philosophy and science; and in course of time a considerable number of the ministers and leaders did this also. Hence, while the Greek Catholic Church had been little affected by Modernism, and the Roman Catholic Church had expelled the Modernist leaders or suppressed them, within the Protestant Churches a considerable amount of readjustment went on; old forms were changed or abandoned, old beliefs quietly altered or dropped, and many new ideas concerning the age of the earth, creation, miracles, hell, and other things accepted. Where Catholicism either held its adherents strictly or lost them altogether, Protestantism had less authority and control but also less trouble.

Desire for improvement

During this period a spirit of humanity and kindness developed further and more greatly than ever before in the history of the world. Never had there been so much desire to help people and make things better. Socialists strove for a completely new order and organization which would make all people happier, they said; but meanwhile there was more and more belief that governments should assist and protect their people, as they had done before the era of *laissez-faire;* and this doctrine bore fruit in many European countries in laws to protect workers, insure them against accident and sickness, and guarantee

to them employment and minimum wages. In all of this the more advanced European countries were far ahead of the United States.

Humanitarianism

Meanwhile many old horrors had passed away and were almost forgotten. Down to the time of the French Revolution there was scarcely a European country except Great Britain where torture might not be employed and where death was not given with torment, as when men were broken on the wheel. Substantially the Revolutionary era brought an end to barbarous punishments and barbarous procedure. During this time also punishments were made less severe and the death penalty inflicted for fewer crimes. During the eighteenth century and earlier most prisons were loathsome and horrible places. Many of them continued to be terrible enough, but gradually there was considerable improvement. Finally, in all respects there was greater consideration from men for women, greater kindness to children, and even for animals greater kindness and mercy.

Efforts to mitigate war

It was in accordance with this spirit that while the nineteenth century saw the establishment of great armies and the rise of militarism as never before, it was also during this time that men made the most important efforts so far undertaken to mitigate war or end it completely. Tsar Alexander I sincerely hoped to bring better conditions when he proposed his Holy Alliance. In 1856, at the Congress of Paris, the signatories agreed to abolish privateering, and so lessened the evils of war upon the sea, and, until 1914, made sea war less troublesome to neutrals. In 1864 an international convention was held at Geneva, for the purpose of mitigating avoidable suffering in war, and as a result the Red Cross Society was established. Gradually the governments drew up codes or bodies of rules by which they would abide when carrying on war, and some of the greatest horrors and severities of the past were avoided by the more civilized powers, though the

Prussians acted with great ruthlessness in France in 1871, as they did there forty-three years later.

The Hague Peace Conferences

More important still, in 1898 Tsar Nicholas II invited the nations to consider the project of disarming. As he truly declared, increasing armaments and the expenses entailed threatened the destruction of European civilization. In the next year what was known as the First Peace Conference assembled at The Hague. The German representative declared that in his country the army was no burden; and it was not possible to agree upon any scheme of reduction; but a permanent court of arbitration known as the Hague Tribunal, was established, to deal, at the request of powers concerned, with differences which they had been unable to settle by diplomatic negotiation. In 1907 a second Peace Conference met at The Hague. There was a larger attendance, and stronger efforts were now made to substitute peaceable arbitration for war, and so make possible the reduction of armaments. Again there was no success, and it was afterward stated that from Germany came the most effective opposition. A body of conventions was drawn up to regulate the conduct of war and forbid certain barbarous methods and certain terrible devices, like poisonous gases. These conventions were adopted, but again Germany made no actual change in the stern and terrible regulations contained in her *Kriegsbrauch im Landkriege* (usages in war), which had been issued five years before. The Hague Conferences accomplished little, but they are the principal monument to the Russian ruler who afterward perished so miserably as a result of war. And they were afterward seen to have been preliminary steps toward the forming of a league of nations to abolish all war.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX

EUROPEAN RULERS SINCE THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

AUSTRIA–HUNGARY

In the Holy Roman Empire until 1804; Austrian Empire 1804-67; the Dual Monarchy, Austria-Hungary, 1867-1918.

Leopold II, 1790–92
Francis I, 1792–1835
Ferdinand I, 1835–48
Francis Joseph, 1848–1916
Charles I, 1916–18

BELGIUM

Leopold I, 1831-65
Leopold II, 1865–1909
Albert I, 1909–

BULGARIA

Principality until 1909, kingdom afterward.

Alexander, 1879–86
Ferdinand I, 1887–1918
Boris I, 1918–

DENMARK

Christian VII, 1766–1808
Frederick VI, 1808–39
Christian VIII, 1839–48
Frederick VII, 1848–63
Christian IX, 1863–1906
Frederick VIII, 1906–12
Christian X, 1912–

FRANCE

Louis XVI, 1774–92
The First Republic, 1792–1804
The Convention, 1792–5
The Directory, 1795–9
The Consulate (Napoleon Bonaparte, First Consul) 1799–1804
The First Empire, 1804–1814
Napoleon I, *emperor*
Louis XVIII, 1814–24
Charles X, 1824–30
Louis Philippe, 1830–48
The Second Republic, 1848–52
Louis Napoleon, *president*
The Second Empire, 1852–1870
Napoleon III
The Third Republic, 1870–

Government of National Defence, 1870–1
Presidents

Adolphe Thiers, 1871–3
Marshal MacMahon, 1873–9
Jules Grévy, 1879–87
Sadi Carnot, 1887–94
Casimir-Périer, 1894–5
Félix Faure, 1895–9
Émile Loubet, 1899–1906
Armand Fallières, 1906–13
Raymond Poincaré, 1913–20
Paul Deschanel, 1920
Alexandre Millerand, 1920–

THE GERMAN EMPIRE

William I, 1871–88
Frederick III, 1888
William II, 1888–1918

Chancellors

Prince Bismarck, 1871–90
Count von Caprivi, 1890–4
Prince Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst, 1894–1900
Count von Bülow, 1900–8
Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg, 1908–17
Georg Michaelis, 1917
Count von Hertling, 1917–18
Prince Max of Baden, 1918

The German Republic, 1918—

GREAT BRITAIN

After 1800 the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

George III, 1760–1820
George IV, 1820–30
William IV, 1830–7
Victoria, 1837–1901
Edward VII, 1901–10
George V, 1910–

Prime Ministers

William Pitt, 1783–1801
Henry Addington (Viscount Sidmouth) 1801–4
William Pitt (II), 1804–6
William Lord Grenville, 1806–7
Duke of Portland, 1807–9
Spencer Perceval, 1809–12
The Earl of Liverpool, 1812–27
George Canning, 1827
Viscount Goderich, 1827
The Duke of Wellington, 1827–30
Earl Grey, 1830–4
Viscount Melbourne, 1834
Sir Robert Peel, 1834–5
Viscount Melbourne (II), 1835–41
Sir Robert Peel (II), 1841–6
Lord John Russell, 1846–52
The Earl of Derby, 1852
The Earl of Aberdeen, 1852–5
Viscount Palmerston, 1855–8

Prime Ministers—continued

The Earl of Derby (II), 1858–9
Viscount Palmerston (II), 1859–65
Earl Russell (II), 1865–6
The Earl of Derby (III), 1866–8
William Ewart Gladstone, 1868–74
Benjamin Disraeli (Earl of Beaconsfield, 1876), 1874–80
W. E. Gladstone (II), 1880–5
Robert Cecil (Marquis of Salisbury), 1885–6
W. E. Gladstone (III), 1886
Marquis of Salisbury (II), 1886–92
W. E. Gladstone (IV), 1892–4
Archibald P. Primrose (Earl of Rosebery), 1894–5
Marquis of Salisbury (III), 1895–1902
Arthur James Balfour, 1902–5
Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, 1905–8
Herbert Henry Asquith, 1908–16
David Lloyd George, 1916–22
Andrew Bonar Law, 1922–3
Stanley Baldwin, 1923–4

GREECE

Otto I, 1833–62
George I, 1863–1913
Constantine I, 1913–17
Alexander I, 1917–20
Constantine I (*restored*), 1920–2
George II, 1922–3

ITALY

Kingdom of Sardinia until 1861

Victor Amadeus III, 1773–96
Charles Emmanuel IV, 1796–1802
Victor Emmanuel I, 1802–21
Charles Felix, 1821–31
Charles Albert, 1831–49
Victor Emmanuel II, 1849–78
Humbert, 1878–1900
Victor Emmanuel III, 1900–

MONTENEGRO

Principality until 1910; kingdom until 1918; then incorporated into Jugo-Slavia

Peter I, 1782–1830
Peter II, 1830–51
Danilo I, 1851–60
Nicholas I, 1860–1918

THE NETHERLANDS

The United Provinces
William V, *Hereditary Stadholder*, 1751–95
The Batavian Republic, 1795–1806
Kingdom of Holland
Louis Bonaparte, 1806–10
Part of the First French Empire, 1810–13
Kingdom of the Netherlands
William I, 1813–40
William II, 1840–9
William III, 1849–90
Wilhelmina, 1890–

NORWAY

Ruled by the kings of Denmark until 1814; ruled by the kings of Sweden, 1814–1905.
Haakon VII, 1905–

THE POPES

Pius VI, 1775–99
Pius VII, 1800–23
Leo XII, 1823–9
Pius VIII, 1829–30
Gregory XVI, 1831–46
Pius IX, 1846–78
Leo XIII, 1878–1903
Pius X, 1903–14
Benedict XV, 1914–22
Pius XI, 1922–

PORTUGAL

Maria I, 1786–1816
John VI, 1816–26
Pedro IV, 1826
Maria II, 1826–8
Miguel, 1828–34
Maria II (*restored*), 1834–53
Pedro V, 1853–61
Luiz I, 1861–89
Carlos, 1889–1908
Manoel II, 1908–10
Republic, 1910–

PRUSSIA

Frederick William II, 1786–97
Frederick William III, 1797–1840
Frederick William IV, 1840–61
William I, 1861–88
Frederick III, 1888
William II, 1888–1918

RUMANIA

Principality until 1881, kingdom afterward.

Charles I, 1866–1914
Ferdinand I, 1914–

RUSSIA

Catherine II, 1762–96
Paul, 1796–1801
Alexander I, 1801–25
Nicholas I, 1825–55
Alexander II, 1855–81
Alexander III, 1881–94
Nicholas II, 1894–1917
Provisional government, 1917
Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, 1918—
Federal Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, 1923—

SERVIA

Principality until 1882; kingdom afterward; in 1918 the ruler became king of the "Unitary Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes" (Jugo-Slavia).

Karageorge, 1804–13
Milosh Obrenovitch, 1817–39
Milan Obrenovitch II, 1839
Michael Obrenovitch III, 1839–42
Alexander Karageorgevich I, 1842–58
Milosh Obrenovitch (*restored*), 1858–60
Michael Obrenovitch III, (*restored*), 1860–8

SERVIA—*Continued*

Milan Obrenovitch IV, 1868–82 *Reigned as king*, Milan I, 1882–9
Alexander I, 1889–1903
Peter I, 1903–21
Alexander II, 1921–

SPAIN

Charles IV, 1788–1808
Joseph Bonaparte, 1808–13
Ferdinand VII, 1813–33
Isabella II, 1833–68
Period of revolution, 1868–70
Amadeo of Savoy, 1870–3
Spanish Republic, 1873–5
Alphonso XII, 1875–85
Alphonso XIII, 1886–

SWEDEN

Gustavus IV, 1792–1809
Charles XIII, 1809–18
Charles XIV, 1818–44
Oscar I, 1844–59
Charles XV, 1859–72
Oscar II, 1872–1907
Gustavus V, 1907–

TURKEY

Selim III, 1789–1807
Mustapha IV, 1807–8
Mahmud II, 1808–39
Abdul Medjid, 1839–61
Abdul Aziz, 1861–76
Murad V, 1876
Abdul Hamid, 1876–1909
Mohammed V, 1909–18
Mohammed VI, 1918–22
Turkey virtually a republic, 1922–

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Alexander III, Tsar of Russia, 455-63.
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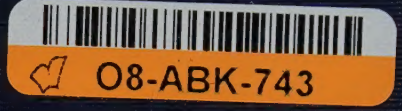
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